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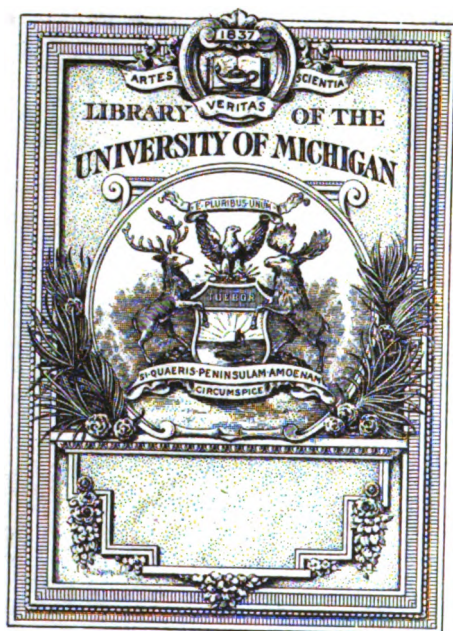
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CRITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

OF

ANTIENT GREECE.

VOL. I.

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A
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
OF
ANTIENT GREECE.

BY
WILLIAM MURE
OF CALDWELL.

SECOND EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE only material alterations or augmentations that have been made in this edition, are: First, the incorporation in the text, of the few passages annexed to each volume of the first edition, under the head of "Additions and Corrections"; Secondly, the supplementary Appendix N. to Volume III., in reply to two Appendices to the second volume of Mr. Grote's History of Greece [3rd edit.], in which opinions expressed in this work have been controverted. With this exception, the author has not found it necessary to notice in detail the many, and for the most part indulgent and judicious criticisms, with which his labours have been honoured by the press of his own country.

He cannot however withhold a few remarks on the fourteen lines of unhandsome and disingenuous commentary, bestowed on his volumes by Professor Nitzsch of Kiel, in the preface to a recent work, entitled "*Sagenpoesie der Griechen*" (Kiel, 1852). It will be proper to apprise the English reader, that Professor Nitzsch was for many years distinguished among the scholars of Germany, by his zealous advocacy of the doctrine as to the Separate authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey, and that, in his lately published volume, he advances a new claim to the

consideration of the classical public, by an equally zealous repudiation of that doctrine.

In the passage of his Preface above referred to¹, he begins by stating: that "he has looked into an English work entitled a Critical History of Greek Literature, &c., but has not found occasion to make any use of its contents." Several reasons suggest themselves, for this unwillingness to aid the promulgation of that work among his own countrymen.

In the first place, a portion of it is devoted to the confutation of his once favourite Separatist theory, and to an exposure of the errors and fallacies of which he had been guilty in its support.

In the next place, Professor Nitzsch having now abandoned that theory, and declared his adherence to the doctrine of a single Homer, on grounds chiefly borrowed from² or anticipated in these pages, it was quite natural that he should wish his recantation to

¹ "Gleichzeitig mit dieser Arbeit, kam aus England ein im Ergebniss des Einen Homer beystimmiges Werk, von William Mure: Critical History &c., London, 1850. Diese Schrift hat der Verfasser eingesehen, aber zu ihrer Benutzung keine Veranlassung gefunden. Fast nur summarische Urtheile begegnen beiden Streitpunkten, und von Eingehen in die Nationale Betrachtung findet sich auch bey Mure nichts. Was dieser dagegen über die Erweisungen des individuellen Dichtergenius, oder die Homerische Kunst bemerkt, hoffe ich genauer characterisirt zu haben. Kann doch auch gewiss, keine Prüfung der fortschreitenden Poesie wahrhaft achtsam gewesen seyn, welche von Diaskeue nur die Möglichkeit zugiebt, und über diese Alterationen durch den rhapsodischen Vortrag sich so zweifelenthig äussert wie Mure diess thut."—Vorwort, p. v.

² Sometimes almost to the letter, as we could show by a collation of individual passages if necessary.

It may not be superfluous here to remark, that Prof. Nitzsch's attention was called to this work very shortly after its publication, in the spring of 1850, by a request on the part of a common friend, that he would review it for a German periodical with which that friend was connected. This request, as may be supposed under the circumstances, was not complied with.

appear spontaneous, rather than a concession to the arguments of, we believe, the only modern writer by whom the opinion to which he is now a convert, had been vindicated in a detailed and comprehensive form.

With the exception accordingly of the short paragraph of his preface here in question, explaining or affecting to explain the reasons for his contempt of our volumes, neither they nor their author have been mentioned, throughout Professor Nitzsch's 680 densely printed pages of diffuse commentary on the most threadbare subtleties of the Homeric controversy, and amid copious citations of the legion of other critics of every degree of importance or insignificance, who have taken part in it from the time of Wolf down to the present day.

Professor Nitzsch assigns as his first reason for considering our labours unworthy of his attention, that we have not entered into the "national consideration" of the Homeric question. We have some difficulty in apprehending the precise import of this mysterious phrase, and in particular, whether it alludes to the poet's Greek nationality, or to his German nationality. We have been the more at a loss, from observing that a like censure has been pronounced on Hermann, Lachmann, and other eminent scholars of his own country, whose Homeric nationality of both kinds is certainly more akin to his own than to ours. It is some consolation at least, in being subjected to so harsh a censure, to reflect that we have such distinguished companions in misfortune.

A second reason for his declining any particular notice of our opinions is: that "in so far as regards the illustration of Homer's genius and poetical art, he believes that he has himself treated that part of

the subject in a more satisfactory manner than we have." Nothing can be more natural! It is possible however that other, less partial arbiters, may not be quite so indulgent towards a writer who, after having during many years maintained that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were not by the same poet, —after having expatiated in volumes of subtle disquisition on the diversity of character in the two works, in composition and style, in historical, geographical, and mythological facts and allusions, in moral and religious doctrine, in notices of manners and customs, in language and dialect, as evidence of difference of age,—who after all this changes his mind, asserts both poems to be by the same author, and even speaks with a sneer (p. 412.) of the originators and supporters of his own former doctrine! It is possible we repeat, that with these antecedents of Professor Nitzsch before their eyes, less partial judges of his own genius, may question his being quite so accurate a judge of the genius of Homer as he himself imagines.

Professor Nitzsch, in the third place, gives the finishing blow to the author's pretensions to rank as a Homeric critic, by denying all competency for that office, to any one who expresses himself so doubtfully regarding what he calls, in the pedantic jargon of his own school, the *Diaskeuë*; or, in other words, regarding the interpolations or corruptions, to which the original text of the poet has been subjected by the early reciters and editors.

It is not true that we have expressed ourselves the least doubtfully on that subject. Nothing can be more explicit than the terms in which we have, on numerous occasions, admitted the existence of such blemishes. Our expressions of doubt refer solely to the

pretensions advanced, by rash and hypercritical commentators, to infallibility in their detection. It is true that, in regard to such questions, we have at all times been guided by the spirit of caution and forbearance so worthless in the estimation of Professor Nitzsch; but the absence of which has always appeared to us the ruling defect of the school to which he belongs, and the main obstacle to any practical good resulting from its labours. We have never, we readily admit, arrogated to ourselves the privilege of discarding at will as nongenuine, all those passages of either poem which may happen to stand in the way of some favourite theory or fancy of our own. For such is the true definition of the practice, which Professor Nitzsch considers so indispensable to success in Homeric criticism. No impartial student of the commentaries of Wolf or Heyne, of Hermann or Lachmann, of Payne Knight or Nitzsch, — advocates respectively of the Pisistratian system, the Digamma system, the Patchwork system, the Separatist system, or any other of the numerous modifications of conjecture or paradox, which have bewildered the German brain during the last sixty years, — can fail to perceive, that the dissecting knife of each successive experimentalist, has been directed with scrupulous accuracy to those parts of the Homeric body, on which it was necessary for the sake of his own particular theory to operate, whether in the mode of amputation or otherwise. If these celebrated masters who, however widely at issue on other points, are united in zeal for the mutilation of the poems, could have held a council-general, or congress, on the subject of “*Diaskeuë*,” and have arrived at some tangible conclusion, as to the precise extent to which the existing

text was to be cut up or pared down, even more merciful critics might have been disposed to pay deference to their verdict. But when we find one summarily rejecting what another as confidently retains ; a third condemning and ridiculing what a fourth vindicates and admires ; when we find each dashing out with his pen (like the passing dilettante with his brush, in the familiar story of the picture exposed to wayfaring criticism) the to him objectionable passages, until the whole becomes an undistinguishable mass of blots and scratches, can any reasonable man look on such proceedings as based on common sense or sound criticism ? In the text of this same volume of Professor Nitzsch where we are taunted for our over caution, Hermann and Lachmann, who have carried the work of destruction somewhat further than himself, are smartly attacked for their extravagance, and their views are denounced as "unintelligible," and "impossible," and "idle talk," &c. Hermann and Lachmann again, while each rejecting a great part, it may better be said the whole of the *Iliad*, as spurious, differ widely as to the mode in which the shreds and patches of Hexameter verse that result from their labours, are to be distributed among the legion of epic ballad-singers whom they have conjured into existence for behoof of their theories. In one thing however they cordially agree, and that is, in regarding Nitzsch's comparative moderation with as great scorn, as he does our disinclination to mix ourselves up in what appears to us a most unprofitable dispute.

It would seem however, that Professor Nitzsch's notion of a competent Homeric critic, in regard to this all important subject of "the *Diaskeuë*," is, not that he should agree with Professor Nitzsch as

to what are the spurious parts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but that he should be prepared at least to discard large portions of their text as spurious; no matter whether the same as, or different from, the portions so discarded by Professor Nitzsch himself. The only parallel case that occurs to us is in the old French farce of the *Frères féroces*; where the candidate for admission into a company of freebooters, is required to bring evidence that he has robbed or murdered a certain number of travellers, no matter whether that number should consist, in whole or in part, of near friends and relatives of other members of the band.

But the crowning proof of the rottenness of this system, as regards at least Professor Nitzsch's application of it, is to be found in the fact, that after having, some twenty years ago, in the exercise of this heaven-born faculty (Divination, as he himself defines it) of discerning sameness or diversity in epic authorship, proved, to his own satisfaction at least, in a voluminous treatise, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were by different poets,—he now, in a still more ponderous dissertation, rejects his former doctrine and arguments as false or fallacious, and maintains in a most authoritative tone, the very opinions which he formerly condemned and controverted. We have no wish to be severe on so valuable a convert to views, the establishment of which we have so greatly at heart. In justice to ourselves however, we must appeal to the impartial public, whether our method be not, of the two, the one best justified by its practical results. The "National consideration" by which we have been guided, and our mode of dealing with the doubtful portions of the text, have led us, from the

commencement of our Homeric researches, to the steady maintenance of truths, to which the "National consideration" of Professor Nitzsch, and his intuitive perception of "Diaskeuë," have blinded him during the best years of his life. The question at issue really lies between rashness and recantation on the one hand, and caution and consistency on the other.

Nor must it be overlooked, that Professor Nitzsch's abandonment of his wider range of Separatist heresy, has brought in its train a like abjuration of several subordinate points of heterodoxy, to which he till lately subscribed. Omega of the *Iliad* for example, formerly condemned by him, has now, also mainly on grounds anticipated in our pages, been admitted to its just Homeric rights, and place in the original poem. Let us hope that he may yet live to produce, after another interval of twenty years, another volume of some 700 pages, in which other portions of either poem, such as the eighth book of the *Odyssey* or the tenth of the *Iliad* may, on the same infallible authority, be relieved from the stigma of illegitimacy which, for the present, it is still his pleasure should attach to them.¹

The wonderful part of the matter is, that an

¹ We may take this opportunity of noticing an additional argument in favour of the original connexion of the tenth book with the rest of the poem, which has been communicated to us by an ingenious correspondent, the Rev. Mr. Blake of Stobo, too late unfortunately to be available in the part of our text on which it properly bears. In the first nine books of the poem, there is no allusion to any special military connexion or comradeship between Ulysses and Diomed. The subject of the tenth book hinges essentially on the formation of that comradeship. In the ensuing battle accordingly, of the eleventh book, these two heroes are found (v. 312. sqq.), still conjointly and in partnership, stemming the adverse tide of war.

The same ingenious communication also, in a series of illustrative details which we should gladly see in type, places in a striking light the poetical value, or even necessity, (more briefly alluded to in this volume p. 265.

author who has committed himself to so marvellous an extent, in the application of a favourite method of criticism in the gross, should still continue gravely to boast of the excellence of that method, and of his own peculiar skill in its management in detail. After having been so widely at fault in regard to two entire poems, he not only invites us to repose implicit confidence in his gift of inspiration, when brought to bear on individual passages of their text, but exultingly contrasts the rash spirit of adventure to which he owes the disasters of his previous voyage, with the caution and forbearance that have guided others in safety through the same dangerous course of navigation.

Of all qualifications for an office, the meanest is one which every body possesses. It would have been quite as easy for us as for Professor Nitzsch, to discard on all occasions as interpolations, such portions of either poem as did not happen to square with our own views. We might also, if ambitious of distinction in so questionable an arena of polemical gymnastics, have amused ourselves and wearied our readers, as he habitually does, by diffuse speculations on the nongenuine character of this or that verse or passage. Our reasons for avoiding, in as far as possible, such pedantic discussions, have been explained in several parts of this history, to the satisfaction we believe of that portion of our readers who unite common sense to the other qualifications of competent critics. And it would have been more to the purpose, and to his own credit, had Professor Nitzsch

sq.) of the tenth book, with its brilliant and cheering exploits, to account for the change of feeling in the army between the ninth and eleventh books, from despondency at the close of the one, to cheerful hope and confidence at the commencement of the other.

fairly met and combated those reasons, instead of indulging in supercilious taunts at our forbearance, such as could hardly fail to recoil upon himself.

In objecting however, to the manner in which he has abjured his late errors, we, in common with every true admirer of Homer, hail the fact of his conversion with sincere pleasure. We should be doing injustice to Professor Nitzsch, were we not to admit, that his elaborate support of the Separatist theory, and the influence of his casuistical arguments in blinding the eyes of less critical students to its fallacy, had placed him, for some time past, in the position of chief bulwark or champion of the old Wolfian heresy in the land of its birth. The other more licentious modifications of that heresy, which we have characterised above as the Patchwork and Pisistratian systems, and which he himself combats under the collective definition of the Little-lay theory, had long proved more than a surfeit, even to the proverbially capacious German appetite for literary paradox. In regard to them, a new generation had arisen which knew not Wolf or Heyne. The efforts even of such veteran giants in polemical casuistry as Hermann and Lachmann, were found insufficient to stem the tide of returning common sense; nor, on their late removal from the scene, does their mantle appear to have fallen on any worthy successor. Professor Nitzsch's surrender of the remaining stronghold of error, with the defence of which he had specially charged himself, will, it is hoped, form the closing act of a controversy, so little credible to the taste or the judgement of the present enlightened age.

Caldwell, Oct. 1854.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

As the first Book of this History is in itself of a more or less introductory nature, it has been thought advisable to avoid any undue accumulation of preliminary matter, by comprising in the opening chapter the greater part of those observations which would, in ordinary cases, be embodied in the preface to a work of this description. The remarks here subjoined relate merely to the arrangement of certain subordinate details of the text.

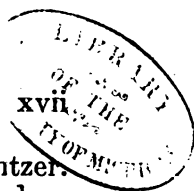
In the citation of authorities, it has been the Author's object to preserve a middle course, between that meagreness which presumes a degree of confidence in his own accuracy, such as he has no right to expect on the part of the reader, and that profusion of references, which tends rather to bewilder than to assist the student, in attempting to form his own judgement by an appeal to original sources. As a general rule, the vouchers for each fact or opinion have been limited to the text of one or two standard authors; reference being frequently made at the same time, for the benefit of those who may desire a more copious array of authorities, to other modern works in which they have been given in greater abundance. Occasionally however, where importance might seem to attach to the number as well as the value of the testimonies on any particular point, they have been quoted at greater detail on the margin of the Author's own page.

The antient classics have usually been cited according to the books, chapters, or other similar subdivisions of their text. In the case however of some, especially the more voluminous of those authors, such as Plato, Strabo, Plutarch, the references, in

conformity with what is still in these instances the usual practice, have frequently been made to the pages of the earlier standard editions. The numbers of those pages, as the critical student is aware, have been, as a general rule, noted by subsequent editors opposite to the corresponding subdivisions of the text, on the side margin of the pages of their own editions. In the citation of the Attic dramatists and of Pindar, poets whose metrical forms have afforded scope for much variety of arrangement to modern editors, the references are made to the text of the Leipzig Pocket Classics (Tauchnitz), unless where it is otherwise stated in the citation itself.¹ It could hardly happen but that, in the numerical details of so large a body of references, errors would occasionally find place. Every passage quoted has, however, been carefully verified in the original work; even therefore should the citation itself be at fault, the text appealed to will not be difficult to find, by aid of the copious indices with which editions of the classics are usually provided.

The Author cannot rate too highly his obligations to the zeal and industry of those, chiefly German, philologists, whose valuable collections of "Fragments," have done so much of late to mitigate the calamity sustained by the modern public, in the loss of the entire works which have supplied material for the labours of these meritorious scholars. Without the aid of their collections, the composition of several of the Author's own chapters, offering, as they do, a reconstruction as much as a history of the works to which they are devoted, would scarcely have been practicable. The most complete repertory of the fragments of epic literature treated in the second Book, especially of the Cyclic poems, and of those comprised under the

¹ In regard to Diogenes Laertius, an author very frequently quoted in parts of this history, it may be proper to remark, that, in the first two volumes, his text has been cited according to the chapters and sections of the edition of Tauchnitz; in the last volume, according to the paragraphs of the older editions.



title of Miscellaneous epic poems, is that of Düntzer. The occasional errors of its text have been checked, or its deficiencies made good, by the compilation embodied in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*; by that of Marckscheffel, for Eumelus, Cinæthon, and the Naupactica; by those of Müller and Wüllner for the Epic cycle; and by that of Leutsch for the Thebais. The best collection of the Fragments of Hesiod is that appended to the same work of Marckscheffel; a work containing a large mass both of valuable information and of sound criticism, on the various subjects of which it treats. The citation consequently of the Fragments of "Hesiod," and of the other poets in the compilation of Marckscheffel, will be made according to the numbers of his arrangement; in the citations of the Cyclic poems, and of the Miscellaneous epic poems, the numbers will be understood to be those of Düntzer; unless where, in either case, a different collection is named.

In respect to the Lyric poets, the compilations of Gaisford, Schneidewin, and Bergk, with the separate publications of Welcker, Liebel, Kleine, Matthiæ, Neue, and Bach¹, devoted to the remains of Alcman, Archilochus, Stesichorus, Alcæus, Sappho, and other authors of this period, leave probably little to desire or to hope, short of the discovery of the entire compositions of these illustrious poets. In the chapters devoted to their lives and works, the particular collection preferred as the standard text-book in each individual case will be specified.

In order to avoid that interruption of the just continuity of historical narrative, which would result from an accumulation, either in the body of the work or in the marginal notes, of the many illustrative or controversial details which are more or less indispensable to the full treatment of a subject of this nature,

¹ [To this list may now be added the *Lyra Græca* of Mr. J. Donaldson, (Edinb. 1854); which, as a selection, with its biographical notices and commentary, forms a valuable compendium for the young student.]

the Author has preferred annexing the greater portion of such matter in the form of Appendices to his volumes.

In the quotations of specimen passages from the lyric poets, translations of the texts quoted have been subjoined. This has been done with the hope, in which the Author cannot venture to feel very sanguine, of securing, even among non-Hellenist readers, some small addition to the very slender share of publicity or popularity now enjoyed by what is, beyond all comparison, the most brilliant period of Grecian or of European lyric poetry. In the quotations from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the other hand, the Greek text alone has been given. It could hardly, under any circumstances, have been proper or necessary to supply the reader with versions of passages cited from poems so universally familiar, through the medium of classical modern translations, to all well-educated persons. Nor, in the present case, would the peculiar kind of illustration which the Author had in view, in his often copious extracts from those poems, have been in any great degree promoted by an equally copious supply of English versions.

In his translations from the Lyric poets, he has done his best to embody the letter as well as the spirit of the original. Where however, as sometimes happened, it did not appear that these two objects could be combined, he has considered it more desirable to attempt, by a free paraphrase, to convey to the mind of the reader unversed in the original tongue, a real impression of the genius of the passage and of its author, than by a rigid adherence to turns of Greek idiomatic thought or phraseology, to run the risk of rendering what is spirited and expressive in the one language, pointless or unintelligible in the other.

February 20th, 1850.

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A

CRITICAL HISTORY,

&c.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.—MYTHICAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

PLAN AND PROPOSED EXTENT OF THE WORK.

1. HISTORY OF LITERATURE NEGLECTED AS A BRANCH OF POPULAR COMPOSITION.— 2. ADVANTAGES OF ITS BETTER CULTIVATION.— 3. ERAS OR PERIODS OF GRECIAN LITERATURE. JUST LIMITS OF THE SUBJECT.— 4. CHARACTERISTICS OF ITS EARLIER STAGES. "HOMERIC QUESTION." POETICAL PERIOD.

1. A PROMINENT feature of distinction between the early more genial stages of literary culture, and those of its maturity or decay, is the tendency of the human mind, in the former periods to produce for itself, in the latter to speculate on the works of others. This remark may indeed only appear strictly applicable to a state of society in which the origin and early progress of intellectual pursuit can be traced to the spontaneous efforts of native genius. The case is somewhat different where the first advances in the arts of civilised life have been made under the guidance of foreign or antient models. Hence among the nations of modern Europe, whose civilisation is founded on the ruins of

VOL. I.

B

that of classical antiquity, scholastic or grammatical science has invariably preceded or accompanied the rise of taste for original composition. Even here, however, in regard to the properly national department of letters, the principle involved in the distinction above drawn will be found to hold good. Whatever zeal may have been displayed during our own middle ages by the learned men of Italy, France, or England, as commentators of the antient classics, it was not until the art of composition in the native languages of those countries had reached a certain stage of maturity, that the productions of their native authors supplied any field for the labours of professional grammarians.

In Greece, the fountain head of all European culture, no such causes intervened to obstruct or derange the natural course of events. Her literature was, in all its branches, a plant of indigenous growth, indebted to no foreign aid for its nurture or improvement. Its noblest monuments emanate from a period long prior to the existence of scientific grammar or criticism; the rise of which arts as a distinct order of pursuit, in the Alexandrian schools, was simultaneous with the decline or extinction of creative genius.

History of
literature
neglected
as a branch
of popular
composition.

Upon the same principle may partly be explained, how, among the various branches of historical literature, one of the last to be cultivated should be the history of literature itself. This may, indeed, be considered as in some degree the necessary, as well as the natural, course of things. As events must have happened before they can be recorded, so works must have been written, and the art of composing them carried to some degree of perfection, before its

vicissitudes can become a subject of curious investigation. The indifference, however, which many nations have shown to a department of letters so attractive in itself, and so valuable in its results, can but partially be explained by any such cause. Literary history may, in truth, be ranked not only among the last, but the least cultivated branches of composition, both in antient and modern times. That the Greeks themselves should have shown so great an indifference to its value appears the more remarkable, when we consider the infinite number of channels in which, during their latter days, their over-exuberant genius found vent, and the voluminous library of works which it produced in the kindred class of subjects. Yet, among their legion of commentators and grammarians, there is no record of a historian of literature in the wider sense. Similar was the case with the Romans. It was hardly, indeed, to be expected, that a people so dependant for their progress in art and science on the models supplied by the Greeks, should open up for themselves any broad path of learned pursuit not previously trodden by their masters. Nor, on turning to our own commonwealth of letters, will it be found that this branch of composition, though not so entirely overlooked, has received the attention due to its claims. The literature of most European nations, that of our own country for example, has long since arrived at a stage which offers materials sufficiently varied and extensive for a great historical undertaking ; yet we possess no complete national work of this description, and few other countries can boast of one entitled to the rank which it ought to possess in a national library.

In regard to modern languages, the apparent anomaly may admit, in so far, of explanation or apology, that it is but as yesterday that, in comparison with those of classical antiquity, even the earliest cultivated among the former has furnished an adequate subject for enlarged historical treatment. Long before our own course of intellectual activity commenced, that of the Greeks had terminated; and their whole rich and valuable, though imperfect, bequest of literary materials has now been for centuries in the hands of the modern public. Considering, therefore, the large share of general attention which the monuments of Hellenic genius have attracted ever since the revival of learning in Europe; how dependant our own progress has been on the models which they supply; and the extraordinary amount of labour which has been and continues to be bestowed, often, it might almost be said, wasted, on the subordinate departments of speculative archæology; it may appear even still more surprising that no complete history of Grecian literature should have been produced in any modern tongue, than that the Greeks themselves should have failed to bequeath one.

Advantages
of its better
cultivation.

2. It were foreign to the present object, to speculate on the causes of this want of labourers in so fair and fertile a field. The advantages, however, derivable from its better cultivation are numerous and obvious. Every one must perceive how greatly the power of appreciating a work depends on a familiarity with the spirit, not only of the age which produced it, but of that which preceded or followed; on an insight into the habits of the author, the circumstances in which he composed, the models he studied, or the school to which he belonged. The investigation of

these points is the province of the literary historian. Nor must we overlook the value of his more limited branch of the art, in its bearings on the wider province of civil history. If an accurate knowledge of the political state of any period be requisite in order to appreciate its polite learning, no less essential is a familiarity with its classical productions to a just estimate of the course or causes of political events. It is true that literature reflects, but it is equally true that it always influences, and often regulates, the moral and political destinies of nations. Even admitting, however, that the literary department of history may not be the most practically useful, it is not, or ought not certainly to be, the least attractive. The aspect under which the political annals of society exhibit human character is often most offensive, tending to lower rather than to raise the estimate of our species. How often are the greatest events brought about by worthless or insignificant agents, or perhaps, to all appearance, the result of accident. How often will the exercise of a very ordinary capacity, combined with vice and selfishness, be seen triumphing, by the mere favour of circumstances, over the best-directed efforts of virtue and patriotism. The task of the literary historian, on the other hand, is to portray humanity solely or chiefly under its amiable and ornamental features. The proper materials with which he has to deal are wit and genius. Dulness and mediocrity are, by the fundamental rules of his art, debarred from honourable distinction; and if vice be admitted to a share, it is only when accompanied by the fascinations of genius or learning.

The present work has been undertaken with the hope of supplying the existing void in our national

library, in respect to that period of European culture which has furnished the standards of taste and models of excellence to all succeeding ages.

Æras or
periods of
Grecian
literature.

3. The literature of Greece classes itself almost spontaneously under six heads or periods, offering to the historian an equally apt arrangement of his subject.

I. The first, or Mythical period, comprises the origin and early culture of the nation and its language, with the legendary notices of those fabulous heroes and sages, to whom popular belief ascribed the first advances in elegant art or science, but of whose existence or influence no authentic monuments have been preserved.

II. The second, or Poetical period, extends from the epoch of the earliest authenticated productions of Greek poetical genius, through those ages in which poetry continued to be the only cultivated branch of composition, and terminates about the fifty-fourth Olympiad (B.C. 560).

III. The third, or Attic period, commences with the rise of the Attic drama and of prose literature, and closes with the establishment of the Macedonian ascendancy, and the consequent extinction of republican freedom in Greece.

IV. The fourth, or Alexandrian period, may be dated from the foundation of Alexandria, and ends with the fall of the Græco-Egyptian empire.

V. The fifth, or Roman period, succeeds, and extends to the foundation of Constantinople.

VI. The sixth, or Byzantine period, comprises the remaining ages of the decay and corruption of antient civilisation, until the final extinction of the classical Greek as a living language.

The strict order of this arrangement has only been infringed in the following pages in so far as certain heads of subject, though properly belonging to one period, might comprehend matter connected with, or common to, others. The inquiry, for example, into the Original genius of the Greek language and of Grecian literature, while embodying much of what may seem to appertain to later stages of their history, has been connected with the first, or Mythical period. It offers a general summary of the principles on which the whole subject will be treated; and, as proceeding upon data more or less familiar to the classical scholar, can hardly be said to anticipate the results of subsequent investigation.

That the author should be destined to complete his undertaking upon the extended plan above laid down is what the most sanguine anticipations of long life, health, leisure, or other requisites for the task, can hardly entitle him to hope. It may here, however, be proper to obviate a misapprehension apt to arise as to the scope and limits of any such work, and calculated to convey a still more serious impression of its extent or difficulty than the reality justifies. The literature of Greece comprehends, no doubt, in the wider sense, her philosophy and science, as well as her poetry, history, and drama. A place consequently belongs, among her authors, to Hippocrates and Euclid, as well as to Homer and Herodotus. The authors and works, however, of the former class supply subject for the history of science rather than of letters. Their value consists chiefly, if not solely, in the depth and soundness of their speculative doctrines, upon which the mere literary censor is under but little obligation to pronounce judgment.

Just limits
of the sub-
ject.

Those peculiarities of composition or style, which in the more popular branches of writing are the chief objects of critical animadversion, here assume a secondary importance. Hence, by the received courtesy in such cases, the historian of literature, if not altogether free from the obligation to admit such works among his materials, is, at the most, bound to devote to them but a limited share of attention.

Character-
istics of its
earlier
stages.

4. But, even with this restriction, the subject is one of formidable extent, and encumbered with difficulties, the nature of which can be rightly appreciated by those alone who have ventured closely to grapple with them. All inquiry into the history of a language must be based on a previous acquaintance with that of the people by whom it is spoken. In our own state of society, where the political vicissitudes of each nation, from the period of its first settlement in its present seats, are matter of comparative notoriety, the historian finds this primary head of investigation already so far prepared to his hand, as to coalesce easily with the general course of his subject. In primeval Greece it is involved in deep obscurity, and an apparently inextricable maze of controversy. That fabulous uncertainty in which the remote annals of every people are more or less enveloped, here assumes the form of the most complicated system of figurative mythology ever devised by the liveliest fancy or the most subtle ingenuity. Nor in the case of the Greeks, as in that of most other nations, is this darkness confined to their barbarous ages. It extends over a period in which they had already made great advances, not only in all the elementary arts of life, but in the refinement of their language and in elegant composition. The obscurity

may even be said to increase, rather than diminish, as we enter upon that ostensibly more real and practical age, when individual works and authors present themselves in tangible forms to the contemplation. In the modern republic of letters, the appearance of those great masters whose creations form in after times the standards of excellence, coincides with a forward stage of civilisation and well-defined epochs of history. In Greece, not only the period at which they flourished, the place of their birth, and the circumstances of their lives, are unknown, but their very existence has been called in question. In the present age, more especially, the energies of many eminent critics have been exhausted in attempts to prove their individual personality to be illusive, and the supposed monuments of their genius but elaborate specimens of the book-making artifice of a comparatively recent period.

Another question of vital importance in the history not only of Greek but of universal literature, is that relative to the introduction and early use of alphabetic writing. Of this branch of inquiry it may be said as of those above noticed, that in proportion as it is simple and easily dispatched in the annals of modern culture, it is here obscure and enigmatical. It has, with the last and present generation of scholars, been commonly embraced under the single head familiarly called "the Homeric question." That arrangement, however, will here, for reasons to be assigned in their proper place, be set aside, and to each subject will be allotted its own separate share of attention.

On turning to the Homeric question itself, in the more restricted sense, when we consider the learning,

Homeric
question.

ingenuity, and voluminous nature of the works devoted to its treatment during the last half-century, all, it might seem, that could now be required of the general historian were, according to the usual practice in such cases, to condense the materials at his disposal into a few concise and comprehensive chapters. With every respect, however, for the zeal and ability of those researches, we have found them still far from supplying even the elementary data for a final adjustment of the more delicate points at issue. In regard especially to one, and that the most important head of the whole subject, the internal evidence of the poems, despite the universal admission that from this source solely or chiefly can we hope for any real light on the obscurities of their history, we look in vain for any analysis of their text upon such enlarged and impartial principles as alone can insure distinct historical results. Every step, indeed, in the progress of our own investigations, by the deeper insight afforded into the beauties, the peculiarities, even the blemishes, which reflect the entire genius of "Homer," has tended more and more to the conviction that, if they have ever been fully appreciated, they have not hitherto been critically analysed or illustrated as they deserve, for the benefit of those who may themselves have less leisure or industry for such an undertaking. The analysis¹, therefore, of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which will occupy so large a portion of the second book of this work, seemed, even apart from its bearings on controversial points,

¹ Its necessity and importance have been pointedly and eloquently enforced by Sir E. Bulwer (*Athens*, i. viii. 6.). Such an opinion comes with still greater authority from one of the chiefs of the popular literature of the day, than from a professional scholar.

in itself a desirable contribution to the history of literature. No one who rightly estimates the spirit which animates those poems, the principles of their structure, or the characteristic properties of their style, can fail to perceive their boundless influence on the whole subsequent destinies of elegant culture in Greece and Europe. Homer is the father, not only of all classical poetry, but of all elegant composition. The family resemblance, in its various forms and degrees, can be clearly traced through every succeeding generation down to the present day. With his own countrymen he was the undisputed fountain head of excellence: his supremacy was equally acknowledged by their Italian neighbours; and by the joint influence and authority of the two races has been extended, directly or indirectly, over the civilised world. Homer is, as it were, the heart from which the life-blood has circulated, by however intricate a maze of arteries and veins, to the most distant extremities of the entire body of polite learning. A thorough insight, therefore, into the nicer mechanism of his works, is not merely indispensable to any clear apprehension of their author's genius, or of the circumstances under which they were composed: it supplies at the same time a complete code of those elementary laws, by the observance of which the art of composition has been matured and carried to perfection, and, in so far, a test of the degree in which Homer's successors in every age may have emulated his excellence or been influenced by his example.

The period comprised in the volumes now offered to the public terminates about the first dawn of that Athenian ascendancy in every branch of art and

Poetical
period.

science which constitutes, in familiar estimation, the most brilliant era of classical antiquity. Their contents may therefore appear to offer comparatively limited sources of interest to the scholar of the present day. It must be remembered, however, that the inferior celebrity now enjoyed by these early authors, as compared with their successors of the Attic period, is in no degree attributable to any inferiority of merit on the part of the former. The difference is to be sought solely or chiefly in the circumstance, that, while so many masterpieces of the Attic poets and their contemporaries have been preserved, the works of earlier date which have survived the ravages of time and barbarism amount, if we except the poems of "Homer" and "Hesiod," to little more, even in the case of the most favoured authors, than a stock of remains just sufficient, by their own excellence, to embitter our regret for the loss of the entire body to which they belonged. Yet the list of names represented by these remains comprehends, in regard more especially to the lyric branches of poetical composition, a greater number of authors for whom the excellence of their entire works procured from the native public the highest award of fame and popularity than is to be found in the whole subsequent annals of classical literature. Among these names it may suffice to mention that of Archilochus, alone, among the successors of Homer, classed by the native critics as his rival in brilliancy and variety of genius; that of Sappho, equally supreme in the tender departments of lyric song; those of Alcæus, Tyrtaeus, Stesichorus. Weighed against these five names alone, those of the most illustrious lyric poets of succeeding ages, Simonides, Anacreon, even Pindar, are light in the scale.

If to these great lyric masters be added, together with Homer and Hesiod, the variety of miscellaneous poets, epic, genealogical, satirical, mystic, and didactic, of whose styles of composition several seem to have been exclusively proper to this period, it may claim to rank as one of the most fertile, as well as brilliant and original, in the annals of Grecian literature. The personal biographies also of many of these authors, of Archilochus, Tyrtæus, Alcæus, Sappho, Epimenides, and others, possess a peculiar interest, as well from the eccentric features and broad lights and shadows of human character which they exhibit, as from the vital connexion in many cases between the destinies of the men and those of their native commonwealths, or of the Hellenic nation at large.

From these various considerations, it has been an especial object with the author to exhibit both the literary and biographical features of this less familiar part of his subject in the fullest and clearest light which the existing materials for its treatment were calculated to supply.

CHAP. II.

HISTORICAL VALUE OF GREEK MYTHICAL LEGEND.

1. DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF MYTHOLOGY AND OF HISTORY.—2. GREEK MYTHICAL LEGEND, HOW FAR FOUNDED ON FACT. ARGUMENTS ON THE AFFIRMATIVE SIDE.—3. ANALOGY OF AUTHENTIC HISTORY.—4. ARGUMENTS ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE. HERO WORSHIP.—5. HUMAN APOTHEOSIS PECULIAR TO GRÆCO-PELAGIC SUPERSTITION.—6. BEARINGS OF THE CUSTOM ON THE PRESENT QUESTION.—7. HOMER'S CYCLE OF HEROIC LEGEND.—8. EPONYME HEROES. MYTHICAL CHRONOLOGY.

Distinctive
character-
istics of
mythology
and history.

1. THE history of every language is inseparable from that of the people by whom it is spoken. Nations may, indeed, be subjected to momentous revolutions without any sensible change in their mother-tongue: but a language can rarely, if ever, undergo vital alteration, unless in connexion with some parallel vicissitude of political destiny. It is in that earliest period of society to which attention is here more immediately directed, that, in the case of the Greeks, importance mainly attaches to this connexion; an importance, unfortunately, much enhanced by the obscurity in which the subject is involved. A want of classical authorities cannot, indeed, be pleaded. The difficulty lies rather in the shadowy unsubstantial nature of the copious mass at our disposal; still more, perhaps, in the variety of opinions as to the mode in which the historian may be entitled to avail himself of their aid. It becomes, therefore, in some measure necessary, before entering on any such inquiry, to offer some explanation of the principles on which it will be conducted, and of the author's views as to the nature and value of the existing data for its guidance.

That the voluminous body of popular Greek tradition, which avowedly forms the sole existing record of this primitive age, is essentially fabulous and legendary, will not be disputed by any intelligent scholar of the present day. To pronounce, however, as has been done in certain modern schools, the whole of that tradition, both in its substance and in its details, to be altogether false and visionary, appears a stretch of paradox little less extreme than that of the old sect of mythologers, who assumed the entire succession of gods and heroes to have been mortal kings, warriors, or sages, and the adventures recorded of them to present, under allegorical disguise, the real facts of primeval history. Any elaborate analysis of the comparative merits of these conflicting theories, or of the intermediate views promulgated in the wide field of controversy which they open up, were beyond the present purpose. A few general definitions will, however, be necessary, in order to explain, and it is hoped with the majority of readers, to justify, the position which has here been taken up on the debatable ground.

The mythology of any people, in the wider sense of the term, embraces the whole body of national tradition, emanating from those remote ages when the spirit of accurate inquiry was yet dormant, and artificial aids to the transmission of knowledge were unknown or imperfect. In such a state of society, both historical events and religious doctrines are communicated through the medium of the imagination rather than of the reason, in an ornamental or exaggerated form, often under the disguise of symbol or allegory.

History, on the other hand, while exclusively

occupied in recording facts, presents, or professes to present them in their substantial reality.

It is more easy, however, to apprehend the difference between mythology and history, than to distinguish where, in the annals of any people, the one terminates and the other commences. As it is the blending of truth and fiction, of the real and ideal, which forms the distinctive feature of genuine national legend, so it is in the gradual ascendancy of the one over the other, with the advance of intellectual culture, that the transition from mythology to history takes place. A purely mythical period might, perhaps, be most nearly defined : that in which the art of writing is unknown, or so little practised, that memory constitutes the sole means of transmitting knowledge. The habit of recording events in writing might, with similar propriety, be described as the characteristic of authentic history. This, however, becomes a theoretical rather than a practical distinction, where, as in the case here immediately in point, so much uncertainty exists as to the epoch when the art of writing was first introduced, or the extent to which it may have been cultivated in early times. There can also be no doubt that written records of contemporaneous events may abound at periods when the more popular and generally accredited annals are embodied in essentially mythical forms : nor is it less certain, on the other hand, that even professional prose writers of history, in semibarbarous ages, often give little more than the substance of the vulgar legends, in a more methodical perhaps, but scarcely more authentic form than the poetical authorities from whom they borrow.

That alone can be considered as a strictly historical period, in which the art of writing, and the

materials for its exercise, are universally prevalent, and the course of events, by its means, is habitually and systematically recorded. Such a state of things can first be recognised in Greece about the time of the Persian war.

In reckoning back from this fully enlightened epoch, in the history of any people, towards their remote mythical ages, or rather in reckoning from their mythical ages down to the fully enlightened era, there must occur a point where light begins to prevail over darkness; where, in the blending above described of the real and the fictitious element of tradition, the former, which in the end acquires the complete mastery, first begins to gain the ascendant. This line of distinction is perhaps more clearly marked in Greece than in most other countries, by the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, and the ensuing final settlement of the dominant Hellenic races in the seats which they afterwards permanently occupied. The rude patriarchal polity and martial habits of the previous generations were now gradually superseded by a taste for civil rights and constitutional government; and the first gleams of authentic history appear in the more general practice of recording important events in writing. There seems, indeed, plausible ground of belief, that dates and genealogies, however meagre and imperfect, were so recorded during the whole or the greater part of this period.¹ Hence, too, may be explained why the epoch of the Dorian conquest closes the heroic age of Greece; or, in other words, why the subjects of heroic celebration have been, by a standard law of Greek poetical literature, selected exclusively from

¹ See Book III. Ch. vii. § 9.

the antecedent era. This may be attributed partly, perhaps, to the superior brilliancy of its events and achievements; chiefly, however, to the greater scope which its obscurity held out to the license of fable and poetical embellishment.

Greek mythical legend, how far founded on fact.

2. From the epoch, therefore, of the Dorian settlement down to the Persian war, Greek tradition presents, with whatever alloy of fiction, a more or less connected series of facts: beyond the former epoch, its details, at least, are altogether fabulous and poetical. Hence a wide discrepancy of opinion exists, as to the degree of credit to which they may be entitled. The old, and still the more generally received, doctrine is, that these heroic adventures, in so far as offered to us in human form or substance, embody, however vaguely, certain fundamental truths of early history. This view, however, has been repudiated in some recent schools of mythological interpretation, and all reality has been denied either to facts or persons prior to the Dorian conquest.¹ Events, it is admitted, must have happened, and heroes must have lived, before that date; "but the received traditions concerning them offer," it is maintained, "merely the shadow, not the substance, of men or things. The legend of Troy, for example, is at the most but

¹ See K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, and other authorities accumulated by Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. i. ch. xvi.; with his own elaborate commentary on the same subject. To most of what is urged by these authors, as to the error of the old pragmatical mode of interpretation, we readily subscribe. But the rigid line of dogmatical distinction which they would draw between history and fiction, appears no less liable to the charge of fallacy and hypercriticism. There is certainly no argument urged by them against a substratum of fact in the legend of Troy, which would not, if consistently followed out in principle, as completely disprove the existence of Charlemagne as that of Priam and Agamemnon.

a dim reflexion of the fact that early warfare existed between the tribes of the western and those of the eastern coast of the Ægæan. The vicissitudes of the contest, as worked up in the Homeric poems, are but types of human conduct or destiny; and the chiefs and heroes celebrated represent the tutelar deities worshipped by those primeval barbarous warriors."

For the better elucidation of this subtle question, recourse must be had to those first principles of human nature in which all popular tradition has its origin; and which, as operating in every state of society, and forming the foundation of all history, of all poetry, and by consequence of all literature, would here, apart from any secondary considerations, demand a certain share of attention.

The disposition to preserve the memory of past events, of the great actions of our forefathers, or of the benefits conferred by them on posterity, is a species of rational instinct forming, perhaps, the chief distinction between man in his rudest state and the brute creation. This disposition is, accordingly, found to prevail more generally, like other instincts, in a primitive than in a civilised state of society, in proportion as in the former the cares of the present are less numerous, and the imagination is more free to dwell on the past; more, consequently, among a pastoral than a commercial people, more in the peasant than in the artisan. In different nations, its influence will be found much in the scale of their mental capacities. Among the Negroes and North American Indians, races inferior in intellectual power to those of Europe and Asia, it seems to be comparatively torpid. In the Indo-Germanic family of man-

kind, especially the Greek or Pelasgic branch of that family, it has been most powerfully implanted, and most extensively developed.

To the same source from which the legends of a simple people derive their permanence, may be traced the mode in which they are embodied. The same veneration for the great men of past ages which impels their descendants to celebrate their actions, also creates a disposition to exaggerate and embellish them. This tendency to exaggerate, when reduced to system, is called mythology; the tendency to embellish is called poetry. Not only was the subject to be ennobled, but the language to be raised above that of ordinary life, by combining elegance and dignity of expression with the harmonious flow of metrical numbers. Metre was also required to assist the memory, and, in the absence or imperfection of other technical aids, to secure to these primitive attempts at historical composition, what was in fact their original object, permanent preservation.

Arguments
on the af-
firmative
side.

If this view of the rise and genius of legendary history be correct, the advocate of the older more popular opinion might argue that "the leading traditions of heroic Greece, the wars of Troy and Thebes for example, fulfil the conditions above laid down for the blending of the poetical and the real in their composition. It cannot reasonably be doubted, that martial enterprises were undertaken by primitive Peloponnesian and Thessalian chiefs, and that they fought and acted much as Agamemnon and Achilles fight and act in the Iliad: and it is at least as probable that their wars were waged in the country where Homer describes them, as elsewhere. Nor, therefore, is it easy to see why the descendants of

those chiefs should not have represented their actions poetically speaking, as they were performed, and called the heroes by their own names, rather than by other fictitious titles. Although, in remote periods of antiquity, pure fiction may gradually usurp the place of traditional history, the case here in question is one of those where such a change is least likely to have happened. Admitting the first commencement of authentic record to coincide with the Dorian conquest of Southern Greece, and the main facts of that revolution to be historical, it must be remembered that the generation celebrated in the *Iliad* is represented in the same accounts as scarcely a degree removed from that by which the same Dorian conquest was achieved. It is surely far from probable that truth should so suddenly take the place of fiction; that the heroes who figure in Greek legend should be allegorical personages up to the moment when the Dorians crossed into Peloponnesus, and should then at once be converted into real kings and warriors."

3. The want of direct historical light on the legendary annals of Greece may, perhaps, in some degree be supplied by the analogy of corresponding periods in modern times, on which that light shines more clearly. In our own middle ages, lines of authentic chronicle and of fabulous tradition are frequently observed running parallel to each other, without, however, any appearance of the former exercising an influence on the latter, either in supplying its facts or correcting its fictions. If in these cases the substance of the leading events of the prose record is found universally or generally embodied under the usual mythical disguise in the poetical

Analogy of
authentic
history.

legend, we have a fair ground of inference, that in other cases, where no such direct evidence exists, poetical tradition may comprise real as well as figurative matter. There can be no doubt that this correspondence between poetry and history is commonly, if not invariably, perceptible, where opportunity occurs for tracing it, in the genuine heroic legend of a people in a state of society similar to that described in the *Iliad*. The examples supplied by the epic minstrelsy of the modern middle ages are numerous and obvious. The poetical legends of Etzel and Dieterich, in the Teutonic, and of Beowulf, Hengst, and Horsa, in the Saxon romance; of the Cid in the Spanish; or of Chevy Chase and Otterburn in our own border chivalry, are, in their origin and essence, as little connected with authentic history in the technical sense, as are the poems of Homer. Another case, perhaps still more in point, is that of the Servian heroic songs¹, between which and the Homeric poems analogy has frequently been traced in illustration of other speculative points of Homeric criticism. To these examples might be added the ballads of primeval Rome, the mythical details of which Niebuhr, no very indulgent authority in such cases, has shown to have been worked up, from the age of Servius downwards, on the same kernel of authentic record which has supplied material for his own critical history. Had the parallel letter of monkish or pontifical chronicle, which in each of these cases establishes the connexion between fact and fable, been swept away, the element of truth in the poems would not the less remain. And does

¹ Ranke, *Hist. of Servia*, Mrs. Kerr's Transl. 2nd ed. p. 80. sqq.

not the law of historical analogy justify the converse of the rule? Had the *Iliad* been composed in an age when some barbarous chronicler, native or foreign, some Jornandes or Paulus Diaconus, had possessed the means of transmitting in doggerel prose the main facts which that poem embodies, might we not now possibly be as well satisfied of the existence of Priam and Agamemnon, as of that of Attila, the Cid¹, and Percy Hotspur?

There are also plausible grounds for assuming the basis of fact to be broader and more solid, both as to persons and events, in the Hellenic and Latin, than in the Teutonic or Scandinavian minstrelsies, to which appeal is usually made in illustration of this question by the more sceptical school of commentators.² The mythology where Attila, Theodoric and Beowulf figure as prominent characters, extending over a wide expanse of country and a great variety of races, afforded a corresponding scope for the corruption of pure tradition, or the license of popular fiction. The reverse was the case in Greece and Latium,

¹ The poem and hero of the Cid offer, perhaps, the nearest parallel, in some respects a very close one, to the *Iliad* and Achilles of Homer. The Cid is pronounced by Southey the oldest and best epic poem in the Spanish language. Its origin, like that of the *Iliad*, is involved in deep obscurity. Its adventures are highly mythological. Yet the real existence of its hero, and the substratum of history in its action, are beyond the reach of controversy. Conf. Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.* vol. I. p. 11. sqq.

² The romances of chivalry, to which appeal is often also preferred in the same quarters, such as Parsival, Sangreal, or Amadis de Gaule, fictions for the most part of fantastical sophists of the corrupt middle age of modern literature, can hardly claim to rank as popular legend at all, still less form a criterion for estimating that embodied in the Homeric poems. One might as reasonably adopt the Pilgrim's Progress or Gulliver's Travels as a test of the veracious element in the ballads of Chevy Chase and Otterburn.

narrow regions, with a limited population of the same race, and united by a powerful bond of national feeling. The finer taste and more accurate genius by which early Greek literature is distinguished, would also counteract the tendency to such extravagant exaggeration of facts, or substitution of persons as the parallel course of real history enables us to detect in the "romantic" cycle of epic tradition. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* afford a striking illustration of the distinction above drawn. In spite of their copious ingredient of supernatural mechanism, and its officious interference with human freedom of action, whoever peruses those poems in an impartial spirit, must be sensible of a greater tone of reality in the portions of their narrative which profess to be real, than in any modern composition of the same nature. Allowance may also, perhaps, be made for the different state of art and civilisation. It is difficult to class the men who erected or inhabited the noble structures of Mycenæ, and who certainly preceded the Dorian conquest, in the same rank of mythical nonentity as the barbarous semidæmons who figure in Northern romance: we feel as if the existence of the former ought to have been as intimately associated with their residence, even in the popular legend, as that of the Egyptian kings with their pyramids and palaces. As further evidence of the ingredient of truth in the legend of the Trojan war, might be urged the vital connexion, in the way of cause and effect, between that event and so important a chapter in the real history of Greece as the colonisation of Asia Minor; a connexion, partly immediate, partly indirect, through the Dorian occupation of the mother-country, which latter event, in every version of

the legend, is but a few generations removed from the conquest of the Troad.¹

To the above evidence, derived from individual cases of historical parallel, another more general argument may be added from the same source. There is scarcely a people of historical times, but can boast of some real series of heroic adventure, around which the poetical sympathies of later generations are fondly concentrated. The Christian races, as a body, look back to their crusades or sacred wars, as their common repertory of chivalrous exploit or epic celebration, with the same feelings as the Hellenes looked back to the siege of Troy. In this wider range, therefore, of common heroic adventure, as in other more local instances already quoted, the really national subjects of minstrelsy are acknowledged to rest, in our own state of society, on some solid foundation of events and characters. None, however, of the nations of modern Europe can claim to surpass, or even equal, the Hellenes, in zeal for the memory of their great men and glorious achievements. It is the more difficult therefore to believe, as the modern theory relative to the Greek heroic age assumes, that these same Hellenes should, alone among nations under similar circumstances, have bestowed their whole stock of chivalrous sympathy on an entirely fictitious set of persons and enterprises, and adopted as the basis of their history, geography, and genealogy, the events of a war which never took place, and the destinies of heroes who never existed.

4. Thus far the light of authentic history seems to Arguments

¹ See further, Book II. Ch. xviii. § 7.

on the negative side.
Hero-worship.

favour the popular mode of interpretation. From the same source, however, are derived some of the most plausible arguments on the other side. "A certain amount of the supernatural may, it is said, be conceded, as the usual characteristic of all heroic legend, even when founded on fact. But upon no sound principle of historical analogy can we reconcile with a human personality those divine attributes, and that immediate descent from, and connexion with, the popular deities, which form the common privilege of the Greek heroes; still less can we explain the fact of the more distinguished among them having been themselves worshipped as gods in the national pantheon. The true explanation of these divine attributes offers itself obviously in the parallel mythology of the Teutonic romances; in which are frequently found figuring, as real kings and warriors, beings whom the subsidiary light of history proves to have been originally gods, transformed in the fable into men. The same law of historical analogy, therefore, to which appeal has just been made, warrants the inference, as to the heroes of Troy, that the divine element of their nature was the groundwork on which their human personality was afterwards engrafted." In order to test the validity of this conclusion, it will be necessary once more to revert to first principles.

The value of all historical analogy, as a means of critical illustration, must depend on a right estimate of the special circumstances by which the cases supplying the parallel may happen to be distinguished. In the present instance, for example, no appeal could properly be made to the theological element of Teutonic fable in elucidation of the Greek heroic mythology, unless on the understanding that the fundamental principles of the two systems of Paganism were

the same; or at least that no such difference existed between them as to render illogical or improbable in the one case, conclusions which might be probable or certain in the other. It happens, however, that, in respect to the peculiar feature now in question, the Hellenic system of polytheism is marked by characteristics exclusively proper to itself, and which preclude, or rather reverse, the test of analogy which it has here been proposed to derive from Teutonic romance. In order rightly to appreciate this distinction, it will be proper to take a concise view of the various elements of which the Greek pantheon is composed.

These may be divided into three classes: the first comprises the purely divine portion of the system, the ideal personifications of the Godhead and of its attributes, common in a great measure to the Greeks with other Pagan nations. These are the personages who figure as the great gods or royal family of Olympus, whose divine nature is untainted by any human alloy, and whose origin no rational interpreter has ever proposed to trace to a historical source.

To the second class belongs the inferior race of figurative abstractions, under which the lively imagination of the Greeks embodied its conceptions of the ordinary phenomena of the moral or material world. Such are the Muses, Graces, Litæ, Parcæ, and other representatives of human action, suffering, or attribute; together with the River Gods, Nymphs, Naiads, Tritons, and the rest of the subordinate train of terrestrial and marine deities.

The third class comprises the Demigods, or Heroes, the human, as distinguished from the purely cosmogonical, elements of the system. This class, according to the popular opinion, consists, in great part at least, of distinguished mortals promoted after death by an

admiring posterity to divine honours. As forming by far the most important part of the system in connexion with the present question, it must here be submitted to a somewhat closer analysis.

Human
apotheosis
peculiar to
Græco-
Pelagic
supersti-
tion.

5. The principle of human apotheosis, or, in other words, of awarding divine honours to mortals, is not only one of the most prominent characteristics of Helleno-Pelagic superstition, but one which distinguishes it from every other antient form of Paganism. Among the Egyptians, Syrians, and other civilised nations to the eastward, unlimited as was the scope given to the representation of the Deity under human type, the promotion of mortal men to the rank of gods was altogether excluded; or, if any approach to such a thing can be recognised, it must be considered in the light of anomaly, or violation of established rule. Among the Greeks, on the other hand, the practice can be traced with singular consistency, from the earliest period of which tradition has preserved any memorial, down to the final extinction of classical heathenism. But the principle itself was too inveterate to give way even to a change of religion. It was transferred from the Temple to the Church, from the heathen to the Roman Catholic mythology, in which system the canonised saints and martyrs offer the closest analogy to the deified Pagan heroes.¹

The most subtle casuistry can point out no generic distinction between the apotheosis of kings or great men in the historical ages of Greece and Rome, and

¹ This analogy is admitted, and aptly expressed, in the title "Divi," common to both Pagan and Roman Catholic demigods. The distinction between classical and oriental superstition, as transferred to modern times, is also observable in the strenuous repudiation by the Mahomedans of all such hero-worship, the prevalence of which in the Roman Catholic church has always supplied the Moslem divines with one of their favourite weapons of polemical argument against Christianity.

that of popular heroes in fabulous antiquity. Whatever difference may exist is to be sought, not in the spirit of the system, but in that of the times or circumstances. The identity of the system itself distinctly appears in the modifications it underwent with the vicissitudes of society. In the first place it may be observed, that, while the practice of apotheosis was common to all or most of the Græco-Pelasgic tribes, to those namely, connected in blood and language with the Hellenes, no vestige of it can be discovered in any other quarter. In Italy we find it common to the Romans, a people of kindred stock, while among the Etruscans, a nation to all appearance of radically different origin, there is no trace of it whatever. As little can it be recognised among the Germans or Celts. It is further remarkable, that, in the dark as well as the historical ages of classical Paganism, it is exemplified chiefly in monarchical, and rarely, if ever, in republican states. This is in close harmony with the law of nature to which its origin has here been traced. It is chiefly in such a state of society that individuals are enabled to acquire a degree of power or influence over their fellow-men on earth, sufficient to secure them a corresponding homage in the next world. In historical times, accordingly, the practice was carried to the greatest excess during the Roman empire; a period which, from the spread of knowledge and religious scepticism, might otherwise have been supposed least favourable to such extravagance. Other examples might be cited among the Spartans¹, who, adhering to monarchical

¹ Of Lycurgus, Herodot. i. lxi. ; Paus. iii. xvi. 5. ; Aristot. ap. Plut. in vit. xxxi. : of Lysander, Plut. in vit. p. 443. ; conf. Hesych. et Phot. v. *Λυσάνδρου* : of Brasidas, Thucyd. v. xi. No such distinction was ever conferred by republican Athens on any one of her citizens.

forms, though tempered by republican institutions, prided themselves also on heroic simplicity of manners. The Macedonian monarchy offers illustrations no less to the point than those derived from imperial Rome. All these examples are marked by the same spirit. The motives which deified a Cæsar, an Alexander, a Lysander, a Lycurgus, an Agamemnon, were the same. The faith with which their divine character was admitted, or the devotion with which they were worshipped, might vary with times or manners: but the original principle of apotheosis is identical throughout.

Bearings of
the custom
on the pre-
sent ques-
tion.

6. The critic, therefore, who desires to avail himself of the light of history, in elucidating the obscurities of heroic fable, will reason as follows: During the whole period of classical antiquity on which that light clearly shines, there exists proof of the prevalence of this custom, under the same forms described in mythical tradition. By reference to historical analogy, it were as unreasonable to deny, on the mere ground of supernatural attribute, the real personality of Achilles as that of Vespasian. Were we, then, after tracing the practice from the Cæsars back to the Ptolemies, to Lysander, to Lycurgus, suddenly, on arriving at the epoch in which it takes its origin, to deny its existence, and, appealing to an age and a people of different manners and religion, to substitute in its stead another practice, of which Grecian history furnishes no example, we should obviously be shutting out historical light, instead of availing ourselves of its aid. Perhaps, however, the most pointed illustration of the Greek system of apotheosis, and, generally, of the basis of fact in classical fable, is that derived from the saint-worship

of the Roman Catholic church. The arguments by which it has been proposed to set aside the human personality of Agamemnon or Achilles would equally disprove that of St. Benedict or St. Francis. Many of the Roman Catholic saints are gifted, in the legends which supply the chief or only record of their existence, with attributes still more supernatural than those ascribed by Homer to the warriors of Troy. They have been promoted to celestial honours, and worshipped, in all essential respects, as were the Greek demigods, or deified heroes. Yet no one denies that a large portion of them were real characters, connected with historical events. Nor is it easy to see how an opposite inference can fairly be drawn relative to the Greek heroes from any similar process in the Greek religion.

No less evident is it, on the other hand, from the same analogy of those chapters of mythology on which the light of history shines most clearly, that, in numerous instances, what were at first but visionary objects of superstitious worship may have been invested in popular fable with human attributes. The admission, therefore, as a general rule, on the grounds above stated, that certain leading heroes of Thebes or Troy may have been real men, can as little extend to them all, as a similar admission in regard to the Roman Catholic saints or martyrs would involve a belief in the human existence of all those holy personages; many of whom are as purely fictitious as the Muses, Fauns, or Dryads of antiquity. Any attempt to draw a specific line of distinction between the real and the fictitious element of either the Romish or the Pagan Calendar, must, in the absence of all authentic criteria, be obviously hypercritical. The views, on the

other hand, which speculative interpreters may be led to adopt on the unsubstantial data at their disposal, will vary so widely in different minds as scarcely to leave a common basis on which to reason with each other. The man who, by a careful study of Homer, or the secondary organs of Homer's cycle of mythology, has been led to the conviction that no such town as Troy or no such warrior as Achilles ever existed, will not easily be persuaded that he is in error by the arguments of those who through the same process have been led to an opposite conclusion. Nor will the adherent of the popular doctrine be more readily converted by his sceptical opponent. Beyond the admission, therefore, on the grounds above explained, of a certain basis of fact in the leading adventures of the ante-Dorian period, such as the Trojan and Theban wars, the more cautious advocate of that doctrine will not be disposed to extend his speculations.¹

Homer's
cycle of
heroic
legend.

7. With respect indeed to the Homeric cycle of heroic tradition, this inquiry involves to the literary critic a somewhat deeper interest than attaches to it as a mere question of historical fact. Every reader of taste and feeling must be conscious how essential to the full effect of a great national poem is a conviction that its principal characters should have been real men, not mere creations of fancy, or types of moral and metaphysical abstractions. In all the higher departments of imaginative art, nature still constitutes an important element; not the mere imitation of nature, but nature as a substantial basis of the artificial superstructure. A

¹ See further on this subject, Vol. IV. p. 315. sqq.

picture by Raphael representing King Arthur or Amadis de Gaule, and embodying with all the genius of that great painter the attributes for which romance gives those heroes credit, could never speak home to our sympathies with half the effect of a real portrait even of Cæsar Borgia or Julius II. by the same artist. Could it in like manner be established that the events which Homer exhibits as great national enterprises, or the heroes by whom they were conducted, were but the dreams of his own imagination or that of his ancestors, the result would be, or ought to be, a proportional diminution of our interest in the character and fate of those heroes. To appeal again to the analogy of our native minstrelsy : would not the conviction that our Wallaces, Hotspurs, or Robin Hoods, were mere imaginary beings, be accompanied by a great falling off in the poetical value of their exploits ?

Here, however, it naturally occurs, that the object of all historical inquiry is the discovery of truth ; that the question is not so much whether a conviction that the heroes of Troy were real persons would enhance the interest of their adventures, as whether the fact be or be not so. It were, therefore, as unreasonable for the literary historian to allow his judgement to be influenced in any such question by mere considerations of taste or feeling, as for the civil historian to allow his admiration of a particular people or individual to pervert his narrative of their actions, or his estimate of their character. But might it not be urged on the other side, that the very conviction which the perusal of the Iliad produces of the reality of its story is in itself a species of internal evidence in its favour ? Are we not conscious of an intrinsic

harmony between the characters and events of the poem and the true genius of Greek heroic life, which marks out those characters and events as human chiefs and enterprises, with as broad a stamp of truth as our own early minstrelsy imprints on its men and deeds of renown in the semibarbarous ages of Britain?

There is one other class of mythical personages who here demand a few words of special notice, from the apparent anomaly of their being those who, as a general rule, have the least pretension to real existence, but who yet supply, in their purely figurative capacity, some of the most valuable details of primeval history. These are the Eponyme heroes or patriarchs who act as name-fathers or founders of countries, tribes, or cities. When, for example, we read that Dorus was son of Hellen, and ancestor of the Dorians, as his father was of the whole Hellenic race, we have an equal element of historical fact, whether the two patriarchs be taken as real or as symbolical personages. Hellen represents the whole more highly gifted portion of the Græco-Pelagic nation, who, spreading from their primitive seats in Northern Greece, finally acquired an ascendant throughout the continent south of the Thracian mountains. Dorus is the type of a martial subdivision of Hellenes, seated in remote ages in the rugged region of Pindus, whence they migrated southwards as conquerors of Peloponnesus. To these and other similar ramifications of figurative genealogy, the most fastidious commentators have not hesitated to attach importance, as representing the real vicissitudes of tribes and races.

Mythical
chronology.

8. In proportion to the obscurity which involves the historical ingredient of fabulous tradition, must

be the vagueness and uncertainty of its chronology. Where the existence of men or events is questionable, no great benefit can be hoped from attempts to define the duration of their lives, or the order of their succession. The tenor of these researches will involve little or no reference to the details of mythical chronology prior to the Trojan war. With that epoch commences the most recent, and, in so far, the best accredited, period of the fabulous age of Greece. In treating of this period it will suffice to adopt the received system of reckoning, for the few prominent dates which even here can advance any claim to an authentic character. Such are the interval of about sixty years, from the fall of Troy to the *Æolian* settlement on the conquered territory, and of twenty years, between the latter event and the Dorian descent on Peloponnesus. This standard epoch will be taken according to the estimate of Eratosthenes, the most critical of antient chronologers, but without implicit deference to his authority, at 1104 B.C., being 328 years prior to the first Olympiad, as fixed in 776 B.C. The first standard date of the partially historical period subsequent to the Dorian conquest is the Ionian migration to Asia Minor in 1044 B.C. Far more important is the epoch of the final establishment of the Olympic games as the leading national festival of the Hellenic confederacy in 776 B.C. This epoch, it need scarcely be remarked, is acknowledged, by the general consent of modern critics, to rest on authentic evidence; and the quadrennial returns of the festival supply, henceforward, a more regular, though far from complete or certain, record of dates and events.¹

¹ See Table of Eratosthenes, ap. Clinton, *Fast. Hellen.* vol. i. p. 140.; Grote, *Hist. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 49.; and Vol. IV. of this work, p. 77. sqq.

CHAP. III.

PRIMEVAL HISTORY OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

1. ORIGIN AND AFFINITIES OF THE GREEK NATION AND LANGUAGE. PELASGIANS.—2. HELLI, HELLAS, AND HELLENES.—3. HELLENE, AS A COMMON TITLE OF THE GREEK NATION, LATER THAN THE DORIAN CONQUEST.—4. GREEK TRIBES SPECIALLY CLAIMING A PELASGIC ORIGIN IN LATER TIMES.—5. RELATION BETWEEN THE PELASGIC AND HELLENIC TONGUES.—6. VIEWS OF HERODOTUS.—7. THEIR VAGUENESS.—8. PELASGIANS OF ITALY. GRÆCI.—9. MACEDONIA. ASIA MINOR. ISLANDS.

Origin and
affinities of
the Greek
nation and
language.
Pelasgians.

1. IT was an opinion universally received among the antients, that the Greek territory was originally possessed by the people familiarly called Pelasgians. Hence, in the popular legend, the primitive name of the whole country is said to have been Pelasgia, and the local traditions of each district commonly describe its first occupants as of Pelasgian race.¹ The term came, accordingly, to be significant of remote and venerable antiquity; and those tribes who in later times claimed by preference an indigenous origin, also asserted a superior purity of Pelasgian descent. The internal evidence of these traditions, combined with that derived from philological sources, indicates the people distinguished by this title to have been substantially the same race as the Hellenes or later inhabitants of the country. Both may be considered as sections of the great body of nations comprised by modern ethnographers under the name of Indo-Teutonic; who, in the infancy of society, issuing from

¹ Hom. II. β. 681. et Schol. Bek.; Hesiod, frgg. 54, 55. 224. ed. Marschkeffel; Acusilaus, frg. 10. 12. Didot; Æschyl. Prom. 859., Suppl. 250. sq.; Herodot. II. 56., VII. 94. sq., VIII. 44.; Thucyd. I. 3.; Ephor. frg. 54. Did.; Strab. p. 221. 327.; Dionys. Hal. Ant. R. I.; Steph. Byz. v. Πελοπόννησος; Schol. Venet. ad II. π. 233.

their primeval seats in Central Asia, and spreading south-eastward over the Indian peninsula, and north-westward across the European continent, sent forth branches into those portions of it which jut into the Mediterranean sea.

The more accurate researches of the present age into the history of human speech have established, that the languages of those nations who, in antient or modern times, have been preeminent for extent and variety of intellectual powers, may be classed into comprehensive trees or stems, distinguished from each other by an essential difference, both in their elementary roots and their organic structure. Each of these stems subdivides itself into separate families, marked, in their secondary capacity, both as to roots and structure, by certain pervading features of affinity referable to a primitive common type. The subordinate members of these families again, according to the greater or less resemblance which those members, in the vicissitudes of the tribes by whom they were spoken, may have preserved to each other, fall to be ranked, respectively, as separate tongues, or as separate dialects of the same.

Of these original trees or stems of language, the most widely spread and most highly cultivated is that familiarly known, like the nations to which it was common, by the name of Indo-Teutonic. Among its families the most remarkable are, the Sanskrit, or primitive Hindoo; the Zend, or primitive Persian; the Teutonic, or Germanic; and that body of languages which, adopting the usage of the native authors, will here be entitled Pelasgic, comprising, with the several Greek dialects, many other varieties probably, of which no literary remains have been trans-

mitted. The accuracy of this latter head of arrangement, or rather of the sense in which the term Pelasgic has been applied to it, will, it is hoped, be substantiated in the sequel.

The letter of the popular tradition, by specially characterising the Pelasgians of Arcadia¹ and Attica² as indigenous, would seem to place the earliest settlements of that people in Southern Greece. It is, however, more probable in itself, as well as more congenial with the spirit of the same tradition, that the primitive inhabitants of the Greek continent should have passed downward from its northern frontier to its maritime extremities, than that, landing on its outer promontories, they should have spread into the interior. A strong argument in favour of this view exists in the circumstance, that the oldest and most revered common sanctuary of the race was in the north, established, as usual in the early ages of Paganism, on the loftiest mountain ridge of the district preferred. This sanctuary was the oracle of the great Dodonæan Jove, in the rugged highlands of Thesprotia. Had the first seats of the Pelasgians been in Peloponnesus, that peninsula would doubtless have remained their sacred land, Taygetus or Cyllene their sacred mountain. The national divinity would hardly have been banished to a recent and dreary back settlement. This remote northern region, whether from the sanctity with which it was thus invested, or from its own inaccessible character, seems to have escaped the effects of those revolutions to

¹ Xenoph. *Hell.* vii. i. 23. ; Dionys. *Hal.* i. xvii. ; Ephorus, *frg.* 54. *Did.*

² Herodot. i. 56. ; Thucyd. i. 2. ; Demosth. *de fals. Leg.* p. 424. ; conf. Clinton, *F. H.* vol. I. p. 57.

which the rest of the Pelasgic land was subjected in after ages. Accordingly, while its inhabitants preserved to a late period, under the subsequent Hellenic ascendancy, their antient habits and privileges, Dodona and the Dodonæan oracle remained, both to Pelasgian and Hellene, the fountain head of their earliest and most sacred associations.

2. The tribe who dwelt around the temple, and were charged with the sacerdotal functions, bore the distinctive name, in Homer's time, of Selli or Helli.¹ This title was also common to other communities of northern Pelasgians, under certain varieties of form, betraying clear traces of the same etymology. The most remarkable of these varieties is that of Hellas, appropriated by Homer to the whole or a principal part of Thessaly², and which afterwards, becoming obsolete as a provincial term, was extended, together with the influence of the tribe from whom it was derived, to the whole continent of Greece. On the western coast, below Dodona, the names Ellopia, Hylli, Selleis, proper to a country, a people, and a

Helli,
Hellas, and
Hellenes.

¹ Il. π. 234. et Schol. Venet.; Pind. ap. Strab. p. 328., frg. 31. Boeckh; Soph. Trach. 1169.; Aristot. Meteor. I. c. 14.; Hesych. v. Ἑλλοίαι Ἑλλήνες οἱ ἐν Δωδώνῃ.

² Il. β. 683., ι. 395.; Od. δ. 726. Herodotus, accordingly (VII. 176.), describes the Thessalians, or earliest Hellenes, as a colony of the Dodonæan Pelasgi, or earliest Helli. Later authorities, in the usual blending of fable (Schol. Venet. and Eust. ad Il. π. 234.; Philost. Imag. II.), made the Helli colonists from Thessaly, as the Hellas Proper. The popular derivation of Hellas from Hellen is an obvious reversal of the just etymology. Hellas signifies a land of the Helli; Hellen, a man of Hellas, as distinct from the primitive Helli of Epirus. Of this legendary connexion of the Helli and the Hellenes, by mutual colonisation, trace is also observable in Homer's notice (Il. β. 750.) of a Dodona in the north of Thessaly, in a position parallel to that occupied by the more renowned sanctuary of the older western Hellas; also in the legend of the Nosti, which described Peleus as migrating with his family, after the death of Achilles, from the Thessalian Hellas to Molossia. Conf. Vol. II. p. 287.

river, afford evidence of the same national appellation in that region.¹ The Hylli, described by respectable authors as "Hellenes," also appear in Southern Greece as one of the three tribes of the Helleno-Dorian conquerors of Peloponnesus.²

Tradition is more uniform as to the fact of the name Hellas having been extended from Thessaly, together with the power of the Hellenes or Thessalian Helli, over Southern Greece, than explicit as to the circumstances under which that extension took place. Among the proofs of an early ascendancy of the former region may be urged, that Mount Olympus, originally no doubt but a favourite seat of the Thessalian Jupiter, had obtained, at the epoch of the Trojan war, a precedence in dignity over all the other sanctuaries of Greece, even over that of Dodona. In the obscure ages of Paganism, the rise and fall of religious establishments afford a fair criterion of the fluctuations of rank in the tribes to which they belonged. Thus in the Pelasgian period Dodona was the chief, or, according to Herodotus, the only, common sanctuary of the nation. On the rise of Hellenic power, the Olympian Jupiter obtained the highest honours. The dignity of his Thessalian sanctuary declined in its turn, from the period when a new tribe of conquering Hellenes transferred his worship, under the same title of Olympian, to the banks of the Alpheüs. The "lofty Olympus" now sank, comparatively, from an object of religious veneration, to one of mere poetical celebrity.

¹ Hesiod. frg. 149.; Steph. Byz. v. Ἑλλωτιν; Strab. p. 327. sq.; Schol. Ven. ad Il. π. 234.

² Scymnus Chius, 407.; Timæ. et Eratosth. ap. eund.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. i. p. 11. ed. 1824.

Specific notices of these changes are supplied by both Herodotus and Thucydides. "Formerly," says the latter author¹, "the inhabitants of Greece were not known by the common title of Hellenes. The different tribes, Pelasgians chiefly, bore each its proper appellation. But when Hellen and his sons, becoming powerful in Phthiotis, took other states under their protection, the whole race, through the alliance and influence of those heroes, came to be called collectively by their name." In conformity with this account, Herodotus² states that the Athenians, originally Pelasgians, had adopted the name and character of Ionians from Ion, a Hellenic chief to whom they had intrusted the command of their army. The Achæans and Ionians of Northern Peloponnesus, also indigenous Pelasgi, had a like tradition regarding the same hero; and the Æolian settlers in Asia Minor are similarly described as drawing their names from chiefs of Hellenic blood.³ These notices imply that the Pelasgians of Southern Greece, a less energetic people than those of the North, harassed by internal dissensions or hostile aggression, had invited their more warlike kinsmen to their aid, who, in return, exacted submission or vassalage, and ultimately extended their dominion over the whole Greek continent. Among the leading features of the Pelasgian character, an unsettled migratory spirit is always pointedly mentioned. It may hence be inferred, that many tribes, unwilling to submit to their new allies, crossed the sea in search of other habitations. Certain it is, that no record occurs of any great contest for supremacy, nor indeed of any actual warfare, between Pelasgian and Hellene. This fur-

¹ I. c. 3.² VIII. 44.³ Herod. vii. 94. sq.

nishes another argument of the close affinity of the two races. The easy manner in which their political interests, manners, and language blend and coalesce, were scarcely conceivable in the case of nations of radically different origin.

The term Pelasgian thus became obsolete, as a generic title of the Greek nation. The dominant tribes, priding themselves on their distinctive names of Ionian, Achæan, Æolian, or, collectively, of Hellenes, dismissed the primitive common appellation; just as the Romans would have disdained, in the days of their Italian supremacy, to be called Latins. Afterwards, however, when the memory of these events had faded, the name Pelasgian continued to be applied, in an antiquarian sense, to the population of certain districts supposed to have remained more or less free from Hellenic encroachment. Hence the apparent anomaly, that, while tradition invariably represents the Hellene as the conquering, the Pelasgian as the subject race, yet several of the proudest states of Greece gloried in the latter title as indicating a superior purity of Grecian blood. In its more specific sense it was limited, from the age of Homer downwards, to certain tribes beyond the frontiers of Greece Proper, whose language and manners bore a resemblance to the Greek, though not sufficient to constitute them Hellenes; or who were held to have migrated in remote ages from Greece. This view, however, of a primitive common character in the aboriginal population, need not be understood necessarily to comprehend every individual people inhabiting the Greek continent prior to the Hellenic ascendancy. The Pelasgic land may have contained, in those unsettled times, various tribes of different race from the mass of its inhabitants; some of which

tribes, when driven into other regions, may, in right of their former place of abode, have acquired the surname of Pelasgians, in common with their fellow-emigrants to whom it more properly belonged. Such may possibly have been the Leleges, Caucones, and other communities, who appear in later tradition among the early non-Hellenic occupants of Greece: but it is more probable that these were themselves Pelasgian tribes, who had obtained notoriety under their own peculiar titles.¹

3. These accounts of an early extension of the Hellenic name to the whole Greek nation, however universally received, seem yet but little in harmony with the fact, that in the earliest authentic standards of the Greek language, dating several centuries subsequent to the events in which the more extended usage is supposed to have originated, no trace of any such usage can be detected. By reference to these standards, so far is this generic application of the term *Hellene* from appearing as an immediate result of the ascendancy of *Hellas Proper*, or *Thessaly*, that the first symptoms of it are observable at a period when that region had forfeited the high character it enjoyed during the heroic age, and when its natives appear, in comparison with those of Southern Greece, rather in the light of Thracian barbarians than of lineal descendants of the *Lapithæ* or *Æacidæ*. This discrepancy between fact and tradition has been noticed by *Thucydides*.² That acute author, after alluding to the extension of the name *Hellene*, as a consequence of the dominant influence of the *Thes-salian patriarch*, adds, that yet, in the age of *Homer*, the title was still confined to the single district from

*Hellene, as
a common
title of the
Greek
nation,*

¹ Thirlwall, *Hist. of Gr.* 2d ed. vol. I. p. 47.

² I. 3.

which it was originally derived. In order rightly to appreciate this remark, and the anomaly to which it refers, a few observations will be necessary on the poet's ordinary use of the term *Hellene*, and others of a like nature habitually occurring in his text.

The only names common in the *Iliad* to the whole Greek nation are, *Achæan*, *Argive*, and *Danaän*. They may all be traced to the influence of the *Pelopidan* or *Atridan* dynasty at the period of the Trojan war. The first was the proper name of the people over whom that dynasty more immediately reigned; the second was derived from *Argos*, its seat of government; the third from the earlier fabulous *Argive* rulers, the reputed foreign importers of the arts of civilised life into Southern Greece. "*Hellas*," on the other hand, with *Homer*, denotes, in its narrower sense, a province of *Thessaly*, the antient seat of the dominant "*Hellenic*" dynasty; and there are traces of an occasional extension of the name to the whole of that region. But there is no appearance of its employment in the same general sense as the three others above mentioned. The question then arises: How happens it that the titles *Hellas* and *Hellene*, derived from a hero or a tribe flourishing long prior to the Trojan war, should yet not be found in general use until several centuries subsequent to that event? Whatever may have been the early influence of the *Hellenic* race, the extension of their name, reserved for so much later a period, must be explained by a subsequent cause.

later than
the Dorian
conquest.

That cause, there can be little doubt, was the Dorian conquest of *Peloponnesus*, an event which produced important changes, both in the social condition and in the language of all Greece. From that event and its consequences dates the first distinct

separation of the dialects, as they prevailed in later ages, with a more settled use of the proper names of the tribes by whom they were spoken. That the spread of the name *Hellene* was also a result of this revolution may be inferred from the fact pointedly noted by Herodotus, that the Dorians of Peloponnesus in his day claimed, apparently with his approbation, a superior purity of Hellenic character over their fellow Greeks. The Ionians, Athenians, Achæans, and Æolians, are with him aboriginal *Pelasgi*¹, who, from motives of policy or necessity, had adopted the Hellenic name. The Dorians, on the other hand, he describes as the genuine Hellenes, in direct line of descent from the eponyme patriarch of the whole race, through their ancestor *Dorus*, son of that patriarch.² It seems then, that these new tribes of Hellenic conquerors were in the habit of distinguishing themselves, by this honourable title, from what they considered the degenerate semi-Pelasgians among whom they settled. The same cause, therefore, which produced the extension to the whole nation of the names *Achæan*, *Argive*, *Danaän*, in Homer's time, the ascendancy of the dynasty to which each properly belonged, would here tend to the same effect. To the north of *Thermopylæ* the Hellenic name already prevailed. When spread over Peloponnesus, it would naturally extend to the intermediate district, and from the mother country to the colonies; all of whom, like their European kinsmen, retained the tradition of a former adoption of the character, if not the name, of Hellenes.³

¹ VII. 94. sq.

² I. 56.

³ Another important change in the geographical names of the Greek continent, tending further to illustrate the argument of the text, was the introduction of the term *Peloponnesus* to denote the southern peninsula of that continent. That this title was not introduced by the hero *Pelops*,

Tribes
specially
claiming a
Pelasgic
origin.

4. Before offering any special remarks on the Pelasgic tongue in its relation to the classical Greek, a short notice will be desirable of those districts the inhabitants of which, in historical times, advanced a peculiar title to unmixed Pelasgian descent.

In Greece itself, besides the Athenians and several kindred states already noticed, the Arcadians¹ enjoyed an especial claim to this distinction, grounded, partly on their primitive simplicity of manners, partly on the ruggedness of their soil, which had preserved them from foreign invasion. On the north-western frontier, the Helli and other neighbouring tribes have above been cited as the oldest Pelasgian stock; and various small Pelasgian settlements are mentioned on the eastern coast of Thrace², the western shores of the Hellespont and Propontis, and the neighbouring islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace.³ The Pelasgians of Asia Minor, of the islands of the Ægean, and of Italy, were considered as early colonists from Greece, driven by the encroach-

nor for long after his supposed epoch, is also proved by the negative authority of Homer, equivalent in any such case to historical evidence. The word signifies the "Island of Pelops;" it being a familiar catachresis with the Greeks, especially the Dorians, to apply the term island to peninsulas, as for example in the names Chersonesus, Halicarnessus, and others. It may be presumed, therefore, that, after the fame of the Pelopidan power had spread to distant quarters, its central seat was known among the mountaineers of Doris as the "Island (or Peninsula) of Pelops." This title, when they took possession of the country, they might naturally continue to use as a memorial of their victory, in preference to that of Argos, which, as appears from Homer, the same district bore among the ejected inhabitants. Accordingly, the earliest author of any certain date who employs the new term, and that in the same triumphant strain above referred to, is Tyrtæus, the national poet of Sparta. *Frg. i. 4. Bach. ; conf. frg. viii. 7.*

¹ Hesiod. *frgg.* 54. 55.; Asius, *ap. Paus. Arcad. i. 2. ; Pherecyd. ap. Dion. Hal. i. 11. ; Ephor. ap. Strab. p. 221.*

² Herod. *i. 57. ; Thucyd. iv. 109. ; Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 987.*

³ Herod. *v. 26., vi. 137. ; conf. Nieb. Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 33.*

ments of the Hellenes to seek new habitations beyond sea. It is however probable that many of those tribes were aboriginal settlers, portions of the great migratory body, which, on its first movement, may have struck off to the east or westward, while the main stream pursued its course in the direction of the Laconian promontory. On the coast of Asia immediately south of the Troad, Homer¹ mentions Pelasgians among the allies of Priam; and later authors describe the whole Æolian coast, with part of Ionia, and the adjacent islands of Chios and Lesbos, as once possessed by them.² In Crete also they are numbered by Homer³ among the five nations who jointly inhabited that island at the period of the Trojan war.

Of the Pelasgian tribes of Italy⁴ the most celebrated are those called Tyrrheni, or Tyrrhenian Pelasgi. By this title they are distinguished from the people of radically distinct character called by Latin authors Etruscans, by the Greeks also Tyrrheni, by whom the greater part of the Italian peninsula had been subdued before the first familiar acquaintance of the Greeks with its interior. In Greece itself, this title of Tyrrhenian Pelasgi was more immediately applied to a wandering race, said to have migrated from Italy at a remote fabulous period; and who, after various adventures in Thessaly, Bœotia, and Attica, finally removed to the coasts and islands of Thrace.⁵ In Upper Italy, Spina, at the mouth of the

¹ Il. β. 840.

² Strab. p. 221. 621.; Diod. Sic. v. 81.; Con. ap. Phot. Narr. 41.

³ Od. τ. 177.

⁴ See Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 26. 42. sqq.; Cluver, Ital. ant. p. 428. sqq.

⁵ Myrsilus, ap. Dion. Hal. i. 23. 28.; Herodot. vi. 137. sq.; Thucyd. iv. 109.; Strab. p. 401.

Po, Ravenna¹, Pisa, and Cære, with the intermediate Tuscan coast from the Arno to the Tiber², and the inland towns of Cortona and Falerii³, claimed a Pelasgian foundation. From the Pelasgi of Latium Dionysius considers the Romans to have sprung, with a certain admixture of foreign blood; and, to the south, Pompeii, and other neighbouring towns of Campania, were also reputed of Pelasgic origin.⁴ The same character was assigned by early Greek historians to the Ænotrians, or primitive population of Lucania⁵; and, in later times, the agricultural serfs of the Hellenic colonies on that coast, the remains of the previous inhabitants, bore the distinctive title of Pelasgians.⁶ The antient geographical names of this region also vouch for a connexion with the opposite continent of Greece. A principal tribe of Lucania were the Chonians or Chaonians, whose name was common to a people of Epirus. The antient capital of the Lucanians was called Pandosia, as was that of the Molossians on the Greek coast. There was also a Caulonia in each country, and a notable river of each was the Acheron. These coincidences have received lustre from one of the last expiring gleams of the Delphic oracle, shed on the declining fortunes of the celebrated Alexander Molossus, who, shunning the supposed fatal city and river of his native country, met his death in the still more fatal region of the kindred coast.⁷

Relation
between
the Pelas-

5. The primeval affinity of the Pelasgic and Hellenic tongues, which, though now very generally

¹ Hellanicus, ap. Dion. Hal. i. 28.; Plin. iii. 20.; Strab. p. 214.

² Scymnus Chius, 216.; Servius ad Æn. x. 179.

³ Dion. Hal. loc. cit.; cf. 20. sq.

⁴ Strabo, p. 247.

⁵ Ap. Dion. Hal. i. xi. xiii.

⁶ Steph. Byzant., v. *Χίος*.

⁷ Nieb. Röm. G. vol. i. p. 59. 62.; Müll. Dor. vol. i. p. 6.

received, is yet far from being beyond the pale of controversy¹, has, in the preceding pages, been in a great measure taken for granted. It remains, by a somewhat more specific train of inquiry, to establish the existence of that affinity on a solid basis.

The relation between Hellene and Pelasgian, upon the view above adopted, may be illustrated by a parallel pair of terms in our own day: German and Teutonic. What is now familiarly called the German is the classical language of Germany with its various dialects. The German, however, is itself but the most cultivated variety of a numerous family of tongues, which, under the common title of Teutonic, comprises the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Dutch, and others.² Similar was the connexion of the Hellenic and the Pelasgic. The latter was the family or tree of which the former was the most flourishing branch; and as the classical Greek, in historical times, offers numerous varieties of idiom, the same, it may be supposed, was the case with the degenerate or less cultivated growths.

¹ On the affirmative side see Müll. Dor. vol. i. p. 6., and Die Etrusk. Einl.; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 92.; Giese, Der Aeolische Dialect, i. 3.; Thirlw. Hist. of G. vol. i. ch. ii.; cf. Nieb. Röm. G. vol. i. p. 26. sqq. For the opposite view see Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. c. v.; Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. ii. p. 345. To the authorities in favour of the common origin of the two nations may be added that of Lepsius (Ueber die Tyrrhen. Pelasger; conf. Annali dell' Inst. Archeol. 1836, p. 186.). But the Italic inscriptions selected by him as specimens of Pelasgian dialect seem to contain very faint traces, if any, of Hellenic etymology, and tend, consequently, but little to strengthen his argument.

² To pursue the analogy, the English, Dutch, and Danes would, in the classical sense, have ranked as "Pelasgians," in comparison with the Germans Proper, or "Hellenes" of the central country; and it might equally have become a question, in the Herodotean school of philology, whether the three former ought to be considered as Barbarous or as "Hellenic" races.

In turning to the authorities bearing on this opinion, the inquirer cannot fail to be struck with that neglect of critical philology which forms so prominent a distinction between antient and modern literature. As regards the grammatical treatment of their own language, the Greek critics equal, indeed, or surpass those of all other nations, in the subtlety of their speculations and the bulk of their commentaries. But with this national department of the science they were content. The study of foreign tongues never, either as an object of curiosity, or as an aid to historical investigation, formed with them a distinct class of pursuit. This is a peculiarity of Greek literary history which will require to be noticed more in detail hereafter. Attention is now directed to it, merely as bearing on the question immediately before us.

The Pelasgians were considered by the antients as standing to the Hellenes somewhat in the same relation as the Anglo-Saxons to ourselves. The Anglo-Saxon is a dead language, and a knowledge of it, consequently, is of little practical utility in the present day. Yet its study continues to be zealously prosecuted, as well on account of its philological as of its antiquarian interest. With the Greeks the case was different. The allusions in the extant classics to the Pelasgian dialects, spoken or extinct, are so scanty or so vague, as to prove that their affinities had never suggested matter for serious scrutiny. Philological evidence, therefore, of a tangible character, bearing on our present inquiry, fails completely. The substance however of the existing notices amounts, at least, to a general understanding, on the part of the Greek public, in favour of the views

expressed in the previous pages, and which may be more distinctly stated under the following heads:

I. That the term Pelasgian indicates a primeval family of cognate tribes and dialects, from which the Hellenic people and language derived their origin.

II. While the neighbouring shores of the Mediterranean were occupied, from the earliest period, by races speaking a variety of radically distinct tongues, there existed no trace or memory of any language not essentially Greek within the boundaries of Greece itself.

III. Those portions of the Greek population who were admitted to have retained, with their primitive seats, their native character and speech unimpaired, were considered, in right of this qualification, genuine descendants of the old Pelasgic stock.

IV. The criterion for distinguishing, beyond the limits of Greece, a Pelasgic people from other alien tribes, was the resemblance of their language to the classical Greek.

6. It will here at once occur to the advocates of opposite views, that this assumed harmony on the part of the native writers is disturbed by a passage of Herodotus, which, while the most specific that has been preserved on the subject, seems also, on first view, at variance with the above theory. It has here been subjoined entire, as containing a considerable portion of matter vitally bearing on this whole train of inquiry.

Views of
Herodotus.

“What the Pelasgian language was, I cannot distinctly say; but, if we may judge from the Pelasgi who inhabit the town of Creston above the Tyrsenians, (and who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, for they formerly possessed the country

since named Thessaliotis), or from the Pelasgians of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont who were once settled among the Athenians, or from any other tribes originally Pelasgian who have adopted other names, if we may judge from these, the Pelasgians must have spoken a barbarous tongue. If, therefore, the whole Pelasgian race were of this character, the Athenian people, being Pelasgians, on being converted into Hellenes, must, also, have changed their language. For the Crestonians and Placians, while they do not correspond in dialect with any of the surrounding tribes, correspond with each other, which shows them both to have preserved the dialectical peculiarities by which they were distinguished when they migrated into those countries.

“But the Hellenic race, from its first existence, has always used the same language. Being originally weak when split off from the Pelasgians, it increased, advancing in power, from small beginnings, to a great multitude of nations, chiefly in consequence of many other barbarous tribes uniting with it.”¹

Did this passage stand alone, it might tend, no doubt, to invalidate the views here advocated. In connexion, however, with others in the same work, it assumes a different aspect. Apart from its historical importance, it also possesses value, from the lively manner in which it reflects some of the characteristic peculiarities of its author. On the one hand it displays that spirit of candour and diffidence in the discussion of obscure topics which forms a principal charm of his style; on the other, a certain vagueness both of argument and conclusion, consequent on the imperfection of the critical art, which may be considered less his own fault than that of his age.

¹ 1. 57. sq.

Hence, however valuable in themselves, the statements it contains will be found but little in harmony with each other, and altogether at variance with those advanced in subsequent portions of his history.

The literal value of the passage, as affecting the present question, lies chiefly in the application of the term "barbarous" to the language of those Thracian communities, as compared with the classical Greek. Some commentators have understood the phrase to imply, not a different language, but merely a rude or corrupt Hellenic dialect. But this interpretation, though in some degree countenanced by parallel texts of Herodotus, is here scarcely admissible. The word is one, indeed, of very loose signification. In its origin it denotes, like some similarly expressive terms in our own tongue, simply harsh, discordant, or unintelligible. Afterwards it came to indicate whatever was opposed to Hellenic, either in speech, or, by a natural transition, in origin or manners; and may hence, in the familiar usage of classical times, be often translated "foreign," as the substantive "barbarian" denotes simply foreigner. It is also occasionally used, in its more primitive signification, to express anything rude or savage either in character or language, and in this sense is applied even to people of admitted Greek origin. Upon the whole however, in the spirit of the historian's general argument, there can be little doubt of his having meant to stigmatise the dialect of these tribes as a "foreign" tongue, in the literal sense, compared with his own. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that his opinion was the result of any actual analysis of its structure or affinities, a task for which Herodotus was probably as little disposed as qualified; nor, consequently, is

his evidence, even on the least favourable interpretation, sufficient to disprove its connexion with the Greek. The two may still have resembled each other as much as the Swedish the German, or the Spanish the Italian. In each of these cases the difference is such as to constitute, in the familiar sense, the one a foreign tongue, as compared with the other, although in each the critical inquirer discovers a close affinity. The vicissitudes which these Thracian tribes had undergone, during several centuries of migration, might alone suffice to alter their dialect to such an extent as would justify the expression of Herodotus.

Their
vagueness.

7. In applying their case, however, to the nation at large, the historian speaks somewhat diffidently. "If," he remarks in the sequel of the same context, "the whole Pelasgian race were of this description, the Athenians, being Pelasgians, on adopting the Hellenic character must have changed their language." He overlooks the question, whether it was not more likely that two petty tribes, wandering for centuries over the European continent, should have changed *their* language, than that an independant stationary Greek community should have undergone any such metamorphosis. The modern philologer must reason differently. With him the fact, admitted not only by Herodotus but by the general consent of antiquity, that the Athenians were an indigenous Pelasgian people, must amount to proof that the Pelasgic and Attic languages were substantially the same. There is no foreign element in the latter to warrant the belief of its having been subjected to any radical change not common to the other Hellenic dialects. The notion of so sudden a revolution in speech and habits as these Attic Pelasgians, with their neigh-

bours the Achæans and Ionians, are supposed to have undergone "on the Hellene Ion being appointed general of their army," as elsewhere stated by the same Herodotus¹, is chimerical. In historical times, examples occur of provinces attached to a great empire abandoning their own tongue, and adopting that of the dominant state. But this can only be the result of complete subjection to a conqueror of more advanced civilisation than the indigenous race. No such conquest of Attica is, however, recorded in Greek tradition. Not only do all other leading authorities² bear testimony to the pure "Hellenism" of its inhabitants, both in character and dialect; but Herodotus himself³, in his usual candid spirit of self-contradiction, describes them in the sequel as the most antient race of autochthonous "Hellenes." The same title to indigenous Pelasgic origin, combined with Hellenism of manners and language, is pointedly extended by both Herodotus⁴ and Strabo⁵ to the Arcadians. The latter author further observes⁶ that the dialect of these mountaineers, owing to its close similarity to that which Dorian influence spread over the rest of Peloponnesus, came to be comprised under the common head of Doric. This correspondence between the language of the Pelasgian aborigines of the south, and that of the Dorian immigrants from the north, described by Herodotus as the genuine Hellenes, is in itself conclusive evidence of a primitive community of Greek character in the two races.

Another remarkable series of passages in Herodotus

¹ VIII. 44., VII. 94. sq.

² Thuc. I. 2.; Plato, *Menexen.* p. 245. D.; Isocrat. *Panathen.* c. 132.; conf. *Clint. F. H.* vol. I. p. 57. By Plato and Isocrates the term Hellene is here used as synonymous with that of Pelasgian in Herodotus.

³ VII. 161.

⁴ II. 171.

⁵ Page 221. 388.

⁶ Page 333.

abundantly proves that, amid his crude speculations on these isolated Thracian tribes, he was himself under the habitual impression, common to the mass of his countrymen, that Pelasgians and Hellenes were radically the same people. Treating of the origin of the Greek religion, he observes¹ that "the names of such of the gods as were not derived from the barbarians were of Pelasgic invention." Here, therefore, Pelasgian and Barbarian are no longer synonymous, but distinctive terms. "The Pelasgians," he adds², "formerly sacrificed to the gods under no separate names, calling them generally Θεοὺς, as having placed in order (κόσμῳ θέντες) the universe." Here the Pelasgians are made not only to use the Hellenic name for the gods, but to form it out of another Hellenic root by a subtle exercise of verbal etymology. He then relates³, among other examples of "barbarian" influence on the early Greek religion, how "the Phœnicians, having carried off two priestesses of the Theban Jove, sold them as slaves, the one to the Libyans, the other to the Hellenes. The Egyptian woman, on her arrival in the district of Thesprotia, now called Hellas but then Pelasgia, becoming familiar with the Hellenic tongue, communicated her mysteries to the natives." The Dodonæan fable, where this priestess was figured by a black pigeon, he interprets as allusive to her "barbarous speech," which induced the natives on her arrival, "before she had acquired the Hellenic tongue, to call her the Pigeon, those who speak a barbarous language being held to chatter as birds." She could hardly have acquired the Hellenic tongue from a Pelasgian people, had the two languages been radically distinct. But without scrutinising details, it is plain

¹ II. 50.² II. 52.³ II. 54. sq.

that, throughout this whole series of passages, the terms Pelasgian and Hellene as applied to the primitive population and dialect of Greece, are so entirely synonymous with each other and opposed to barbarous, that unless Herodotus be understood, in writing this portion at least of his work, to have been under a full conviction of their virtual identity, his text is altogether nugatory. In another passage he pointedly calls the Dodonæans Hellenes, in the most specific sense, as distinct from the barbarous races to the north.¹

The Dodonæan sanctuary was long the most revered oracular fane of the Greek nation. Both Homer and Hesiod describe it as familiarly consulted by their heroes; but it can hardly be supposed that all civilised Greece was used to receive the divine commissions in an unintelligible dialect, from a barbarian priesthood. In those days, therefore, the Pelasgian ministers of the oracle must have been Greeks. Aristotle, accordingly, in recognising the identity between their title Helli and that of Hellene, acknowledges the common origin of the two races, describing the Dodonæan territory, with others the primitive Pelasgia, as the "most antient Hellas."² No classical author seems to have doubted that these ministers of Jove had, with their antient seats and privileges, maintained their language unimpaired. It is also evident, from the details given by Herodotus of his own intercourse with them, that in his time that language was Greek, as are the names of the three priestesses whom he mentions.

¹ IV. 33. The same is indirectly said of the Molossians (VI. 127.). It need scarcely be added, that the term Pelasgian is habitually and constantly applied by the tragic poets to the aboriginal Hellenic population of Greece.

² Meteorol. I. 14.

Pelasgi of
Italy.

8. A no less decisive proof of the substantial affinity of the two races, or at least of the general conviction of classical writers on the subject, is the familiar manner in which the term Pelasgian is applied to colonies, settled in foreign regions at periods beyond the reach of authentic history, but distinguished from the surrounding nations by Grecian manners and language. Italy is the country which offers the most important illustrations of this usage. Unlike the neighbouring continent of Greece, which from time immemorial had been occupied by the same race, that peninsula was divided among tribes differing from each other in origin and speech, many of whom retained their distinctive character up to a late period. To the question therefore, what was the criterion for distinguishing the Pelasgians of Italy from their neighbours the Etruscans, Oscans, and Umbrians, the answer invariably recurs, their resemblance to, or identity with, the Hellenes. Spina, for example, at the mouth of the Po, is celebrated by Hellanicus, Dionysius, and others¹, as one of the earliest and most powerful Pelasgic settlements in that country. Strabo² however, in treating of the same city, calls it Hellenic, adding, in proof of the distinguished character it formerly bore as such, that it possessed a treasury at Delphi. The same author³ calls Cære, or Agylla, which he also states to have had its Delphic treasury, a Pelasgian city. That the term Pelasgian is here employed as equivalent to Grecian, appears from the popular fable he recounts of the change of the name Agylla to Cære by the Etruscans. These conquerors, on appearing before the

¹ See page 47. note 6. *supra*.

² Page 214. ; *conf.* Plin. iii. 20.

³ Page 220.

place, called out to the people on the walls, demanding its name. Their address, not being intelligible to the Agyllians, was answered simply by the Greek salutation, *Chaire*, Hail; which word, the strangers, in their turn, mistaking for a reply to their question, adopted as the Etruscan title of the town. Both the story and the etymology are trivial, but the argument is not the less valid in favour of the prevailing conviction that the Pelasgians spoke Greek. The testimony of Dionysius, the author who treats at greatest length of the Italian Pelasgi, is no less conclusive. One favourite object of his great historical work is to prove that the Romans were of Hellenic origin; this he does¹ by deducing their descent from the Pelasgians. A people whom he calls *Aborigines* are described, after expelling the *Siculi*, as "coalescing with the Pelasgians and other Hellenic tribes," from which union sprang the Romans. The Pelasgians of Thessaly, from whom he derives those of Italy, are also characterised by him as "a Hellenic race" in language and habits.² Among their heroes he mentions *Achæus*, *Phthius*, and other patriarchal Hellenic chiefs; and, throughout his commentaries, the two terms Pelasgic and Hellenic are constantly used as identical, while the names of most of the Pelasgic cities of Italy which he enumerates betray a palpable Greek etymology.³

¹ 1. *passim*, II. 1.; conf. *Plut. in Romulo*, init. That the old Latin tongue contains a copious element of Greek, or rather of a language closely akin to the Greek, is certain: but it also contains a large amount of words and forms of a different character. This Dionysius explains by an early mixture of a Pelasgic with a barbarous population. Modern scholars are now rather disposed to class the Latin as an independent branch of the common Indo-Teutonic stem.

² I. 17.

³ *Velia*, *Agylla*, *Pyrgi*, *Alsium*; to which may be added, *Pisa*, *Thrasym-*

Græci.

Aristotle¹ divides the Pelasgi of the "primitive (Dodonæan) Hellas" into two tribes, the Selli of Homer, and those "formerly called Græci, but now Hellenes." The latter, therefore, were, in Aristotle's estimation, a subdivision of the same people, who, while their brethren remained stationary around the oracle, migrated into Southern Greece, and extended their influence over the entire nation. A branch of the same Græci (which name also occurs like Pelasgi, though more rarely, as the poetical title of the whole race) were evidently the Pelasgian colonists of Central Italy, whom Dionysius, probably on similar grounds with Aristotle, brings from Northern Greece, and who retained, in their transmarine possessions, the old national title which became obsolete in the mother country. This seems the only explanation of the otherwise strange circumstance, that the familiar Latin name for the "Greek" nation should be derived from an obscure tribe of Epirus. In the same way may be explained the practice, so inveterate with the Latin poets², of calling the Greeks, even of the purely Hellenic age, Pelasgians; while the name Hellene rarely, if ever, occurs in their text in its generic sense.

Macedonia.

9. The question concerning the extent of territory

mene, Maleventum, Grumentum, Buxentum, and others; conf. Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 46. 50. notes.

¹ Meteorol. i. 14. Stephanus Byz. (v. Γραιός) quotes Sophocles and Alcman as having called the "mothers of the Hellenes" Γραιῆς, by an obvious play upon the two words Γραιός, Græcus, and Γραῖα, matrona. Hesiod, in his "Catalogues," makes Græcus son of Jupiter, by Pandora daughter of Deucalion. Frg. xx. et Goettl., cf. not. ad l. Conf. Callim. ap. Strab. p. 216.; Nieb. Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 57.; Clint. F. H. vol. i. p. 20.

² From Ennius downwards:

"Cum veter occubuit Priamus sub Marte Pelaago."

21701

Asia Minor
Islands.

over which the Pelasgic language may at any period have prevailed, is one requiring a nearer insight than we are ever likely to possess, into the relative degrees of affinity which may have subsisted between the classical Greek and any neighbouring dialects not recognised as Hellenic. The Macedonians, whose territory extended along the whole northern frontier of Thessaly, offer certainly, at the period when they first assume prominence in Grecian history, many of the distinctive characteristics of a Hellenic people. By some writers¹ accordingly, they have been classed as Pelasgians; while others, more strongly impressed with the non-Hellenic features of their character, stigmatise them as barbarians. Macedonia had, at a remote epoch, been colonised by Dorian adventurers from Argos², by whom the native tribes seem to have been first combined into one body politic, under a settled form of government; and there can be no doubt that the language of the court and the upper class was solely or chiefly Greek. The country appears, however, from the first to have been held by a mixed population; the interior by barbarous tribes, the maritime district of Pieria and Emathia, from the mouth of the Penetus to that of the Axios, by a Pelasgic race. Of Pieria this may be considered certain upon grounds stated in a subsequent chapter³, and the antient names of various Emathian localities also betray a Greek etymology. These were the countries first occupied by the Argive colonists, from which they extended their dominion, and partially, it may be presumed, their language,

¹ *Æschyl. Suppl.* v. 248.; *Justin.* vii. i.² *Hdt.* viii. 137.³ *Ch.* viii. § 2.

over the mountainous region to the westward.¹ Hence, although vestiges still remain of a barbarous element, the Macedonians certainly appear an essentially Greek people, in all material respects, at the epoch of their political ascendancy. Of the Thracian, Illyrian, and other more northern tongues, the little that is known leads to the inference that they were altogether barbarous.

Besides the tribes of Italy and Asia Minor specified as Pelasgic by the antients, the same character has been ascribed by modern critics, on speculative grounds, to other primitive nations of the latter region. The Trojans, it has more especially been urged, are represented in the *Iliad* as a people almost identical with the Greeks, in language, religion, and manners. No value can, however, attach to the argument, so much pressed by the advocates for this affinity, that the Trojan warriors are made by the poet to speak the same language, and frequently bear the same names, as his own countrymen. It is one which obviously proves too much; as equally tending to establish the dialects of distant Asiatic nations, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, even Phœnicians or Egyptians, to have been Greek. Poets in every age claim the privilege of giving foreign names a turn more congenial to native ears, and even of substituting new names from their own vocabulary, when occasion requires; and unless Homer had made his heroes of all countries converse in Greek, that is, mutually understand each other, he must have abandoned the composition of his poems. The same familiar intercourse

¹ Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 2. sqq., *Ueb. die Maked.* p. 50. sq.; *conf. Sturz, de Dial. Maced. ad calc. Maittair de Dial.*; *Jablonsk. de Ling. Lycaon. Opusc.* vol. iii. p. 28.

which occurs in the Iliad between Greek and Trojan, also takes place in the Odyssey between Greek and Egyptian or Læstrygonian. An interpreter is here as little required as between the Tyrian Dido and her Trojan guest in the Æneid. It might, indeed, be urged, that, whatever be the case with names invented for poetical convenience, those of the principal heroes ought to have preserved some near resemblance to native originals. If this test be applied to the chief characters on the Trojan side, Priam, Hecuba, Paris, Hector, Pandarus, their names will scarcely be found referable to pure Hellenic etymology; while several of the older titles, Ilus, Assaracus, Dardanus, have an Oriental turn. Other, such as Erichthonius and Laomedon, are plainly Greek; but whether owing to poetical license, or the true genius of the Phrygian tongue, may be a question. Alexander would seem to be the Greek translation of Paris, as Xanthus, the "yellow river," that of Scamander. The correspondence pointed out by antient critics between certain elementary words in the Greek and Phrygian languages can prove but little.¹ The rule must rather be held to be the reverse of the exception. Tradition, however, may seem to afford indirect evidence of the Pelasgic origin of the Trojans; Dardanus, the

¹ Plato, Cratyl. p. 410. A., πῦρ, ὕδωρ, κίον. These three words are found, under certain varieties of form, in all or most of the Indo-Teutonic tongues. Greater importance attaches to the very curious Phrygian inscriptions first observed by Leake, and more recently transcribed and published by J. R. Stuart, *Ant. Mon. of Lydia and Phrygia*, 1842. The alphabet is here archaic Greek; and the phrases *φανакτει*, *βασιλεια*, *ματρες*, *ματεραν*, *αφας*, are evidently Greek formations. The context, however, in which they are encased is, to all appearance, barbarous. Whether this mixture reflects a primitive Pelasgic element in the Phrygian tongue, or a later blending of barbaric and colonial Greek dialects, is a question for the solution of which these scanty remains hardly supply sufficient data.

founder of their state, being described in one account as a settler from Samothrace, in another from Arcadia, in a third from Cortona in Italy, all acknowledged seats of Pelasgic population.¹ Less plausible are the claims urged by modern writers in favour of the nations in the south and east portions of the Asiatic peninsula, Carians, Lydians, Lycians, to Pelasgic origin; an honour never conferred on them by the antients. Of their language but little is known. The extant Lycian inscriptions are unintelligible, though dating from a period when this region enjoyed the full benefit of Greek civilisation, and written in a variety of the Græco-Phœnician character.

In spite of the maritime power of the Phœnicians, Greek population and influence appear to have prevailed from the earliest period, not only in the islands in the immediate vicinity of Greece, but in more distant parts of the Ægæan. The Cyclades and Sporades must have been, in whole or part, Greek from a remote age; the seat of one of the most popular objects of national worship, the Delian Apollo, being established in the midst of the group. In Crete Homer² describes a mixture of tongues, the island being divided among five different tribes: Achæans, Cretans Proper, Cydonians, Dorians, and Pelasgians. It may be a question, how far allusion is here made to a mere diversity of dialects; how far the languages of the second and third tribes in the list, where alone a connexion with the Greek family is doubtful, are to be considered as distinct tongues. No trace however exists of any barbaric dialect among the Cretans of historical times.

¹ Heyne, Exc. vi. ad *Æneid.* iii.

² *Od.* 7. 175.

CHAP. IV.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

1. LEGENDS OF EGYPTIAN AND PHENICIAN SETTLEMENT IN GREECE.—2. PHILOLOGICAL OBJECTIONS TO THE EGYPTIAN LEGEND.—3. HISTORICAL OBJECTIONS.—4. GREEK PREJUDICES CONCERNING EGYPT.—5. PHENICIAN LEGEND, HISTORICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL EVIDENCES IN ITS FAVOUR.—6. THE PHENICIAN ALPHABET.—7. ITS ADOPTION BY THE GREEKS.—8. MODIFICATIONS IT UNDERWENT. VOWELS.—9. ERROR OF THE POPULAR DOCTRINE ON THE SUBJECT. GREEK NUMERALS. MODES OF WRITING.

1. It may be laid down as a universal rule, founded on the experience of all history, that no extensive social influence can be exercised by a civilised on a comparatively barbarous people, without a corresponding influence on its language. The traditions, therefore, concerning colonies settled in Greece by nations of different origin and more advanced culture, assume an immediate philological as well as historical interest in their bearings on this portion of our subject.

Legends of Egyptian and Phœnician settlement in Greece.

That the Greeks, before their first settlement in Hellas, had already made some progress in the arts of civilised life, is evinced by the fact, that the Hellenic terms expressive of many of those arts are common to other nations of the same original stock, established in widely separate regions. The terms themselves must, therefore, in each case, have been brought, with the objects or wants which they denote, from some primeval common seat of elementary culture. No value, consequently, can attach to the commonplaces which so often serve as introductory

to researches into the early history of Greece, describing its inhabitants as a race of undomesticated savages, dwelling in caverns, and feeding on wild fruits, until trained by Oriental strangers to habits of industry and social life. Still, however, it seems to be established, by a strong body of native tradition as well as critical evidence, that foreign adventurers settled in Greece during its fabulous ages; that they contributed to the civilisation of its inhabitants, and exercised a proportional influence, however slight, on the native vocabulary.

The most celebrated of these colonies are those said to have been led by Cecrops to Athens, by Danaus to Argos, and by Cadmus to Thebes. The two former adventurers were, according to the popular accounts, Egyptians; the latter, a Phœnician. A third Egyptian settlement is that fabled in the legend of Herodotus to have been established at Dodona, in the person of a priestess of Jupiter Ammon. Another reputed Phœnician colony was that of Minos in Crete, an island which not only ranked from the earliest period as a Hellenic land, but rivalled the most favoured parts of the Greek continent in precocity of culture.

The historical substance of the legend relative to Phœnician settlement in Greece is supported by evidence, direct or circumstantial, such as can seldom be brought to bear on matters of remote Hellenic antiquity; and which, as involving a question of vital importance in the early annals of Greek literature, the origin of the alphabet, will receive its due share of attention in a subsequent page.

With the supposed Egyptian colonies the case is different. That Cecrops or Danaus, or the foreign

navigators figured under these names, really were Egyptians, that is, genuine Misraimites or Chemites, as the popular legend bears, is a point of classical mythology which involves, when tried by the test of modern criticism, serious or insuperable difficulties. These difficulties are of two kinds, philological and historical. Those of the former class, while more immediately connected with the present subject, are themselves also perhaps the most weighty. They may be reduced to a single head, the absence of any such element of Egyptian in the Greek language as could not fail to have been apparent, had the influence exercised by the one people on the early civilisation of the other been such as it is represented in these traditions.

2. Few subjects offer greater obstacles to the classification of ideas under specific terms, than the affinities of human speech. There are probably no two languages, at least of the old world, however radically distinct, but present such points of correspondence as can hardly be explained otherwise than by assuming, at some remote period, a closer connexion between the nations by whom they are spoken, than can have existed since the settlement of those nations in the region where history first discovers them. Even where, on the other hand, the resemblance between two forms of speech is such as to admit of their being classed as mere dialects of the same tongue, there may frequently be detected in each an admixture of elements foreign to the general character of either. The philologers of the old school were used to explain these phenomena by the hypothesis of a primitive common language, confounded or corrupted into many, by a special dispensation of

Philological
objections
to the
Egyptian
legend.

Providence, in the infancy of our species. Hence a variety of tongues, each retaining a portion of the original stock, and each subjected to changes in the subsequent vicissitudes of society. This theory, amid all the refinements of modern speculation, still remains, perhaps, irrespective of its sacred authority, as probable a solution of the enigma as critical ingenuity is likely to suggest.

Numerous, however, and complicated as are these modes of dialectical affinity, they may yet, as a medium for illustrating the parallel modes of national connexion, be brought under three more general and comprehensive heads: I. That slight correspondence of single words, solely or chiefly expressive of primary ideas, which is often observable in languages radically distinct from each other, and may be referred to the common origin of the human race, in some cases perhaps to accident; II. That close affinity of structure, as well as roots, which indicates a more immediate derivation from some secondary parent stock; III. Where the resemblance can be traced, after the full formation of each language, to the direct influence of the one upon the other, by colonisation, conquest, or social intercourse.

It is obvious that these various degrees may be blended or modified by incidental circumstances. Thus the second and third will both obtain where two nations, originally speaking cognate languages, are afterwards brought into closer social contact. Of this there are numerous familiar examples in every age. Again, it is clear that, where the third degree is traceable, it must, or may, be accompanied, to a certain extent, by the first; so that, in every such case, the amount of admixture arising from subsequent

intercourse could only be accurately estimated by deducting what was more properly due to the remoter, more general cause.

The Egyptian and Greek languages are admitted not to belong to the same family, but are essentially distinct in character and structure. The degree of affinity, therefore, which would naturally be perceptible, assuming no mixture of the two to have taken place, would be that enumerated as the first class. But had the Egyptians, as the legend would persuade us, established dynasties in the fairest parts of Hellas, the case were different. Had they taught the Greeks the first principles, or more subtle observances of religion, trained them in the usages of domestic life, or the arts of war and government, traces of these benefits could not fail to have been preserved in a proportional amount of that secondary correspondence between the two vocabularies which represents social intercourse. No such correspondence, however, is observable. All that can be traced is of that elementary nature which may obtain between radically distinct tongues, where no such intercourse has ever been pretended.

3. But the arguments derived from philological sources are not the only obstacles to the credibility of this tradition. They are powerfully corroborated by the dissimilarity of the habits, social and religious, of the two nations, so long as each preserved its genuine character. Among the national peculiarities of the Egyptians, here more immediately in point, was a proverbial dislike to foreigners, an aversion to quitting their own country, or admitting the visits of strangers. In early ages, to eat meat with a Hebrew was an "abomination to the Egyptians;"

Historical
objections.

and Herodotus¹ asserts that they abhorred all foreign usages, especially those of the Greeks, to the extent of esteeming it a profanation to kiss the face of a Greek, to make use of a Greek knife or cooking utensil, or even to taste the flesh of an animal cut up with Greek instruments. The same author, who yet would have us believe that the Greeks derived all their elementary civilisation from this very people, dwells with admiration on numerous other peculiarities in which the religion and manners of Egypt differed from those of all other countries, but especially of Greece.² The Egyptians were divided into castes ; their religious ministers, whether of male or female deities, were exclusively men ; their clergy shaved their heads, beards, and other parts of their bodies ; and the whole male population considered the rite of circumcision indispensable to purity. They worshipped animals, embalmed their dead, wrote in hieroglyphics, and abhorred swine's flesh. In all these particulars the practice of the Greeks was the reverse of that of their supposed instructors. They knew no distinction of castes ; consecrated females to the highest sacerdotal offices ; their priesthood were neither shaved nor circumcised ; they burnt their dead ; knew none but alphabetic writing ; ridiculed animal worship ; considered pork among the first of delicacies, and an acceptable sacrifice to the gods.

Another important feature of distinction between the two races, as bearing on the present question, was the proverbial abhorrence of the Egyptians for maritime enterprise. Sea voyages were looked upon as sacrilegious, pilots and naval officers as infamous persons, and salt water as an impure object. The sea

¹ II. 35. sqq. 41. 91.

² II. *passim*.

and the coasts of the Delta were emblems of Typhon, or the Evil principle; sea-fish and sea-salt were among the chief articles of unclean diet.¹ This feature of Egyptian character is confirmed by the whole testimony of antiquity, sacred and profane. In the detailed accounts of Egyptian power by the Hebrew prophets, the only circumstance of national greatness omitted is naval force. Neither ships nor maritime commerce are ever alluded to. Homer's negative evidence is equally strong. He covers the sea with Phœnician traders; and there are few coasts or islands of the Mediterranean but are represented by him as carrying on some species of navigation, whether for freight or piracy. But throughout his varied descriptions, although he brings his heroes to the shores of the Nile, he never hints at an Egyptian ship or an Egyptian traveller in any foreign country. It is, indeed, certain, that there were no seaports at the mouth of the Nile in early times; nor was the residence of strangers in the country permitted until the time of Psammetichus (650 B. C.), the first author of this, as of many other innovations on old national usage.²

The difference between the genuine Paganism of the Greeks and that of the Egyptians, notwithstanding the pains taken by speculative writers in every age to identify the two systems, is as broadly marked as that in the national character of the races. The affinities of polytheism admit, like those of language, various degrees of subdivision, upon closely analogous principles; and it is only from an ignorance or a misapplication of those principles, that the popular schools

¹ Plutarch, *Sympos.* viii. qu. 8.; Porphyry, *de Abst.* iv. 7.; Jablonsk. *Panth. Eg.* iii. p. 81.

² Diod. Sic. i. 31. 67.; Strab. p. 801. 819.; Herod. ii. 154.

of mythology, from Herodotus downwards, have been accustomed to consider the Dodonæan Jove as an emanation from the Theban Ammon, or the Attic Minerva as sprung from the Neit of Saïs. For the better elucidation of this point, one of no trifling interest in the intellectual history of Greece, it will be proper to consider the various modes in which coincidences between the objects of worship in different countries might arise.

The first is that mysterious connexion of certain primitive cosmogonical fables, common, under various forms, to most of the nations of the old world, and which seem to point at some parent stock of tradition as well as of language.

The second comprises those incidental points of similarity inherent in the essence of all polytheistic systems, where the chief deities are but personifications of the objects which most forcibly affect the senses or the imagination; where, therefore, different races, in pursuing the same track, would naturally stumble on the same conceptions. It were indeed surprising, if, between the deities of love, of war, of agriculture, or of the vintage, as worshipped in different regions, there should not spontaneously occur near points of analogy, even among nations of widely different origin and character.

The third mode is where superstitions, already peculiar to one country, are directly transferred to another, by colonies, conquest, or otherwise. Here the resemblance, in name or attribute, can seldom fail to be so palpable as clearly to betray the source in which it originates.

In applying these criteria to any parallel features in the Paganism of Egypt and of Hellas, we must dis-embarrass our minds of the fanciful analogies of the

popular pantheon; and, forgetting the incongruous compounds of Jupiter-Ammon and Horus-Apollo, place the Greek system, as figured in Homer, by the side of the Egyptian, as illustrated by the native monuments. No two sets of idols can well be imagined more distinct in name or character.¹ Any small amount of actual correspondence is plainly referable to the first or second of the above three sources. At a later period, when Egypt was opened to foreign settlers by Psammetichus, a close connexion by social intercourse was formed, which, in the Macedonian and Roman periods, amounted to an almost entire blending of the two pantheons.

4. It might indeed be asked, why should a proud people be so ready to acknowledge their most important national institutions to be the gift of strangers, rather than the fruit of their own invention, unless there were some real groundwork for the belief? The answer is to be found in the characteristic zeal displayed by the Greeks of later times to establish analogies between their religious rites and those, not only of Egypt, but of all other Pagan nations. This peculiarity may be attributed, partly to a disposition to classify and theorise, inherent in the subtle genius of the race; partly, perhaps, to some natural instinct, which led them, amid the darkness of their own polytheism, to acknowledge a principle of unity in the deity, and by consequence an aboriginal connexion be-

Later
Greek
prejudices
concerning
Egypt.

¹ Yet Herodotus says (II. 52.) that "formerly the Pelasgians had no separate names for the gods, until they learned them from the Egyptians." The historian must be presumed to use the phrase *ἔρρεα* in this passage, not in the literal sense, but in that of denomination, personality, character; for it were difficult, certainly, to imagine two sets of names differing more entirely from each other than those of Zeus and Ammon, Apollo and Hor, Artemis and Bubastis, Hermes and Thôt. The contrast might be extended through the whole Pantheon.

tween his popular types in different countries. Hence, as each of the surrounding nations had its own polytheistic system, they were seldom at a loss to discover a new variety of Jupiter, Apollo, or Minerva, in Thrace, Syria, Libya, or any other country into which their theological researches were extended. The same Venus whom they indentified with the Egyptian Athor was still more frequently derived from the Phœnician Astarte; and Jupiter himself, who is at one time styled Ammon, is at another as confidently surnamed Belus. Consistently, however, with the guiding principle of their speculations, it suggested itself, that, among these varied forms of the same divinity, some particular one must be the prototype of the others. The award of this preference to any one nation would naturally be regulated by its claims to superior antiquity of social culture; and the region which could not fail to occur to a Greek was Egypt. The serenity of its climate, the spontaneous fertility of its soil, its early advance in art and science, and the splendour of its monuments, all seemed to guarantee its title to be the fountain-head whence the rest of the world had derived the elements both of religion and art. The intimate relations established between the two countries by the settlement of Hellenic colonies in Egypt, about the period when the Greeks first imbibed a taste for antiquarian research, still further tended to secure to the claims of the Egyptians a decided superiority over those of other great empires to the eastward. The Egyptians, on their part, were not slow to turn to account dispositions so gratifying to their own vanity. Their priesthood, accordingly, on becoming acquainted, through the new settlers, with the native Greek traditions, interwove with them, as

a means of cementing the alliance, numerous fictions, which every one moderately versed in the genuine Egyptian mythology must perceive at once to be completely repugnant to its real principles.¹ These remarks apply more or less to the analogies, real or imaginary, between the monuments of early art in the two countries. There are, indeed, few specimens of Greek art now extant possessing claims to date prior to the reign of Psammetichus, from which period Greek artists and men of science flocked to Egypt from motives of curiosity or study. But the style of the few, chiefly of an architectural character, to which a more remote antiquity can, with any certainty, be ascribed, bears no resemblance to the Egyptian.

5. It may, however, be urged, that giving full weight to the above objections, it were yet nothing incredible that a few adventurers from the banks of the Nile, possibly fugitives or outlaws, should have happened, in the course of ages, to seek refuge in Greece; and that, unless some such basis existed for the legend of Egyptian settlement, its antiquity or inveteracy would be difficult to explain. This view of the case may the more readily be admitted, that it is both reasonable in itself, and supported by a version of the legend which, if less familiar, is not less antient or well attested than that above examined, while open to no similar objection on historical grounds.

Phœnician
legend.
Historical
and philo-
logical evi-
dence in its
favour.

The most important event recorded in the early annals of Egypt is the invasion of its territory by certain warlike foreigners of Semitic race, Phœnicians

¹ Such are the adventures in Egypt, and subsequent deification by the Egyptians, of Io of Argos, Perseus son of Danae, and Helen of Troy, as narrated by Herodotus, I. 5., II. 91. 112. sqq. See Vol. IV. p. 346. sq.

or Arabs, as variously designated, who, driving the natives into the fastnesses of the Upper Nile, established and maintained, during several centuries, a distinct empire over Lower Egypt. Afterwards, the native powers, regaining the ascendant, subdued and expelled the usurpers, who took refuge, some in the parts of Asia whence they had issued, while others, flying by sea, settled on various coasts of the Mediterranean. The period of these latter events, amid the uncertainties of fabulous chronology, harmonises sufficiently with that at which the Egyptian colonisation of Greece is reported to have taken place. Accordingly, several respectable authors, prior to Herodotus the earliest organ of the popular version, described Danaus, Cadmus, and other Oriental colonists of Greece, as fugitives from Egypt, under virtually the same circumstances above recapitulated.¹ This, therefore, may claim to be the older and more authentic form of the tradition. With such a groundwork of fact, Egyptian priests and Greek mythologers would not be slow, under the influence of the prevailing prejudice, to convert the arrival of strangers from Egypt into a colony of native Egyptians. With respect to Danaus, even the details of the popular legend favour the above explanation. He is there represented as a usurper, or state criminal, driven from the shores of the Nile by the "sons of Ægyptus," literally, by the native Egyptians. He is also occasionally described as son

¹ Hecateus Miles. ap. Diod. Sic. in Phot. cod. 244.; Conon, in Phot. Narr. 32. 37.; conf. Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 783.; Anaximander Miles. et Dionys. Miles. ap. Bekk. *ibid.* These authors also ascribe to Danaus, rather than Cadmus, the introduction of the alphabet. This seems, therefore, to have been the doctrine of the early Milesian school of history, which first spread a taste for prose composition in Greece.

of Belus, the chief deity and national hero of the Syrian or Phœnician races, whose name, in the Semitic dialects, signifies simply lord or king. Hence Danaus, son of Belus, as opposed to the sons of Ægyptus, may be understood to figure the Phœnician or so-called Pastor dynasty, expelled by the native princes. Cadmus is also described as sprung from a Phœnician dynasty, whose royal residence was the Egyptian Thebes ; or as a native of Phœnicia, but sailing from Egypt in company with fugitives from that country.¹ Hence the old historian Pherecydes makes him godson of Nilus.² Further indirect confirmation of this view is furnished by the testimony of Herodotus, the chief pillar of the Egyptian system, that whatever intercourse took place in these early times between Egypt and Greece was by means of Phœnician navigators. Advocate as he is for Egyptian art and influence, he never describes an Egyptian ship as having sailed from the Nile, either for Attica or Peloponnesus. On each occasion he is careful to bring his colonists in Phœnician transports.³

The philological data, so much at variance with the popular view, are no less favourable to that here adopted. While the Greek and Phœnician languages are as radically distinct as the Greek and Egyptian, the number of kindred words in the two former so far exceeds that which any law of primeval affinity could justify, as to afford strong evidence of a further admixture by subsequent intercourse. A considerable portion of these words denote objects or ideas connected with a comparatively advanced stage of society,

¹ Conon, ap. Phot. sup. cit. ; Hecat. ap. Diod. sup. cit.

² Frag. 40. Didot.

³ 1. 1. sqq., II 54. This practice is common also to the tragic writers, Eur. Hel. v. 1292. 1433.

such as the more rude might have borrowed from the more civilised people. Among them are various names or epithets of deities and mythological persons or places, not referable to Greek etymology, but significant and appropriate when tested by that of the Semitic dialects. They afford proof, consequently, not indeed that the Greek pantheon was imported from Phœnicia, but, at least, that the rites of the one system exercised influence on the other. The social habits, also, of the Phœnician or Canaanite races, instead of those broad points of discrepancy above noticed in the case of the Egyptians, are marked in many essential particulars by a great similarity to those of the Hellenes.

The Phœ-
nician al-
phabet.

6. But the conclusive and living testimony of early Phœnician influence on the Greek language and literature is the correspondence, in name and form, of the alphabetic characters of the two nations. This fact, apart from all tradition on the subject, amounts to historical proof that Greece was indebted for the art of writing to an Oriental source. Any more detailed remarks on her early progress in that art will be reserved for a future page. It will here suffice to offer a succinct view, first, of the elementary properties of the primitive Phœnician alphabet; secondly, of the modifications it underwent in its adaptation to their own purposes by the Greeks.

Attention must first be directed to a characteristic feature of distinction between antient and modern practice, in regard to this first or mechanical element of literature. The European nations of the present day are in the habit of designating, both in speaking and writing, each letter of the alphabet merely by the sound it represents; that is, in the case of a vowel, by

its own simple sound ; in that of a consonant, with the addition of so much of some vowel sound as is necessary to vocalise its own. The old alphabets, on the other hand, had distinct names for each letter, some of them of considerable length, and comprising various other sounds besides that which the letter itself represented. Thus, what we call simply A, B, G, the Phœnicians named Aleph, Beth, Gimel ; and the Greeks, with slight variation from the original type, Alpha, Beta, Gamma. The source of this different usage is to be sought in the origin of alphabetic writing, or at least of that particular alphabet from which all those now used in Europe are either directly or remotely derived, and which bears internal evidence of having been originally formed on a hieroglyphic principle. This will be best illustrated by the analogy of the kindred art among the Egyptians. The Egyptian hieroglyphic was of two kinds: the one figurative or symbolic, where the character depicted represented an object or idea ; the other phonetic or *sonant*, when it represented a sound. It is the latter class alone which here requires to be considered. Each phonetic hieroglyphic was, in fact, an alphabetic character, expressing the vowel or consonant which formed the first element of the name of the pictured object. A, for instance, was figured by an eagle, *achom* in Egyptian ; B by a goat, *ba* ; and so forth. The foundation of the art among the Phœnicians was similar. The name of each letter was here also that of some familiar object, the first sound of which was the element to be represented. Thus Aleph, Phœnician for an ox, stands for A ; Beth, a house, for B ; Gimel, a camel, for G. It may hence be inferred, that, in its origin, each of these

characters was, as in the parallel case of the Egyptians, a picture of the object itself. Accordingly, the primitive forms of some of them, as they appear in the more antient remains of Semitic writing, Beth, Teth, Jod, for example, are evident contractions of a rude figure of the objects, House, Serpent, Hand, which their names respectively denote.

There was, however, an essential difference in the system as reduced to practice by the two nations. The Phœnicians, advancing from the elements of the science to its perfection, limited their representation of each sound to one character. They thus produced a simple and determinate method of writing, applicable to all purposes, and the rudiments of which might be acquired by a few months' study of a child. The Egyptians, on the other hand, not only mixed up with this more practical mode of expressing their ideas various others of a purely enigmatic nature, but, even as regards the former, instead of restricting, like the Phœnicians, the representation of their phonetic elements to one familiar object, they admitted a variety of signs for each.¹ This singular people seem, in fact, in their system of writing, as of elegant art, not merely to have stopped short on the road to perfection. They were even at pains, by wilfully imposing shackles on its free exercise, to render that which ought to be the simplest and easiest of sciences, as a guide to all the others, itself the most complicated and mysterious.

Its adoption by the Greeks.

7. The Greeks, in adopting the alphabet of the Phœnicians, retained both the forms and the names

¹ It is even doubtful whether, in this accumulation of phonetic signs, the primary condition relative to the initial sound was consistently observed.

of its letters, slightly modified, in the order in which they originally stood ; and the significant Semitic terms, Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, were transformed into the more euphonous, but really unmeaning, Phœnico-Greek barbarisms, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta. These names, through the influence of Greek civilisation, have since become identified with the practice of this most essential of human arts in every age and country ; and how few of the millions who now use the "Alphabet" are aware that its name is a compound of the Phœnician words Ox and House, and, as such, a lasting memorial of the obligations under which modern literature and science lie to primitive Oriental ingenuity. While the names of the letters underwent little change, either in Greece or the East, their forms were subjected to considerable alteration ; so that between the classical Greek character and the latter Phœnician but slight resemblance is perceptible. The original community of form may, however, be traced in the more antient inscriptions of the two languages.

The Phœnician alphabet contained twenty-two letters. The whole of this number appears to have been adopted at once by the Greeks, but with some variations both of power and order, effected upon principles of analogy, affording further evidence of the antiquity and extent of the general correspondence. This will sufficiently appear from the subjoined comparative table. The first column represents the Phœnician alphabet according to its twofold value, as a representative of sound, and as a numeral system, to which latter purpose it was applied from the earliest period. The second column contains the whole number of letters ever in use among the Greeks. The

first twenty-two of these are Phœnician, and in their original places, as corresponding each to its Oriental prototype; the remainder are of native Hellenic invention. The third column contains the classical Greek alphabet, as finally formed and settled out of the foregoing. The fourth column exhibits the Greek alphabet as a numeral system. The fifth is the Latin alphabet.

Phœnician Alphabet and Numerals.		Full Number of Greek Letters.	Classical Greek Alphabet.	Greek Numerals.	Roman Alphabet.
Aleph.	1.	Alpha.	Alpha.	1. Alpha.	A.
Beth.	2.	Beta.	Beta.	2. Beta.	B.
Gimel.	3.	Gamma.	Gamma.	3. Gamma.	C.
Daleth.	4.	Delta.	Delta.	4. Delta.	D.
He.	5.	E.	Epsilon.	5. Epsilon.	E.
Vau.	6.	Vau.	- - -	6. Vau.	F.
Zain.	7.	San.	Zeta.	7. Zeta.	G.
Heth.	8.	Heta.	Eta.	8. Eta.	H.
Teth.	9.	Theta.	Theta.	9. Theta.	-
Jod.	10.	Iota.	Iota.	10. Iota.	I.
Kaph.	20.	Kappa.	Kappa.	20. Kappa.	(K.)
Lamed.	30.	Lambda.	Lambda.	30. Lambda.	L.
Mim.	40.	My.	My.	40. My.	M.
Nun.	50.	Ny.	Ny.	50. Ny.	N.
Samech.	60.	Sigma.	Xi.	60. Xi.	-
Oin.	70.	O.	O-micron.	70. O-micron.	O.
Pe.	80.	Pi.	Pi.	80. Pi.	P.
Tsade.	90.	Zeta.	- - -	- - -	-
Koph.	100.	Koppa.	- - -	90. Koppa.	Q.
Resch.	200.	Rho.	Rho.	100. Rho.	R.
Schin.	300.	Xi.	Sigma.	200. Sigma.	S.
Thau.	400.	Tau.	Tau.	300. Tau.	T.
		Y.	Ypsilon.	400. Ypsilon.	U.
		Phi.	Phi.	500. Phi.	V.
		Chi.	Chi.	600. Chi.	X.
		Psi.	Psi.	700. Psi.	(Y.)
		O.	O-mega.	800. O-mega.	(Z.)
				900. Sampi.	

Its subsequent modification.
Vowels.

8. That the powers of the original characters, in their adaptation to a radically different tongue, should undergo alteration, was to be expected; and for one

essential improvement the system was indebted to the Greeks. The old Phœnician or Semitic alphabets consisted solely of consonants. The pure vowel sounds, which equally rank as letters in the European orthography, were considered in the Oriental system but as subordinate aids to pronunciation, and were comprehended, like accent or metrical quantity, in the power of each consonant, upon principles with which the reader's intimate knowledge of his native dialect was presumed to render him familiar. But the more correct ear of the Greeks was not satisfied with this indeterminate mode of expressing sounds, which, in their etymology, were little less radical than the consonants, and, in a language so greatly dependent for its full formation on poetry and music, required to be no less exactly distinguished. In order, however, to procure this new class of elements, it was not found necessary to invent an entirely new set of characters. Several of the aspirate, or guttural letters of the Phœnician alphabet, though technically classed as consonants by Oriental grammarians, might more properly be defined as an intermediate order between pure consonant and vowel. The former character, accordingly, they forfeited entirely, as modified into what was called in the same system a quiescent state, where, sinking their proper power, they appropriated each to itself, in general if not in constant use, a particular vowel sound. They thus approached very nearly to what would be classed in the European alphabets as vowels, and lent themselves, by consequence, readily to the required object of the Greeks. These letters were the Aleph, He, Jod, Oin, and Vau. The first four the Greeks adopted as the simple vowel sounds, A, E, I, O. The fifth, which, from the analogy of the others,

ought to have been converted into U, retained its original aspirate power as the Greek Vau, or, as it is familiarly called, the Digamma. For the pure U another character was invented, named in contradistinction to the Vau, or aspirate U, the Υ ψιλόν, and placed at the end of the twenty-two original letters.

In three cases, where the Phœnicians employed two separate characters to represent different modifications of the same sound, each pair, on being transferred to the Greek alphabet, underwent a commutation of power, and, in two of the three, a corresponding change of order. The first case is that of the Zain and the Tsade. The former of these letters, nearly equivalent to our Z, became the San; the latter, pronounced ts, the Zeta of the Greek alphabet. With the Greeks, however, the Zeta engrossed to itself the representation of both varieties of the Zed sound, and, usurping at the same time the place of the San, became the seventh, instead of, as previously, the eighteenth, in the order of letters. The San, falling into disuse altogether as a vehicle of sound, was banished to the end of the list, where it was employed as the sign of the numeral 900; the name being also altered in later times into San-pi, owing to some resemblance which was traced between its form and that of the Greek letter Pi. The second case is that of the Samech and the Schin, the fifteenth and twenty-first in the Phœnician alphabet. The former became the Greek Sigma; the latter the Greek Chsi or X. The two, in their new capacity, also exchanged places, the Chsi being transferred to the fifteenth, the Sigma to the twenty-first rank in the Greek arrangement. In the remaining case the Teth, representing with the

Phœnicians the simple T sound, was converted into the Greek aspirate Theta; while the Thau, or aspirated T of the Phœnicians, became the simple T of the Greeks; each retaining its original place, but undergoing a slight alteration of name corresponding to that of its power.

The number of vowel signs in the Greek alphabet was subsequently increased from five to seven. The Eta, which at first, like its original the Heth, represented the aspirate or soft guttural, corresponding to the Latin H, was, from an early period partially, from Olymp. xciv exclusively, employed as long E, double of the Epsilon. About the same time a new letter, Omega, came into general use to represent the long O or double Omicron, and took up its place as last of the series.¹ The Vau, or Digamma, an important agent in early Greek orthography, less, however, as a principal than a subsidiary letter, retained much of its previous character of vowel-consonant, or, in the technical language of the Oriental schools, of quiescible letter. It was chiefly used as a liquid guttural or aspirate, somewhat akin to our English wh, to impart emphasis to the initial vowels of words, and possessed the power, with certain limitations, of creating metrical position. It fell, however, out of use in the classical dialects, in the course of their subsequent refinement, though retained in the local idiom of certain provinces up to a late epoch.² It also maintained its place as the representative of the number 6

¹ These new vowels first came into familiar use in the Ionian colonies of Asia, probably at a very early period (cf. Giese, *Æolisch. Dial.* p. 171.). The improvements were not adopted in the public style of Athens until Ol. xciv. (404. B.C.) The old orthography hence obtained the distinctive name of Attic.

² For the modern digamma theory, see Append. to Ch. vii. of B. III.

in the numeral system. The Koppa was banished from the classical alphabet at an early period, its sound being, in the Greek modification of the system, so nearly identical with that of the Kaph or Kappa, that one letter sufficed for both; it occurs, however, in the more antiquated Doric and Æolic inscriptions. When totally disused as an element of sound, it continued, as with the Phœnicians, to represent the numeral 90, and was also employed in musical notation. After these various changes, the Greek alphabet presented its full complement of twenty-four letters and twenty-seven numeral signs, in the order familiar to every classical student.

Error of
the popular
theory on
the subject.

9. The results of the foregoing analysis are at variance, in many points, with the popular Greek traditions relative to the first introduction and subsequent augmentation of the Phœnician alphabet.¹ According to those traditions, the number of letters imported by Cadmus was sixteen only: α, β, γ, δ, ε, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ο, π, ρ, σ, τ, υ. To these Palamedes, a hero of the Trojan war, is fabled to have added four (ζ, θ, φ, χ); and the whole number to have been made up, towards the close of the sixth century B. C., by the poets Simonides and Epicharmus. The fallacy

¹ The author has been gratified to observe that his palæographical views, as substantially embodied in this chapter about fifteen years ago, correspond in all essential points with those since promulgated by his valued friend, Dr. Franz of Berlin. The only difference, even of detail, relates to the connexion between the sibilant letters of the two alphabets. Dr. Franz assumes the primitive Greek San to have been derived from the Schin, not the Zain of the Phœnicians, on the ground of its having been used in the Spartan alphabet as equivalent to Sigma. The author, however, prefers his own conjecture, as more consistent with analogy, and must therefore consider the Spartan usage as a mere provincial anomaly. J. Franz, *Elem. Epigraph. Gr.*, Berlin, 1840, p. 12. sqq.

of these accounts is evinced by the correspondence above shown, both in regard to power and position, between the whole twenty-two Phœnician characters and an equal number of the more antient Greek. Besides, the three letters, Vau, Koppa, and San, are altogether unaccounted for in the vulgar legend, although as distinctly traceable as the others to their Oriental originals; while the Y-pilon, though plainly of Greek invention, is enumerated among the primitive Phœnician elements. The only letters for which the Greeks were indebted to their own ingenuity are the last five of their complete alphabet. The exact period of their introduction is obscure; and the whole further inquiry into the changes which these and other portions of the system may have undergone, prior to its full maturity at Athens in the xcvth Olymp., involves questions belonging rather to the province of the antiquary or epigraphist than to that of the literary historian.¹

The analogy between the two alphabets is further observable in their adaptation to arithmetical purposes. The numerals from 1 to 10 were in both systems represented by the first ten letters: in the Phœnician, according to their familiar order; in the Greek, the Vau, dropped as a purely alphabetic character, was retained as sign of the number 6. The remaining decimals up to 80 are, in both lists, represented by the ensuing seven elements. In the sequel, while the principle remains the same, the minor alterations in the positions of the Greek letters impede the closer

Greek
numerals.

¹ See Franz, *op. sup. cit.* Introd.; conf. Giese, *Æolisch. Dial.* p. 171. sqq.

conformity of details up to the number 1000, where the correspondence recurs with similar precision.¹

Modes of
writing.

In the application of the system to the combination of words and phrases, the Oriental nations of every period have been in the habit of writing from right to left. To this custom the Greeks, in the earlier period of their practice, also conformed, several of the older extant inscriptions being so written; others, however, of equal or superior antiquity, in the now familiar form from left to right, imply that from a remote period both modes were in use. A third method peculiar to the Greeks, and which remained in partial use down to the time of Solon, was where the lines proceeded from right to left, and from left to right, in alternate order. This was called the *Bustrophedon*, or "Turn-ox," method, from its resemblance to the course of the plough in the tillage of land. The now universal European practice seems to have completely superseded both the others about the period of the Persian war.

¹ See *Matthiæ*, Gr. Gram. § 1. 4.; *Gesenius*, Hebr. Gram. i. § 5. It is remarkable, however, that little or no trace of this mode can be discovered among the Greeks until a comparatively late period. The ordinary method, in classical ages, was the employment of perpendicular lines for units up to four, Π (πέντε) stood for five, Δ (δέκα) for ten, Η (ἑκατόν) for hundred, Χ (χίλια) for thousand, Μ (μύρια) for ten thousand; or, where the whole alphabet was used, its letters ranked in their familiar Hellenic order, as, for example, in the numbering of the books of Homer, where α is 1, ω 24. The other mode does not appear to have become general before the first century of the Roman empire. It is difficult, however, to understand how it could have occurred to the public of that age to adopt so apparently anomalous a system, if not sanctioned by previous custom. It is more probable that the Phœnician method had been employed in Greece from time immemorial, but confined to local or provincial, possibly to literary, as distinct from monumental, usage. The first extant traces of it are in the older Græco-Egyptian papyri; and, under the auspices of the Alexandrian grammarians, it finally became universal. *Conf. Franz*, op. cit. p. 346. sq.

CHAP. V.

STRUCTURE AND GENIUS OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

1. INFLUENCE OF SOIL, CLIMATE, AND NATIONAL CHARACTER ON LANGUAGE.—
2. PRINCIPLE OF FORMATION COMMON TO THE INDO-TEUTONIC TONGUES.—
3. CONTRAST OF THE SEMITIC AND CHINESE.—4. CHARACTERISTIC PROPERTIES OF THE GREEK BRANCH OF THE INDO-TEUTONIC STEM.

1. THE settlement of Oriental colonies in Greece produced no sensible effect on the character either of the language or the nation. The strangers appear in the tradition as few in number, refugees rather than invaders. Their national peculiarities were speedily merged in the common mass of native usage; just as the language and habits of the Norman chiefs of our own dark ages coalesced with those of the native Franks or Celts of the countries occupied by those adventurers. Hence, the foreign element, though distinguishable in the Greek vocabulary by the test of critical etymology, rarely if ever offends by any incongruity of sound or structure. The classical Greek tongue, therefore, in any remarks on its original genius, may safely be considered as a genuine uncorrupted scion of the primitive Indo-Pelasgian stock.

Influence of soil, climate, and national character on language.

By writers on the early history of society, too much weight has usually been attached to the influence of soil, climate, or other physical accidents in the formation of national character; too little to the faculties originally stamped by Providence on different races. Innate qualities must here be dis-

tinguished from mere development, the vegetative power of the root from that of the soil. External causes may, where unfavourable, blight the germ of the indigenous plant; where propitious, may add luxuriance to its growth, or even bring the same seed to maturity in less congenial sites. But the effect produced must still depend on the materials on which the cause operates. A man naturally devoid of talent for painting will not become a skilful draughtsman merely by residing in a picturesque region; nor will a people naturally deficient in genius attain distinction in art or letters, merely by inhabiting a country favourable to their cultivation. Had the Hellenic race, in the course of its early migrations, fixed its abode among the wilds of Scythia, we might at this day have been under as little obligation to its artists or authors as to those of the Tartar tribes who now inhabit the same regions. Had Greece, on the other hand, in the vicissitudes of human settlement, fallen to the lot of a swarm of Huns, centuries of brilliant sun and balmy air would hardly have infused into them the spirit of Homer or Phidias. To take a nearer case of illustration: Did national genius depend in any essential degree on soil or climate, how happened it that the Lydian or Carian aborigines of the Asiatic coast, or the Samnians and Sicanians of the two Sicilies, were so deficient in those tastes and talents which the Greeks so brilliantly displayed in the same countries?

If, in the great scheme of Providence for the moral advancement of the creation, to every people, as to every individual, a distinct part has been allotted in the drama of temporal existence, the Greek nation may be assumed, long before its subjection to any second-

ary influences, to have been preordained the special instrument of perfecting those delightful arts which, while in themselves the most effectual means of softening the ruder element of our nature, afford the purest sources of mental enjoyment. The same Providence which formed the design adopted also the most efficacious means of carrying it into effect, by placing this favoured people under a bright but temperate heaven, in a fertile and salubrious land, offering in its interior every variety of scenery, from the softest amenity to the extreme of grand and terrible, and intersected by gulfs and arms of the sea, opening up a continued succession of inspiring prospects, with a boundless sphere of activity for the intellectual faculties. What has been said of the genius of the people applies equally to their language. The influence of local circumstances in promoting its harmony, richness, and flexibility, was limited to maturing those properties the germ of which was coexistent with the nation. General theories as to the direct operation of such causes are, indeed, belied by the experience of every critical linguist, which readily supplies examples of languages remarkable for euphony flourishing in rugged inhospitable countries, and of harsh and jarring accents among the aborigines of the most genial climates.

That the character of a language should correspond to that of the people by whom it is spoken is a more accurate doctrine, and one finely exemplified in the case of the Greeks. The origin of human speech is itself a mystery which no human ingenuity can be expected ever thoroughly to penetrate. The most plausible theory is, that words were at first imitative of the ideas they express, being called into existence

to denote the objects by which man was surrounded, or the wants by which he was assailed. Accordingly, in every primitive tongue, numerous elementary terms are evidently the result of attempts to express ideas by some inflexion of the voice, between which and the idea itself there existed, or was imagined to exist a certain resemblance. In many cases where the thing to be represented was directly associated with some sound, the resemblance may be called real. Obvious examples occur in the names of various animals, or the terms expressive of their cries. But there are also cases where, though no such immediate connexion exists, ideas are yet closely associated with sound by a sympathy between the senses, which leads to the designation of objects remarkable for a certain quality as experienced through the organs of vision, touch, or taste, by words productive of a similar sensation on the organs of hearing. This sympathy extends to moral qualities, the varieties of which may be expressed by corresponding shades of softness or asperity, density or liquidity, in the sounds by which they are denoted. In proportion, therefore, as the perceptive faculties of a people are delicate and acute, will be the imitative precision of these elementary tones as developed through the above process. This sympathy between words and ideas, while an important element of beauty in every language, constitutes one of the chief advantages which original tongues possess over those of a derivative character, where, in the vicissitudes of mixture or corruption, any such harmony must, in a large proportion of cases, be extinguished.

But the excellence of a language depends even less perhaps on the expressive power of its primitive elements, than on their adaptation, infinitely com-

bined and varied, to the more complicated ideas of which the fabric of human speech is composed. Harmony of sound must be subservient to that of form and arrangement. As, however, the musical organs and the intellectual faculties have no necessary dependence on each other, even where the previous stage of invention may have been accomplished under the best auspices, the further process of combination may be jejune and defective. Hence languages highly expressive in regard to sound are often deficient in point of structure. In order, therefore, to the attainment of the highest excellence, it is essential, first, that a language should be the original invention of the people who speak it; secondly, that this people should be gifted, not only with a fine sense of euphony, but with variety and extent of intellectual powers. These favourable circumstances were combined, in the case of the Greek, in a greater degree than in that of any other known language. While it is in all essential respects a radically original tongue, its mechanism, both in sound and structure, reflects all the harmony, versatility, and precision, which mark the genius of the race by whom it was spoken.

2. The foundation common to the Greek with other scattered members of the great Indo-Teutonic stem is a certain number of monosyllabic roots, expressive of primary ideas, and capable of being combined into other secondary forms signifying objects or ideas of a more complex character. The same process, carried through upon similar principles, in respect to these secondary forms, makes up the complement of the language. In the different stages of this process, words are also subject to internal changes, by the curtailment, augmentation, or alteration of their own letters or syllables, partly as a means of varying the

Principle of formation common to the Indo-Teutonic tongues.

sense, partly of modifying the sound, whether for the sake of euphony, or of its closer adaptation to the object to be expressed.

In so far as the words of this more complex order present the objects expressed each in its abstract or independent character, the above process is classed by grammarians under the head of Composition. Where this abstract character is modified, by reference to time, place, or circumstances, it is called Flexion.

Take, for example, the terms $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\alpha$, $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The primitive root may here be considered as the monosyllable $\theta\epsilon$, denoting the idea of *Divinity* in its simplest form. The addition of another primitive root, $\omicron\varsigma$, denoting male gender, gives $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, a god; that of α , denoting feminine gender, $\theta\epsilon\alpha$, a goddess; that of $\iota\omicron\varsigma$, denoting quality or property, gives $\theta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, divine. In all these secondary forms, the new idea subsists in its simple integrity, in the same abstract mode as the primary idea itself. But if any one of these derivatives be affected by other component elements, signifying a certain relation, such as possession, privation, propinquity, distance, between itself and some other idea extraneous to it, the word is then said to be subject to flexion. As an example may be taken the change of the last syllable of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ into the genitive $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. Here the object is no longer contemplated in its independent capacity, but in its relation to some other object expressed or understood.

The whole body of primitive, and, with certain restrictions as to compass or euphony, even secondary roots of the Greek tongue, are qualified to enter, in one or other of the above modes, into the formation

of new words. Those employed in flexion, comparatively few in number, and serving, under the same or slightly varied forms, for the modification of every word susceptible by nature of such influence, have become for the most part obsolete in their primary character. They have, as it were, forfeited their own independence, in order to give greater precision and effect to their power of varying and extending the influence of their fellows. The same remark applies also to a certain number of the more elementary class of roots employed in composition.

3. The above properties, common, more or less, to all the Indo-Teutonic languages, will be best appreciated by a comparison with the methods adopted by other radically distinct families of human speech for attaining the same objects. Of these families the most remarkable are, the Semitic or Aramaic, comprising the Hebrew, Arabic, Phœnician, and others, extending over the greater part of South-western Asia; and that less fully explored by European scholars, of which the Chinese is the most widely spread and highly cultivated variety.

Contrast of
the Semitic
and Chi-
nese.

The fundamental elements of the Chinese tongue are also monosyllabic roots. But their combination, both etymological and syntactical, is very different from that above illustrated; being effected neither by composition nor flexion, but by a simple juxtaposition of the primary terms which embody the whole complex idea to be expressed.¹

The distinguishing properties of the Semitic family are, first, the limitation of the radical elements of

¹ This rule applies strictly, perhaps, only to the older purer Chinese. The dialect of the present day is understood to admit also, though sparingly, the principle of amalgamation which forms the characteristic property of the Indo-Teutonic.

words to consonants, the vowel sounds being but a subsidiary mechanism for imparting to the others their articulate power; and, secondly, the prevalence of bisyllabic or trilateral roots. In the representation of complex ideas, the Semitic steers a middle course between the jejune dryness of the Chinese and the elegant versatility of the Greek. Repudiating almost entirely, in the creation of new terms, the Greek principle of composition, it resorts for the same purpose either to variations in the elementary roots by aid of the vowel sounds, or to the Chinese plan of juxtaposition. In flexion, on the other hand, although it admits of an extensive combination of roots, the subsidiary elements are far from blending with the principal word in the same easy spirit of coalition as in the Greek conjugations or declensions. Those elements have acquired accordingly, in the phraseology of the Oriental schools, the names of *Suffix*, *Affix*, and others similar, instead of that of *Flexions* as among Greek grammarians.

The superiority of the Indo-Teutonic principle has been generally recognised by critical philologists. The rich variety of expression which it secures, both in the first formation and the grammatical development of words and phrases, is but ill compensated, in the rival tongues, by greater uniformity of method and etymological precision. These latter qualities, always of somewhat questionable value when carried beyond a certain point, degenerate in the Chinese into tasteless monotony. Where certain ideas instinctively form themselves in the mind of the speaker into collective groups, as in the more advanced stages of Greek composition and flexion, it is obviously both more natural and more agreeable that they should,

within certain limits of bulk or complexity, be offered to the apprehension in one animated body, than scattered before it in disjointed members. The number and variety of vowel sounds, which also form a distinctive feature of the Greek tongue, and which, neither immutably fixed as in the Chinese, nor, as in the Semitic, mere subordinate agents of the consonants, appear as active independent elements of the language in every stage of its developement, impart to it a harmony and fluidity, as well as power of expression, to which the others are altogether strangers.

4. The above characteristics, however, of the original Indo-Teutonic stem are far from being exemplified in the same degree, or under the same features of excellence, in all its branches. The superiority of the Greek may be said to consist in having preserved, abandoned, or modified the common properties, in the manner best calculated to bring every variety of idea most effectually home to the understanding. None of the sister tongues can compete with it in regard to sound; while, in several, the composite principle of formation has degenerated into little more than the Chinese expedient of juxtaposition.¹ Of the whole body, the Sanskrit is

Character-
istics of the
Greek
branch of
the Indo-
Teutonic
stem.

¹ The facility which the Greek tongue offers for creating new terms, to represent the extensions of idea involved in the progress of society, is curiously contrasted with the sluggishness of the most cultivated modern languages, in their dependance at this day on the etymological aids of the Greek lexicon for the requisite additions to their scientific vocabulary. By far the largest amount of these additions consists notoriously of Greek compounds, invented to express objects or ideas unknown to the Greeks themselves. The expressive elegance of the classical formations appears the more striking as contrasted with the clumsiness of the parallel Germanic terms; compare, for example, *Typography* and *Buchdrucker-kunst*, *Telescope* and *Fern-rohr*, *Hydraulics* and *Wasser-bau-kunst*.

understood to have most carefully preserved, in their merits and defects, the peculiarities of the antient common type, and claims, therefore, to be, if not the parent tree, at least the oldest of its branches. The chief points of resemblance, accordingly, between the Sanskrit and the Greek are in the properties where the former is most to be admired: in fertility of composition and flexion, luxuriance of grammatical forms, and in the many delicate phases assumed by the primary parts of speech, frequentative, prospective, desiderative; reflecting a singular acuteness of the discriminating faculty, and affording in return a rich fund of materials for its exercise. While the Greek thus rivals her Oriental sister in variety of forms, she asserts, in respect to sound, a marked superiority over all the members of the family. The vowel sounds of the Sanskrit are comparatively monotonous, occasionally harsh and constrained. Those of the Greek are distinguished for variety and euphony. In the combination of consonants and vowels the Greek also exhibits the same happy blending of uniformity and versatility, the same just medium between redundancy and poverty, which characterise all the productions of Hellenic genius. The liquid fulness of the vowels is so tempered by the admixture of consonants as to exclude feebleness or tenuity, while the harshness resulting from undue accumulation of the latter, or from the juxtaposition of uncongenial sounds, is equally avoided; and the infusion of gutturals, aspirates, and other less euphonous elements, suffices to insure vigour without creating asperity. The language thus, as occasion may require, combines the sonorous dignity of the Spanish with the melody of the Italian, and the masculine energy

of the German with the precision of the French or English.

Another remarkable feature which distinguishes the Greek from all other European dialects is the extreme delicacy and subtlety of its metrical and musical developement. It is, perhaps, in the earlier stages of etymological formation that this property is most strikingly exemplified; in the distinction, namely, which obtained in familiar pronunciation between accent and quantity, and in the nicety of the laws by which the two were adjusted in their relation to each other or to the language at large. The closer analysis of these laws belongs, however, to the province of grammar or prosody rather than to that of literary history, and could at the best be productive of but little satisfactory result.¹ In the modern European tongues the distinction is unknown. Accent and quantity, the long syllable and the accentuated syllable, are, in the poetry of the present day, as identical as they were essentially distinct in that of Greece. In the absence, consequently, of

¹ The distinction itself, in theory, is quite intelligible even to modern apprehension. Accent, in the proper classical sense, is the tone or key of the voice in pronouncing a syllable; quantity, the length of time during which the voice dwells on the syllable. In so far, therefore, separate effect can easily be given to each, in different syllables of the same word. The difficulty is to understand the extreme subtlety and complexity of the distinction as carried into practice, in the Greek pronunciation and versification. The accent perpetually changing both character and place in the same word, with the slightest change or modification of form, quantity, or value, by flexion, composition, or otherwise. The distinction, it may be observed, is unknown to the modern Greeks, and must have become obsolete at a period when the antient tongue was still a living dialect. In a large proportion of the works of the later Byzantine poets, composed in the classical Greek, accent and quantity are as completely identical as in the verse of Shakspeare or Corneille. See Gaisf. ad Heph. p. 247. sqq.

either experience or analogy, the real nature of the relation between these two elements of prosody in the living Greek tongue, has been hitherto a mystery which no effort of modern scholarship is ever likely to penetrate.

One more characteristic of that tongue, which, in drawing these remarks to a close, still demands attention, and to which also no parallel can probably be found in any other cultivated language, is its anomaly. This feature may be classed under two heads: anomaly of structure and anomaly of syntax. The latter will be noticed in a future page. The former is familiar to the classical scholar in the elementary rules of his grammar: that no Greek verb possesses its full complement of forms derived from the same root; and that many of the verbs in most universal use are dependent, even for certain of their more fundamental forms, on radically distinct sources. This latter peculiarity is common, in some degree, to the other declinable parts of speech; while, in various departments of flexion and formation, even as exemplified in the same root, an equal disregard for uniformity is manifested. The original source of these and other similar irregularities can now be matter only of speculation. It might be assumed that the kindred roots originally possessed each its full complement of forms in the primitive common stock of Pelasgic idiom, as duplicates for the expression of the same or cognate ideas; but that, in the course of subsequent vicissitudes, a portion of those forms had fallen into desuetude. Or certain roots may once have been peculiar, also in their full state of development, to different dialects, blended in the same vicissitudes into a single one, which may have retained

or rejected, in greater or less proportions, the forms previously proper to one or other of those older separate dialects. Be this as it may, it is somewhat doubtful how far this peculiarity, in the extent to which it prevails, may be entitled to the same unqualified approbation above bestowed on the other more prominent attributes of the Greek language. That it constitutes an important element of that richness and variety, in which it may also itself be said to originate, is certain : but it is perhaps open to question, whether those advantages be not often attained with too great a sacrifice of the symmetry and simplicity so essential to excellence in every production either of mental or mechanical ingenuity.

CHAP. VI.

EARLY CULTURE OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

1. SOCIAL CONDITION OF GREECE DURING THE HEROIC AGE. ITS INFLUENCE ON THE LANGUAGE.—2. PELOPIDAN ERA.—3. ÆOLIAN COLONIES. IRRUPTION OF THE DORIANS. IONIAN MIGRATION. SUBSEQUENT DISTINCTION OF DIALECTS.—4. THEIR RESPECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS.—5. PERVAING INFLUENCE OF THE HOMERIC DIALECT.—6. THE LITERARY CULTURE OF THE SEPARATE DIALECTS A PECULIARITY OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE.—7. APPROPRIATION OF DIFFERENT DIALECTS TO DIFFERENT STYLES OF COMPOSITION.—8. ARTIFICIAL FORMATION OF NEW DIALECTS FOR NEW STYLES.—9. ULTIMATE ASCENDANCY OF THE ATTIC DIALECT. SICILIAN DORIC.

Social condition of Greece during the heroic age.

1. HAVING traced the history of the Greek language through the vicissitudes of the dark Indo-Pelasgic period to that of its final ascendancy as a national tongue throughout the Hellenic continent, we now proceed to consider the elementary stages of its literary culture.

The earliest traditional notices of the social condition of Greece, after the spread of Hellenic supremacy, describe that country as divided into petty patriarchal states, where tribes of high-spirited vassals yielded a ready, but not a servile, obedience to martial chiefs descended from the heroes under whose guidance their possessions had been acquired. This state of society was fostered by the natural features of the country, which marked out the boundaries of the separate principalities, and interposed barriers against mutual encroachment. Its full influence on the language, as exemplified in the distinction and cultivation of the dialects, was reserved for a later period. In these early times its beneficial effects are

chiefly perceptible in cherishing the chivalrous spirit which supplies materials for epic minstrelsy, the foundation of all primitive literature. The separate communities, while presenting, in their relation to foreigners, the patriotic front of a national confederacy, were engaged in frequent wars among themselves, for the most part of a desultory character, and originating rather in points of personal right or feeling than in extensive schemes of ambition. The political state of Greece presents, in fact, at this period, a great analogy to that not long since prevalent in the Highlands of Scotland. The tribe over which the Greek king ruled was considered, like the clan of the Scottish chief, as one great family, of which the reigning dynasty was the oldest branch. In this way every freeman might consider himself a cadet of the royal house; and the free population, at that period, formed probably a greater proportion of the whole than in later times. The subsequent more systematic establishment of personal slavery, that blot on the institutions of civilised Hellas, seems to have reduced the numbers, while it corrupted the manners, of the citizens.

But this community of feeling was cemented by a still nobler tie, derived from the system of polytheism which sprang up among a people keenly alive to the influence of natural religion, but as yet unable to reason philosophically on its principles. Spirit or soul, capable of will and design, they perceived to be common to all rational beings; but having no definite idea of existence or action apart from material form, they figured the influence of the deity, or, in other words, every event or object beyond the apparent control of man, under corporeal agencies, work-

ing by means more potent indeed, but similar in kind to those by which mortals attain their ends. Hence, as the phenomena of the creation are infinitely varied, and often, to all appearance, in conflict with each other, these early theologers were led to embody each class of physical influence as a distinct personality, intrusted with a certain department of mundane affairs, with gradations of rank and power adapted to their respective functions. In this way they had celestial gods who presided over the higher organisation of the universe; infernal gods charged with the affairs of the world after death; and terrestrial, atmospheric, and marine deities superintending every conceivable operation of life or nature. The inferior members, consequently, of this pantheon were so little exalted above the rank of humanity, that the distinction between the least powerful god, agent of wind, flood, or other elementary influence, and the most powerful man, producing, by the agitations of his good or evil passions, effects quite as momentous to his fellow-men, becomes very trifling. By a natural extension of this graduated scale of agency, the divine and human natures became sexually connected. Illustrious men were commonly fabled of divine parentage, and occasionally, at their death, received divine honours. The ancestor of almost every tribe was sprung immediately from some deity, and through him his whole line of descendants participated in the divine nature. Hence the nation and their political pantheon appear in the light of one great physical commonwealth, with a succession of ranks, from Jove to the meanest of Hellenic blood. The only broad line of demarcation between human and divine was the mortality of the one race and

attributed immortality of the other. But this distinction, important as it sounds, is more nominal than real. As the belief in a future state of human existence was an essential doctrine of the system, death was to man but a transition from one mode of being to another. The gods themselves, however, could not only be degraded from their celestial rank, and permanently thrust into the same region appointed for the after-state of humanity, but could suffer wounds, mutilation, and suspension of faculties, equivalent, as Plato admits¹, to the effects of death on mankind.

This connexion between the celestial and mortal nature was a principal source of the high perfection which epic poetry attained in Greece. The history of human genius, in all ages, shows its noblest flights to be connected with religious feeling, whether in the individual or the society to which he belongs. To inspire an Iliad, therefore, required a system raising the mind, as yet unshackled by social refinements, to a habitual communion, if not with the Deity himself in the higher sense, with his power, beauty, and glory, as exhibited in the nobler works of his creation. The influence of Greek religion upon Greek art is, perhaps, most tangibly exemplified in those conceptions of ideal beauty which, though first reduced to definite principles by the arts of design, originate with the poets, whose suggestions were embodied by the sculptors and painters of later times. The popular objects of worship, while figured as men, required to be personified in a manner worthy of the divine character. The Greeks therefore, selecting the elements of abstract beauty which their fine taste

Its influence
on the
language.

¹ Tim. p. 41.; conf. Lucian. Vit. auct. : A. *τί δαι οἱ ἄνθρωποι* ; H. *Θεοὶ θνητοί*. A. *τί δαι θεοί* ; H. *ἄνθρωποι ἄδαντοι*.

discerned in the human form, purged them from the blemishes which they also perceived to be inseparable from the most excellent living models, and so varied and blended them according to age, sex, or other physical accidents, as to shadow forth the most delicate peculiarities of person or attribute in the different deities. In this way the art, not only of idealising corporeal beauty, but of expressing soul and the nicest shades of passion and feeling through the medium of material form, was carried to a perfection of which no other people has ever so much as formed an idea, but from the examples transmitted by the Greeks.

Pelopidan
era.

2. The influence of these favourable circumstances seems to have been first fully developed under the dynasty of the Pelopidan princes, during which a closer connexion of blood, interests, and manners appears to have prevailed among the dominant races of Greece than at any subsequent period. This connexion was riveted by a species of feudal sovereignty, which that dynasty is recorded, in the same traditions, to have exercised over most of the southern states; partly acquired through marriage, partly a tribute to their own superior power. Under their auspices the chieftains of the confederacy, without abandoning their spirit of individual rivalry, were induced to turn it in a nobler direction, and combine for the great national enterprise against a foreign enemy, recorded in the legend of the Trojan war. This was the brightest period of Grecian chivalry, which, if it did not produce the noblest masterpieces of heroic song, prepared, at least, the way for their production, both by improving the language of poetry, and supplying the poet with the finest materials for its em-

ployment. It was natural that, among the princely families over whom this bond of union extended, there should arise a common, or, as it were, court dialect, whatever vernacular idioms may have prevailed among their followers. Such accordingly, seems to have been that, since variously designated the old Ionic or Homeric, originally spoken in the dominant provinces of Central Greece¹, and which enjoyed, through the minstrels entertained at the courts of popular princes, a high poetical cultivation. This view of the origin of the epic language is confirmed by one of the most characteristic features of its composition, those numerous forms which, becoming obsolete in its own vocabulary on its subsequent modification into the later Ionic, are found proper to other dialects of a very different character. Such forms may be considered, partly as portions of the parent stock originally common to the Ionic with other less cultivated dialects, and retained in these, while rejected from the Ionic itself, in the course of subsequent vicissitudes; partly as the gradual infusion, into the standard poetical language, of forms not originally its own, on its extension into quarters where it was not indigenous.

3. During the century subsequent to the Fall of Troy (1184 B. C.), extensive changes took place in the dialectical as well as political relations of the Hellenic states. About sixty years after that event (1124 B. C.), dissensions among the Æolian tribes in Northern and Central Greece produced a large emigration from Bœotia and the neighbouring districts to the conquered coasts and islands of Asia Minor, already

Æolian
colonies.
Dorian
conquest.
Ionian mi-
gration.

¹ See *infra*, Book II. Ch. xviii. § 4.

partially occupied by the sons or followers of the victorious chiefs.¹ This new settlement is said to have taken place under the guidance of a grandson of Agamemnon; but, as the colonists were chiefly of Æolian race, the expedition bears the familiar name of Æolian, and the region occupied that of Æolia. About twenty years afterwards the Pelopidan power was subverted, and the Peloponnesus overrun by the Dorians (1104 B. C.). This catastrophe was followed, at some interval (1044 B. C.), by a similar settlement of the greater part of the ejected population of the peninsula on the Asiatic coast to the south of the district possessed by their Æolian kinsmen.² Through these convulsions the ties, social and political, which had previously united the Hellenic nation were in a great measure dissolved, and the subsequent wider separation of domicile and interests interposed serious obstacles to their renewal. From this period accordingly, may be dated the more specific distinction of dialects which becomes so important in the subsequent stages of Greek literary culture. The Hellenic tongue, prior to that distinction, might be divided into two comprehensive varieties: first, the Ionic, indigenous in the more civilised states, Attica, the lowlands of Peloponnesus, and, probably, other coasts and islands subject to or politically connected with these provinces; secondly, the Æolic in the wider sense, embracing the whole remaining body of less cultivated dialects. The latter, indeed, comprised subordinate modifications, differing from each other little less than from the Ionic. Still however, the general re-

Subsequent
distinction
of dialects,

¹ Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 103.; Thirlw. *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. p. 92.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. p. 26.; conf. *infra*, B. ii. Ch. xviii. § 6.

² Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 113.; Thirlw. vol. ii. p. 94.; Grote, vol. ii. p. 33.

semblance to each other, observable in the dialects of those countries where the old ruder speech continued to prevail, the Bœotic of Central Greece, the Æolic of the Asiatic colonies, that of the Arcadian highlands, and the Doric of Pindus afterwards spread over Peloponnesus, was such as to cause them all to be classed under one general head, sometimes of Æolic, sometimes of Doric, in the familiar usage of the critical schools.¹ That the Ionic, also, originally comprised secondary forms of dialect may be inferred from the account given by Herodotus of those prevalent in his own time among the Ionians of Asia.² We possess, however, in this case no positive knowledge, either from traditional or literary sources, of any so marked a distinction as between the varieties of the Æolic or Doric.

The Asiatic variety of the Æolian dialect, established by the Æolo-Bœotian colonists in the isle of Lesbos and on the opposite coast of Asia, came, in the sequel, to be its popular standard, having been, after a lapse of some generations, carried to high perfection by the Lesbian school of lyric poetry. The language of the mother provinces of Central Greece appears to have undergone no sensible alteration. The prevailing tradition³ is, that the Æolian migration was caused by the irruption into Bœotia of a kindred tribe from the neighbouring plains of Thessaly; who, expelling the previous inhabitants, themselves afterwards appear under the same title of Bœotians given by Homer to their predecessors. The same Æolian dialect must, therefore,

¹ Auct. ap. Maïttaire, Gr. Ling. Dial. Introd. p. 30. sq.; conf. Ahrens de Dial. Æolic. § 1. sqq., et de Dial. Dor. § 1. sq.

² i. 142.

³ Clint. F. H. vol. i. p. 67.

have been common to both, and continued so, under such slight variation as time or local circumstances may have produced, after their separation. In Attica the antient population, with its pure Ionic idiom, remained undisturbed.

In Peloponnesus, the change of inhabitants was accompanied by a corresponding revolution of dialects. A remnant of the old Achæan population kept its ground on the narrow stripe of territory between the Corinthian Gulf and the Cyllenian mountains; and some other petty tribes of Ionians here and there, submitting to the conquerors, retained their possessions in a state of vassalage.¹ But the language and habits of the subdued race became, in later times, more or less assimilated to those of the dominant states. Elis², on the north-eastern coast, was assigned to a body of Ætolian adventurers who had joined the Dorian armament on its passage through their country. As the previous dialect of both Ætolia and Elis was Æolic, no essential change was here produced. The Arcadian mountaineers preserved, together with their independence, their proper Æolian tongue; which, itself closely akin to that of their new Dorian neighbours, had not participated in the culture of the expelled tribes.³ The districts immediately occupied by the Dorians were, Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. In the sequel, their conquests, with their language, were gradually extended over Corinth and Megara to the Attic frontier, and subsequently, by settlers from Epidaurus, to the neighbouring island of Ægina.

The ejected inhabitants of the peninsula first

¹ Herod. viii. 73.

² Strab. p. 333.; conf. Hdt. loc. cit.

³ Strab. loc. cit.

sought refuge among their Ionian kinsmen of Attica. Afterwards, under the auspices of Athenian leaders, they crossed the Ægean, and occupied the coast of Asia southwards from the Æolian settlements, as far as the headland of Miletus, together with the adjacent isles of Chios and Samos. Here they appear, in later times, under the distinctive name of Ionians. Their subsequent celebrity under this title, and the still greater celebrity of the metropolitan state on the opposite continent under those of Athenian and Attic, caused the first of the three, in after ages, to become so exclusively restricted to the colonies, that the terms Athenian and Ionian, or Attic and Ionic, instead of being identical, as with Homer, were henceforward pointedly distinct. The south-western extremity of the same Asiatic coast, with the adjacent islands, was afterwards occupied by Dorians¹, attracted chiefly from Sparta by the existence, if we may trust Homer², of a previous colony established in Rhodes by a son of their national hero Hercules. The Dorians seem also, at a very early epoch, to have acquired an ascendancy in Crete. The language and institutions of that island offer, accordingly, at the remotest period of which authentic notices have been preserved, a close resemblance to those of the Dorian states of Peloponnesus.

It belongs to the history of Greek colonisation, rather than Greek literature, to follow out in detail the subsequent migrations from the different Hellenic states to which so many flourishing commonwealths along the various shores of the Mediterranean are indebted for their origin. It will be sufficient, in the

¹ Müll. Dor. vol. i. p. 103. sqq.; Thirlw. vol. ii. p. 100.; Grote, vol. ii. p. 41.

² Il. β. 653. sqq.

case of each of these communities, to specify on the first occasion where attention is directed to its native authors or school of literature, in such detail as may be required, the circumstances of its foundation and early progress in art and letters.

Their re-
spective
character-
istics.

4. The old Epic dialect exhibits the efforts of a nation, pre-eminently gifted with poetical and musical genius, and as yet neither aided nor shackled by grammatical refinements, to embody its conceptions in the most expressive and most harmonious forms. That this dialect is, in a great degree, of poetical formation, its own internal evidence betrays. Many of its most characteristic features originate in a tendency to adapt the structure of words to the exigencies of the hexameter verse, the earliest, and for long the only measure in which the Greek poets are known to have composed. This is a peculiarity foreign to the process by which languages are cultivated in our own age, or to what may appear, on first view, the natural process in any age. The generality of mankind do not discourse in verse; nor, therefore, does it seem likely that the mere fashion of the poets, in the choice of their numbers, should supersede the spontaneous flow of words dictated by the convenience of social intercourse. The phenomenon, however, is explained by a somewhat closer insight into the earlier stages of Greek literary culture. In all ages poets assume to themselves a certain privilege of varying the sound of words from that authorised by familiar usage. But, in a language yet unsettled, as was the Greek at this period, and where poetry was the only style of composition, not only is greater scope afforded for such license, but the variations themselves are more apt to become permanently

incorporated in the popular vocabulary. The case is different in more advanced stages of literature. Languages are there polished through the medium of prose composition. Poetry, indeed, there also asserts its own peculiar privilege. That privilege, however, now consists, not so much in innovation, as in adherence to antiquated forms; and, as a general rule, the language of poetry receives its laws from that of prose, upon which metrical usage cannot be said to exercise, in its turn, any serious influence. But, in the flourishing age of the Homeric dialect, prose, as a branch of literary composition, was unknown, while poetry was perhaps more universally popular than at any subsequent period. Under these circumstances, poetical usage could not fail to exercise an extensive influence even on the vulgar tongue, and numerous forms, originating in the convenience of popular recitation, to become inveterate in the language of ordinary life.¹ Nor is it in the old Ionic alone that this influence is observable. It may also be traced in other elementary stages of Greek poetry, where a particular branch of composition obtained a powerful hold on the popular mind. What first raised Athens to distinction in the republic of letters was the invention of the regular drama, in the dialogue of which the iambic trimeter verse, hitherto used chiefly in epigrammatic or didactic composition, was adopted, as a happy medium between the sonorous roundness of the heroic rhythm and the less defined periods of familiar discourse. There may, accordingly, be

¹ While, therefore, in more advanced stages of literature, poetical usage is the means of preserving archaic idioms, in primitive times it is the means of exploding them.

traced, in the formation of the classical Attic out of the old Ionic, an influence of the iambic measure, inferior, perhaps, in degree, but similar in kind, to that exercised by the hexameter some centuries before, in moulding the Ionic itself from the ruder speech of earlier times.

During the long separation of interests between the two bodies of the same Ionian race consequent on the Dorian revolution, the previous common dialect was subjected in each to other changes, offering an interesting analogy to those in their national character. In the Asiatic colonies many causes conspired, not only to soften the ferocity of the old heroic spirit, but to diminish the sense of political independence, and promote effeminate habits. The enervating influence of Oriental luxury, with which they were brought into closer contact, was aided by a seductive climate, increase of commerce and wealth, and by their position in regard to the powerful nations of the interior, whose favour they were under the frequent necessity of courting, and towards whom they latterly stood on the footing of vassal to liege lord. The best criterion for judging of the parallel change in their language, during the interval between Homer and Herodotus, is a comparison of the dialect of the poet with that of the historian. In the former, the energy and simplicity of the heroes by whom it was spoken are tempered only by such harmony of numbers as was necessary to adapt it to the higher poetical style. In the latter, an accumulation of short and slender vowel sounds, with abbreviations of the more sonorous diphthongs, and the rejection of many of those lesser asperities which impart tone and vigour to a naturally melodious tongue, have superinduced a certain liquid

tenuity, amounting, at times, to languor, which renders it no less inferior to the old Homeric¹ as a poetical idiom, than to the Attic in its adaptation to prose literature.

Among the European descendants of the Ionian race, opposite causes produced as opposite effects. In Athens, with a less rapid advance in science or wealth, a complete political independance was accompanied by greater integrity of manners. The importance of that state, as a member of the old national confederacy, was also increased by the rivalry into which she was brought with the new Dorian dynasties. It was under these circumstances that the intellectual powers of the Athenians, naturally of the highest order, were called forth: combining acuteness of conception with fertility of invention and purity of taste, they exhibit, during the flourishing ages of the republic, all the proper excellences of Hellenic genius in the highest perfection. Similar were the changes in the antient common dialect. They consist, chiefly, in the retrenchment of redundancy, whether in sound or expression, in so far as was consistent with euphony on the one hand, and with perspicuity on the other.² The Attic dialect accordingly,

¹ Yet Herodotus, from his déference to the more manly Homeric standard, was considered a less faithful type of the pure Ionic than Hecataeus or Hippocrates. Hermog. de Formis Orat. II. 11.; Excerpt. ad calc. Greg. Corinth. de Diall. p. 679.

² Of that admixture of other less-cultivated dialects, or even foreign tongues, to which Xenophon (Rep. Attic. II. 8), and after him Thiersch and Matthiæ, ascribe the change from the old Ionic to the Attic, as little trace can be discovered in the classical standards of the latter dialect, as in those of the more recent Ionic. The changes in each case are solely, or chiefly, intrinsic. Hence Strabo (p. 333.), and with better reason no doubt, commends the Attic dialect for its purity, which he ascribes to the fewer temptations the rugged barren soil of Attica held out to the visits of strangers.

as finally formed upon these principles, offers the most excellent model of a language for the familiar usage of social life, or the more practical and intellectual branches of literature.

Somewhat parallel is the case of the Æolian tribes on the different sides of the Ægæan. The colonists of Lesbos, and of the neighbouring Æolian coast, united with the taste for sensual enjoyment common to their Ionian neighbours, a peculiar fervour and excitability of temperament. There sprang up among them, accordingly, a school of lyric poetry pre-eminent above all others in impassioned composition, especially that of the amatory or voluptuous order. The adaptation of their language to such subjects naturally involved a refinement of the old rustic features which it retained in the mother country. This was effected, with little sacrifice of its native simplicity, partly by softening down its ruder asperities, partly by an infusion of more liquid forms from the Homeric fountain head of pure poetical idiom.

Pervading
influence
of the Ho-
meric dia-
lect.

5. Although, in the course of these vicissitudes, the old poetical Ionic, as carried to perfection by Homer, became obsolete in vernacular usage, various circumstances combined to secure for it, as the common language of epic composition, an extensive influence on the culture of all the other dialects. In those districts of Greece where the late revolutions had not produced a total change of inhabitants, its antient popularity continued to operate in its favour. Among the new settlers the same causes did not exist, or could not be expected to prove so efficient. The Dorians, inhabiting previously a remote frontier of Hellas, and little connected with the great body of the nation, had taken no part in the war of Troy, or in other

common enterprises of the Æolo-Ionian races ; nor, in their more limited sphere, does the same taste for legendary poetry appear to have prevailed among them. Still, however, as the spirit of local jealousy declined, in the mutual interchange of Hellenic associations, even the Spartans were not only led to recognise the poetical value of the Homeric dialect, but are said to have been the first among the states of European Greece to adopt the poems of Homer, in public use, as their standard text-book of heroic achievement.¹ It was a natural consequence of this early ascendancy of the Homeric idiom, as the sole language of literature, still more perhaps of the excellence of its models of style, that much of its phraseology should be infused into other branches of composition where different dialects were preferred. It continued accordingly, in all time coming, as the standard type of pure Hellenic diction, to exercise a most beneficial influence on the language at large. The rule which Macchiavel lays down for the renovation of states, and which is equally applicable to all other creations of human intellect, "to refer them to their first principles," was here in constant operation. The Ionic of Homer thus became a sort of common dialect, the forms of which, judiciously selected, impart dignity and variety to all the others. Although this influence is chiefly observable in poetical composition, it may yet be discerned by the critical eye, acting, less directly but no less advantageously, on the classical prose of every period.

6. This adaptation of the different dialects to literary purposes, keeping pace with the rise of new

The literary culture of the

¹ Aristot. ap. Heraclid. Polit. frg. 2. ed. Schneidewin ; Plut. in Lycurg 4.

separate
dialects, a
peculiarity
of the
Greek lan-
guage.

styles of composition, is a peculiarity which distinguishes the literature of Greece from that of all other nations. The division into dialects is itself a feature common to the Greek with every other language spoken through an extensive region. Varieties of tribe, soil, or climate, must always tend in some degree to vary the mode of combining or pronouncing the same radical forms. In all other cases, however, in the annals at least of European literature, circumstances have led to the establishment of a single dialect of each tongue as the language of letters and polite society, the remainder being restricted to vulgar or provincial usage. In Greece the case was different. Each of the leading dialects there claimed and enjoyed the same advantage of literary culture. It will be proper here to examine the causes of this distinction, which has scarcely hitherto received such share of attention as its importance deserves.

Where a nation, speaking the same language under a variety of dialects, is united at the period of its first advance in civilisation in one body politic, the formation of a classical or court idiom results naturally from the necessity of a common medium for the promulgation of the laws, the distribution of justice, and the exercise of public oratory or military command. The preference awarded to a particular dialect is here usually to be sought in the influence of the seat of government, or in some other early moral or political superiority acquired by the tribe to whom it was originally proper. The political state of Greece at the period in question afforded no room for a preference of this nature. The nation was divided into many independent communities, with no

such predominance of any one state as could entail a corresponding ascendancy of its language. The case might have been different, for example, had the Pelopidan family, in the preceding period, succeeded in establishing a permanent sovereignty over any considerable portion of Greece. The poetical Ionic might then have become, and remained, the exclusive language of letters. The overthrow of the Pelopidan dynasty by the Dorians both checked the rising civilisation of Hellas, and dislocated the machinery by which its progress had hitherto been regulated. When, with the settlement of the new state of society, the process recommenced, the common spirit of Hellenic patriotism, though no way diminished throughout the mass of the nation, was more divided among its members, and more concentrated in each within the sphere of its local interests. This feeling of separate independance was heightened soon after by the abolition of monarchical power, and the establishment of republican institutions throughout the Hellenic states. In Europe the Spartans, Athenians, and other leading powers were actuated by a rivalry little short of what usually prevails between foreign nations. The Asiatic colonies formed distinct confederacies, but slightly connected with the mother country. Not only in these more important bodies politic, but in other flourishing commonwealths which successively arose in different corners of the Mediterranean, scope was now given for a spirit of individual nationality, to which no parallel can be found in any other age. The number of free citizens, who alone formed the state, was in each community but limited, and all were, by privilege and habit, per-

sonally engaged in the work of government. But the language was an essential portion of the state economy. The importance attached to the art of public speaking rendered its cultivation indispensable to whoever aspired to political eminence. The more popular branches of composition were also closely connected with religious solemnities, many of which were common to local Amphictionies, or confederacies of kindred states, assembling periodically in common sanctuaries for their celebration¹; a practice contributing still further to individualise the cultivation of the local language and literature. All these circumstances, while they secured in each community the maintenance of its own dialect, tended to prevent that of any one attaining a marked ascendancy over its fellows. The abandonment of the mother tongue, and adoption of a foreign medium either of public or social intercourse, from deference to the superior power or talent of a neighbour, would have been a compromise of the national honour incompatible with the spirit which animated those republics. Another material cause of the same effect was the variety and extent of the national genius, coinciding with an equal variety of favourable media for its exercise. Among the moral influences above adverted to, as tending in other cases to promote the preference of some particular dialect in a national literature, the most important, perhaps, is the appearance, in some one province, of a number of writers whose genius and popularity have caused their works to be adopted as

¹ Thirlw. *Hist. of Gr.* vol. II. ch. x. p. 427.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. II. p. 321.

standards.¹ In Greece an extension of the same cause produced an opposite effect. As the different branches of composition were invented and matured, such was the fertility of native talent, that in different districts authors arose pre-eminent in some particular style. In this way, each member of the republic of letters, while willing to appreciate the genius of its neighbour, honourably maintained the independance of its own.

7. It resulted further, from the same causes, that as the sphere of literary pursuit was enlarged, the general rule of an exclusive preference of its native idiom by each community admitted of great modification. As the varieties of dialect were met by a corresponding variety of taste or talent, certain styles of composition came to be considered the more immediate province of one dialect than of another. The character of a particular dialect might be in itself better adapted to a particular style. The tribe by whom the dialect was spoken might have been that with whom the style itself originated, or whose authors were its most approved standards. Even local circumstances might procure for particular dialects a preference in subjects connected with the common public ceremonial of the confederacy. Hence different departments of literature ultimately established, out of so great a variety of materials, a mode of expression proper to themselves, without any compromise of patriotic feeling, or any sacrifice of the just rights of the mother tongue. The Doric became

Appropriation of different dialects to different styles.

¹ To this cause was owing the ascendancy of the Tuscan dialect in Italy, under the auspices of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Here, however, the language of letters superseded in the other states of the peninsula was not the native tongue, but the barbarous Latin inherited from the lower ages of Rome.

the favourite language of the higher branches of lyric composition and of the primitive schools of philosophy; the Æolic of the amatory ode: the old Ionic retained its former privilege in regard to the epic style and hexameter verse; while the new Ionic and Attic were preferred in elegy, satire, the drama, and the more popular departments of prose.

Herodotus offers a lively example of the ease and freedom with which men of genius, in the youthful stages of Greek literature, followed the bent of their own judgement in the choice of a vehicle for their thoughts; a native of the Dorian Halicarnassus, settled in an Athenian colony founded at a period when the Attic dialect was already in a forward state of cultivation, he yet prefers the Ionic for the composition of his history. The reason is simple. The genius of his own Doric was little adapted for elegant prose; nor had the Attic as yet become popular in that style. Of the few prose authors who had hitherto treated the general history of Greece, the more popular were Ionians, so that the public was already familiar with their dialect in such subjects. Herodotus, therefore, not being ambitious of striking out any independent course of his own, preferred it. A few years afterwards Thucydides appeared, the first of a succession of illustrious Athenian prose writers; and, from this and other causes, the Attic soon obtained an almost universal preference in every branch of prose composition.

Artificial
formation
of new dia-
lects for
new styles.

8. As a consequence of the same principle which led to the adaptation of certain dialects to certain classes of writing, the whole body of dialects came to be considered as a common literary property; and men of inventive genius sought, by combining the characteristics of several, to enliven or ennoble their

favourite styles. In this way new varieties sprang up, distinct from the spoken language of any part of the nation. The Dorians, for example, at an early period, took a lead in the higher departments of choral poetry. Partly owing to this circumstance, partly to their local influence in the Olympian and other great national festivals, their dialect acquired a preference in the triumphal odes which graced those solemnities. The genius of the pure Doric, however, was deficient in the harmony essential to its poetical perfection. The leading authors, therefore, in this branch of composition, formed for themselves a new species of lyric dialect, by engrafting upon the Doric the more musical forms of the old Homeric. This is what is now called the Stesichorean or Pindaric. About the same period the chorus of the Dorian dithyramb, when transformed into that of the Athenian tragedy, underwent a similar modification, by a blending with the native Attic. Hence another beautiful variety of poetical idiom. So delicate was the sympathy established in the subsequent refinements of Attic taste between idea and sound, that even the different turns of expression, in the same departments of composition, were marked by corresponding shades of dialectical form. When, for example, in the drama, messengers are introduced recounting at length the details of remarkable events, where, consequently, the dramatic gives place in some degree to the epic character, the usual Attic idiom and Iambic measure admit of forms peculiar to the Homeric dialect and hexameter verse as the proper language and rhythm of narrative poetry.¹ Even in

¹ Matthiæ, Gramm. vol. i. § 16. p. 63., § 160. p. 297. Hence many of the supposed corrections of these passages, by Porson and others, are in all probability corruptions.

the mixed idiom of the chorus may be distinguished a greater infusion of *Æolo-Doric* forms where the train of sentiment assumes a loftier character, and of *Attic* where a more familiar tone prevails.¹

By this varied application of its rich stock of materials, the Greek language afforded a freedom and scope to the exercise of literary genius, to which nothing parallel can be found in any other age or country. A language restricted to one definite classical standard can hardly be well adapted to every class of composition. The same musical softness which favours the flow of poetical numbers must, in a proportional degree, be prejudicial to the gravity of historical narrative and philosophical disquisition, or to the terseness of forensic eloquence. Had Demosthenes possessed no other medium for giving vent to his *Philippics* but the *Ionic* of Homer, or Plato composed his *Republic* in the *Æolic* of Sappho, their works, whatever their intrinsic excellence, must have sacrificed a portion of their external charm to the comparatively inappropriate dress in which they would have appeared. This may be further illustrated by the example of modern nations distinguished for talent in every department of letters. The French tongue has produced a comic writer equal, to say the least, to the chiefs of the *Attic* humorous drama: but, in the higher walks of poetry, neither genius nor art can overcome the obstacles to a corresponding degree of excellence interposed by the sound and structure of that language. The finest conceptions couched in harsh or discordant accents can no more constitute perfection in poetry,

¹ Elmsl. ad Eurip. Med. 95.; Matthiæ ad Eurip. Hecub. 95.

than in music the sublimest airs sung by a weak and tuneless voice. The same general remark applies more or less to all the other European tongues, that, in proportion as they may be adapted to one style of composition, they are unfavourable to another. But in the cultivated Greek dialects we possess the masterpieces of several languages rather than of one. It were difficult to imagine a vehicle of expression better suited to the varied powers of the Epic muse, than the old Homeric; to the tenderness of amatory complaint, than the Lesbian Æolic; to the mingled gravity and impetuosity of the triumphal lyre, than the Doric of Pindar: or to the precision and energy of dialogue, prose narrative, and oratory, than the Attic of Aristophanes, Thucydides, and Demosthenes.

9. The above remarks apply chiefly to the flourishing ages of Greece, when a spirit of independance animated the institutions of every state, and the breast of every citizen. With the decline of the national character, the establishment of a dominant influence in the political commonwealth was attended, as in other ages and countries, by a corresponding effect in the republic of letters. The preponderance of Attic genius had procured a certain ascendancy to the Attic tongue, even prior to the subjection of Greece to the Macedonians. One great object of this semibarbarous power, from its first rise into importance, was to establish a claim to the pure Hellenic character, and, by consequence, to promote Hellenic habits and associations among its subjects. As the most effectual means of attaining this end, they adopted the Attic as the court dialect, took the literature and science of Athens under their espe-

Ultimate
ascendancy
of the Attic
dialect.

cial patronage, and established them as models in the new schools founded under their own auspices. Alexandria thus became the metropolis of arts and letters, and the Attic, as it prevailed in that court, slightly modified by provincial peculiarities, the classical dialect of the whole Hellenic world. The other dialects, however, were not entirely abandoned. The old Ionic maintained its exclusive preference in heroic poetry. Nor did the existence of such models as Herodotus or Pindar fail to secure a certain number of followers in the branches to which they had given lustre. Still, however, the use of all the older dialects became, from day to day, more a matter of imitation than of spontaneous custom. The states which longest maintained a political independence were the Sicilian republics. The Macedonian sway, to which the whole of Greece Proper, with her colonies to the eastward, had been more or less subjected, never extended to those commonwealths. Perhaps, indeed, their most flourishing age was that of the decline of the mother country. Their literary history supplies, accordingly, another illustration of the close union between the destinies of the Greek language and of Greek national independence. It was during this period, when Sicily in fact stood alone as the representative of the original genius of Hellas, that her poets carried to perfection, as its last expiring effort, one of its liveliest and most characteristic creations, the pastoral or bucolic style of lyric poetry, and with it another spirited variety of the Doric dialect.

Sicilian
Doric.

CHAP. VII.

ORIGINAL GENIUS OF GRECIAN LITERATURE,

1. UNITY OF GENIUS BETWEEN THE GREEK NATION AND ITS LANGUAGE.—
2. ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE IN THE ORIGIN OF HELLENIC AND MODERN LITERARY CULTURE.—
3. ADVANTAGES ON THE SIDE OF THE GREEKS.—
4. ORIGINALITY AND FERTILITY OF GREEK INVENTIVE GENIUS.—
5. FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF IDEAL EXCELLENCE IN GREEK COMPOSITION.—
6. CLASSICAL AND ROMANTIC SCHOOLS OF MODERN COMPOSITION.—
7. SUPERIOR EXTENT AND VARIETY OF MODERN LITERARY CULTURE.

1. THE influence of the same causes which promoted the culture of the separate dialects may be traced on the language at large, in rendering it as faithful a reflexion of the genius of the whole nation as each dialect was of that of the individual tribe. The distinction between the language of letters and the vulgar tongue, so characteristic of modern civilisation, is imperceptible or but little defined in the flourishing age of Greece. Numerous peculiarities in her social condition tended to constitute classical expression in speaking or writing, not, as with us, the privilege of a few, but a public property in which every Hellene had an equal interest. Among these peculiarities may be especially noticed the freedom of social intercourse which prevailed among all ranks of citizens, owing partly to their republican institutions, partly to their natural vivacity of temper and devotion to public amusements, of which literature formed an important element; the industrial arts being chiefly confined to slaves, and attendance on the council, theatre, or gymnasia the only occupations suitable to

Unity of
genius be-
tween the
Greek na-
tion and its
language.

the dignity of a Hellenic freeman. During many ages, oral recitation, in the absence or limited use of writing, was the sole or chief, at every period a common, mode of publication. Works of genius, even of the highest order, were addressed, not to an exclusive class, but to the citizens at large ; were recited on solemn occasions, and often approved or condemned by the voice of the assembled multitude. To this popularity of the national literature may be ascribed in great part that richness and freedom of expression, which constitutes so great a charm of the Greek writers of the best period. In the choice of their phrases, they were guided rather by their innate sense of euphony and propriety, than by deference to any artificial standard. Whatever was custom, was equally entitled to become rule. Not that critical discrimination was excluded, but the rejection of a word or phrase merely as a vulgarism, without reference to its intrinsic merit, could hardly, in the nature of things, take place in the flourishing ages of Greek letters. Much of this variety of expression, in the syntactic element of the language, may be traced to that ascendancy of the imaginative faculty which marks the earlier stages of literary culture. An author, warmed by his subject, expressed his ideas in the order in which they spontaneously offered themselves, without arresting their flow to consider how far that order was strictly grammatical. Nor, had he himself observed the irregularity, would he have deemed its correction an improvement, satisfied that the train of association in the mind of the audience would harmonise so nearly with his own, that they would be as little disposed to cavil as he to amend.

The elementary rules of grammatical concordance are everywhere substantially the same. If, therefore, the structure of each language were regulated by strict laws of analogy, there would be little or no scope for variety, in connecting the ideas of which words are the representatives. It is, in a great measure, through the anomalies of syntax, that the working of thought in the individual or national mind is exhibited. But this shadowing forth of individual character is an important element of spirit and originality of style, which must be extinguished by any systematic reduction of popular usage to grammatical analogy. Against the danger of freedom degenerating into license or obscurity, native Greek taste proved an effectual safeguard. It is this inexhaustible diversity of modes of expression, the analysis and classification of which, under the technical heads of Ellipsis, Pleonasm, Anacoluthia, Syncope, and so forth, have exercised the ingenuity of grammarians for the last two thousand years, but which can no more be reduced to any fixed rules than the varied intelligence in which they originate.

2. These peculiarities of the Greek tongue are traceable mainly, no doubt, to the genius of the people, partly however to the difference, formerly pointed out, in the circumstances under which Hellenic and modern literary culture took their origin. The former arose in the bosom of the nation, and was matured by the unaided efforts of native genius. Its standards of taste were the produce of the talents common to all, not of the educational acquirements peculiar to a few. Numerous masterpieces in the higher walks of poetry had been composed before the familiar use of prose writing, and the most esteemed

Different
origin of
Hellenic
and modern
literary
culture.

models of both styles before the first attempts to reduce grammar to system. This process was reserved for a period when original talent was already on the decline, and professed critics attempted, by giving uniformity to classical usage, to check the progress of corruption. In the other European languages, from the Latin downwards, this order was reversed. Their culture was, from the first, carried on upon imitative principles. In the one case the rules were derived from the standards; in the other, the standards were framed after the rules. The classic literature of Rome originated with native Greeks, and the Latin language was cultivated by reference to the laws of Greek grammar and prosody. The first step taken, on the revival of taste in our own middle ages, for refining the "vulgar tongue" (as the spoken language was called, in contradistinction to the barbarous Latin of the schools), was to apply to its productions the rules devised by the antient sophists for sustaining the decrepitude of the classical dialects. Its more advanced stages of culture have been the result of a long course of artificial training and careful separation of the classical from the vernacular phraseology. Many modes of expression, calculated to impart energy and variety to style, and to which the Greek dialects would have given full prominence, have been proscribed by the tyranny of grammatical criticism as inelegant, or lie hid as vulgarisms in the provincial idiom. Our literary dialects may be compared to gardens of select plants, many of them exotics, nurtured by scientific training, and carefully separated from the wild growths by which they are surrounded. The Greek language may be likened to an extensive pleasure-ground in a favoured climate

and diversified soil, comprising every species of wild and domestic vegetation in endless variety and luxuriance.

The equal distribution of literary culture among all classes of Greek citizens was also favoured by the originality of their language, above noticed as one of its most important attributes. The etymology of its words being, with rare exception, contained within itself, the terms which represent even complex ideas connected with the more abstruse sciences were reducible, by a more or less consistent train of analogy, to certain elementary roots, conveying through their sound some general apprehension of their sense to the understanding of the least learned. But in mixed or corrupt languages, such as most of those of modern Europe, a large portion of the vocabulary can convey, to the majority of persons who use it, no more definite impression than results from the habitual association of a certain sound with a certain idea, which would, to them, have been equally well represented by any other sound. No Italian or Frenchman can possess a scholarlike knowledge of his own tongue, but through a familiarity with the Latin; no Englishman, but through an acquaintance with Latin, French, and German. In each case, a nearer insight into the native etymology requires also some tincture of Greek letters. The language of modern science is, to all but the accomplished linguist, a species of cabalistic dialect, in its origin chiefly Greek, and mainly dependant on that tongue for its further developement. In Greece, on the other hand, every man that could read and write possessed all the elementary education requisite to enable him, according to his talent and opportunities, to tread at

once the higher walks of literature, or dive into the mysteries of science.

Advantages
on the side
of the
Greeks.

3. The literature, like the language, thus grew up from infancy to maturity, a vivid reflexion of the genius of the people. That pedantry of scholastic learning and spirit of imitation which pervade our own republic of letters were completely excluded. The national taste alone prompted the various branches of composition, which arose, were matured and subdivided, with the parallel stages of ethic and social developement. Their materials were drawn from purely national sources. The vicissitudes of domestic history furnished a copious store of subjects in which every Hellene had a personal interest, and a varied mythology repaid the fancy to which it owed its own birth with an imagery as richly varied. Among the advantages resulting from this union between the genius of the nation and of its literature was that close sympathy between author and subject, so essential to excellence in every branch of art. Let us imagine two poets of equal talent, each charged with the composition of an ode in celebration of a glorious victory; the one a citizen of the triumphant state, who had borne a part in the war, the other a foreigner, who had heard of the adventure but by distant report. There can be little doubt which of the two poems would be most distinguished by poetic fire. The rule applies more or less to every other popular class of composition, and extends from the author to the audience, who enter far more readily into a subject founded on domestic history or manners, than one borrowed from nations of whose habits or language they know nothing but through historical or antiquarian re-

search. Nor is the influence of this association limited to the age in which a composition appears, or the public to whom it is addressed. A work, either of history or fiction, emanating from the country and times in which the scene of action is laid, acquires a far greater hold on the public, even of other times and regions, than one by a foreigner on the same subject. No history of the Persian or Peloponnesian war, by a modern author, can awaken the same interest as the narratives of Herodotus or Thucydides. In poetry this power of association is still stronger. The supernatural agency of classical fable delights in the page of the native writers, because we feel that, however foreign to our own belief, it represents that, real or poetical, of the author, his heroes, and his public. In a modern poem on classical subjects it becomes comparatively insipid, because, though in unison with the belief of the heroes, it is foreign to that of the author or his public. But the same heathen mythology, in a modern adventure, not only fails to warm, but actually freezes the imagination, because we feel that it is equally foreign to the belief of the author, his heroes, and his public.¹ It is in the literature of Greece

¹ So powerful is the influence of this affection, as to cause much to be admired, through its medium, as excellent, or even sublime, which would otherwise be stigmatised as affectation or bombast. It was chiefly, or solely, because the Ossianic poems were held to be the productions of a barbarous Celt of the third century, that they were once so highly esteemed; it is because they are now believed to be a patchwork by a Scottish bookmaker of the eighteenth, that they have been consigned to neglect. Their actual merits or demerits, as poetical compositions, are the same in each case; it is the association in the public mind alone that has altered. Hence, too, as will be more fully pointed out hereafter, the satisfaction with which we pursue in Homer those minute descriptions of the transactions of ordinary life which would be insufferable in an epic poem of the present day.

alone, among the nations of civilised Europe, that the full power of this association is perceptible. No study of foreign history was there required to create or appreciate the higher works of genius, no deference to foreign rules of criticism, no initiation into the mysteries of a mythological machinery transferred by the labours of the antiquary from remote ages to a state of society at variance with its spirit. A Roman, in order to understand the elegant authors in his own tongue, required to be more deeply versed in the annals of Greece than of his own country. In the present age the sphere of acquirement necessary to form an accomplished man of letters has been still more widely extended, and many of the noblest productions of modern literature are uninteresting or unintelligible to all but the upper rank of educated men.¹

¹ Of the value of this source of interest in a national literature few modern nations seem to have had any clear conception. The subject, which with the Greeks was the soul of the action, has in our own age been too often considered but as a species of raw material for the art of the dramatic experimentalist. It is like the block of marble, out of which the modern sculptor, with an equal neglect of the spirit of Greek art, and an equally servile adherence to its practice, hews Apollos, Mercurics, Ariadnes, instead of applying the principles transmitted through the antique models to the execution of national works. Hence that pedantic reproduction of Medeas, Meropes, Phædras; where the question with the author or the critic is, not so much whether the work be calculated to speak home to the feelings of the audience, as how far the poet can claim to have successfully competed with Euripides or Racine in the art of adjusting dramatic combinations. Shakspeare uttered a happy, though involuntary, satire on the classical European drama, in his famous lines,

“What’s Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba,
That he should weep for her.”

There can, indeed, be as little tragic sympathy between the benches of a Parisian pit and the distresses of a Hippolytus or Antigone, as between the polished boots and starched cravat of the audience, and the diadem, buskin, and chlamys of the performers.

4. Whatever difference of opinion, therefore, may exist as to the essential value of antient and modern learning, the claim of Greece to originality and extent of spontaneous invention is unquestionable and paramount. To her belongs the exclusive honour of creating and maturing a system of literary polity for civilised Europe; of having originated, classed, and regulated the various departments of composition; and furnished, in each, standards, by the study of which the efforts of every people who have since successfully cultivated the elegant arts have been awakened, or their progress directed. In no other country has any advance been made towards the higher stages of excellence independently of Greek models, or of the impulse communicated directly or indirectly by Greeks. Were it, therefore, proposed as a point of speculative inquiry, whether, had the Hellenic nation never existed, or had its works of genius been annihilated on the rise of the Roman ascendancy, the present dominant races of Europe would have stood higher in the scale of literary culture than the other nations of antiquity before their subjection to Hellenic influence, the decision, if referred to the test of experience, must be in the negative. This may at first view seem a startling conclusion. When we consider the actual extent and variety of our intellectual resources, so far surpassing those of the antients in their most enlightened epochs, they appear so entirely our own, that, even admitting the whole fabric to rest on a Hellenic foundation, the consciousness of our existing superiority might still incline us to assume that, in the absence of all foreign aids, the spontaneous efforts of modern genius would have attained a similar emi-

Originality
and fertility
of Greek
inventive
genius.

nence; and that too without any sacrifice of native originality at the shrine of classical antiquity. "The advantage of the Greeks," it might be urged, "is to be ascribed rather to the favour of destiny, which allotted to them a primary, to ourselves a secondary, stage in the march of improvement, than to an innate superiority of inventive talent. Our own civilisation being thus grounded on a previous social system, the adoption of the models transmitted by it became unavoidable." The question, however, arises: How happens it that the same nations, who, after coming into contact with Greek art and science, displayed taste and talent for their cultivation, should not have spontaneously put forth that talent in their previous independent capacity? On behalf of our Teutonic ancestors, there may reasonably be pleaded their comparative remoteness from the older fountain heads of elementary civilisation, and the absence of other local advantages enjoyed by the countries on the Mediterranean. Another case, however, more immediately in point, is that of the Romans, through whose medium chiefly Greek science has been distributed to the rest of Europe. The example of this distinguished people shows that a high amount of attainment in legislation, agriculture, and the essentially useful arts, has no necessary connexion with elegant pursuit; and that nations who, when supplied with a first story, may be qualified to raise excellent fabrics, would have been incompetent themselves to rear them from the foundation. Rome was mistress of a great empire, had attained the climax of her social prosperity, and a proficiency in all the practical arts of life, before a single native fruit of her imaginative talent can be adduced above the rank of

the popular ballads common to all semibarbarous tribes. It required a familiarity with the classical models of Greece, consequent on the subjugation of that country, to engraft on a naturally barren stock the nobler productive powers which were indigenous among the Greeks; and the first improvers of Latin style were naturalised Hellenes. But the races who have since held sway in Europe can hardly lay claim to any innate superiority of taste or genius over those of antient Italy. If the Romans showed such incapacity to advance without the aid of the Greeks, under circumstances little less favourable than those in which the Greeks did every thing for themselves, we can have no right to assume that the barbarians who overran the Roman empire, if equally left to themselves, would have done more than the Romans. In both cases there is the same deficiency of native resources, with the same disposition to respond to the stimulus when applied from the proper quarter. Hence the remarkable contrast, that while it is even now matter of dispute whether the most illustrious Greek poets, whose works still form the acknowledged standards of the art of composition, so much as knew the use of letters, the restorers of literature in modern times were men of profound classical learning.

5. The principles of ideal beauty in art or literature, though founded on certain primary laws of harmony and propriety, have no separate existence in themselves, apart from the works in which they are embodied, and which an approved excellence has caused to be adopted as models. Nor is the observance of those principles in individual cases essential to excellence. Power of expression and originality of conception, even under rudely digested forms, still possess

Principles
of ideal ex-
cellence in
Greek com-
position.

their value. Literary merit accordingly, in this general sense, is far from being peculiar to Greece, or to writers on whom the influence of Greek culture is perceptible. We find much to admire in the literature of various other antient races, of the Hebrews for example, or the Indians ; but we reject their compositions as models for ourselves. The masterpieces of the Greeks, on the other hand, are appreciated, not only for their individual excellence, but for the elementary laws of art which they embody. Further evidence of the exclusively Hellenic origin of these laws exists in the fact, that while they are acknowledged by the reason or critical discernment of other nations, they are not, as a general rule, congenial to their taste. Hence the modern authors most distinguished for originality and power are those who have least conformed to them. Thus Milton is more chaste but less original than Dante, Tasso than Ariosto, Racine than Shakspeare, Canova than Michel Angelo.¹ It is only where, in the same individual or the same people, the dictates of natural taste lead to a spontaneous coincidence, that both elements of perfection can be united. Among the Greeks alone this happy union is to be found, for their purest standards of style are also their noblest productions of original genius.

The question may here naturally occur : What are those elementary principles of ideal excellence, in-

¹ The illustration may be extended from literature to the graphic departments of elegant art. Among various other nations, where Hellenic example never spread, the efforts of indigenous talent have produced, in these departments also, works of great excellence, counterbalanced, however, by anomalies and defects destructive of their value as standard models. The Greek school of design is the only one which has grown up, under the guidance of pure native genius, in spontaneous conformity with the principles of ideal beauty and propriety.

digenous in Greece, exotics in all other regions? They consist in the just blending of force and elegance, of symmetry and variety; in the adaptation to the several departments of composition, in prose or verse, of their proper style, limits, and class of subjects, so as to avoid the opposite extremes of meagreness or diffuseness, or the offensive collision of heterogeneous elements. They require, especially in works of a higher class, that happy relation of parts and unity of whole, which alone can insure grandeur of effect; order and perspicuity in the general distribution of the subject; and a just mixture of conciseness and amplitude in the details. In poetry they consist in that triple rule, so finely laid down by Milton, that it should be "simple, sensuous, passionate," in idealising its subjects, without sacrifice of their truth and reality; in the distinction between elevation and bombast, fervour and extravagance, in the ebullitions of passion; between richness and profusion in embellishment or imagery. These excellencies may often be found individually exemplified in the productions of nations to whom the influence of Greek culture has not extended; but never united, still less reduced to system, by the spontaneous practice of native authors and the approval of the native public.

Throughout the above remarks, a distinction has been made between the terms Principles and Rules. While in the elegant arts, as in justice and morality, there are certain fundamental laws, of universal application, the particular rules in each case may, and ought, to vary with the difference of time, place, and circumstance. However excellent may be the principles inculcated in the Greek standards, as their

substance resolves itself into a general observance of propriety, it follows that an adherence to any specific rule or practice of Greek art, where the circumstances in which it originated no longer obtain, may be in as plain opposition to Greek principles, as the wildest aberrations of barbaric genius. A servile adherence to the letter rather than the spirit of antient usage has been productive, accordingly, of many injurious effects in modern literature. For example, the principles of tragic composition transmitted by the Greeks are: that the subject should be dignified in itself, and possess a hold on the sympathies of the audience; that the characters should be conceived in the spirit of the age and state of society from which they are derived; that the action should be perspicuous and united, not overloaded with personages or incidents; and that grotesque admixtures of heterogeneous materials should be avoided. These are laws invariable in themselves, and applicable to the higher class of dramatic composition in every country. The specific rules of Greek tragedy, on the other hand, the rigid adherence to the unities of time and place, the preference of mythological subjects, the employment of a chorus, and others connected with peculiarities, social or religious, under which the Greek drama was matured, have been found inept or incongruous on the modern stage.

Classical
and ro-
mantic
schools of
modern
composi-
tion.

6. It has been customary, in certain recent schools of criticism, to justify the irregularities of great modern writers, as reflecting the genius of the age or country in which they flourished. As a general rule, no doubt, literary works must be judged with reference to the circumstances under which they were produced. But this rule is subject, like

others, to exception, or it would strike at the root of all critical distinction. What is in itself faulty may be palliated, but can never become excellent by any force of circumstances. The same law applies in literature and art as in morals or politics. What would be enormities in the conduct of an English gentleman might hardly provoke censure in an Arab sheikh or a Turkish aga. In like manner, the inflated style which we call Oriental is congenial to the taste and character of the Eastern nations; and this, by imparting to it a certain interest of association, renders it less offensive than in European literature: but no such consideration can ever render it an excellence; otherwise the quaint doggerel of the middle age chronicle might contest the palm with the narrative of Hume or Robertson. In the same critical school, modern composition has been divided into two branches, under the titles of classical and romantic. The characteristics of the former are defined as a greater or less adherence to the Aristotelian unities, with a general preference of subjects or imagery borrowed from antient history or mythology. The romantic style, on the other hand, derives its materials from modern history, or treats them rather according to the dictates of national taste than to theoretical rules of propriety. The distinction is in itself ingenious and well founded. Not so, however, the inference with which it is usually coupled: that the Principles by which each style is, or ought to be, guided are different; as if there were a species of literary excellence essentially distinct from what the Greeks have taught us. The principles of Hellenic art are of universal application, to the literature of Italy or Spain, of France or of

England; and, however the admirers of the romantic school may profess to disregard or repudiate them, still, if its own productions be impartially tested by them, its merits will be found to be in unison, its defects as surely at variance, with what they inculcate.¹

For example, the properties to be chiefly admired in the romantic drama, subjects derived from indigenous sources, spirited portraiture of character, and vivid representation of passion and feeling, are all in strict harmony with the laws of classical composition. Its defects, again, the little regard for unity of action, and entire contempt for that of time or place; the confusion of incidents, inconsistencies of geography or chronology, and burlesque admixture of the serious and ludicrous, are plain violations of the laws, not merely of Hellenic, but of all elegant art. While, on the other hand, the merits of the modern classical drama consist chiefly in the absence of those blemishes which disfigure its rival, its own defects are owing mainly to a slavish observance of the letter, in breach of the spirit, of the rules by which it professes to be guided.

Superior
extent and
variety of
modern
literary
culture.

7. The literary historian must not, however, be led, by any partiality for his own subject, to underrate the intellectual culture of other times, as compared with that which it is his immediate province to treat. Nor, certainly, is such the object,

¹ It is worthy of remark, in further illustration of what has been said, that the chiefs of the Spanish school of romantic poetry, whose productions combine perhaps the greatest originality and fire with the most extravagant license, have themselves recorded their testimony to the essential value of the chaster classic standards, coupled with a confession of inability to conform to them. Their judgement was convinced, their imagination refused obedience. Sismondi, *Lit. du Midi*, vol. iii. p. 366.

or, if rightly estimated, the general tendency, of the above remarks. The distinguishing characteristics of an age or nation cannot be fully appreciated but by the contrast of parallel cases, in which the same phenomena are either wanting or exhibited in a different form. We have hence been led to compare the fundamental features of Hellenic literature, its purity and originality, with the equally fundamental feature of modern culture, its spirit of imitation. But this advantage on the side of the Greeks, is well counterbalanced by the superiority of our own state of society in amount and variety of attainment: nor can there be a stronger proof how finely the springs which regulate the progress of human events work together, than the fact, that to the absence of those very causes which operated so favourably in the case of the Hellenes much of that superiority may be traced. The same exclusive national feeling, and conscious intellectual power, which concentrated and sharpened the inventive faculties of the Greeks, by leading them, at the same time, to condemn all other nations as barbarians, tended to stifle or to blunt that zeal for historical research which might otherwise have been expected from their acute and speculative disposition. On the other hand, the very obligation under which the modern nations were placed, in rearing their own social fabric on a classical basis, to study other tongues, and investigate the affairs of other countries and ages, has been the primary source of that enlargement of ideas which distinguishes our literary culture from the exclusive system of the Greeks. To this obligation is due, more especially, the spirit of enlightened philological pursuit, altogether peculiar to modern times, the bene-

fits of which, in every department of science, are incalculable. The invidious line of distinction between Greek and Barbarian has been succeeded by the establishment of one great intellectual commonwealth; the subdivision of which into separate provinces, differing in language and political interests, but united by a common zeal in the pursuit of knowledge has produced effects in Europe at large analogous to those above traced in Hellas to the subdivision of her tribes and dialects. It has fomented a spirit of enlightened rivalry, where all are as anxious to excel as ready to rejoice in the success of others. Scientific investigation has been directed into new channels entirely shut up from the ancients; and the lives of large classes of men, with large portions of national wealth, are devoted to the cultivation of the language, literature, and arts, not only of Greece and Rome, but of every other nation with which geographical discovery or antiquarian research has made us acquainted.

Each state of society, therefore, has its own proper privileges and advantages, and those which the present enjoys are undoubtedly greater and more varied than ever fell to the lot of any other: a purer system of religion and morals, clearer views of the rights and liberties of man, and a far greater proficiency in all the arts of real utility or necessity. Contented with these our just claims to preeminence, we may safely concede to the Greeks those which, with equal right, appertain to them: originality of inventive genius, purity of taste, and an intuitive perception of the beautiful and the sublime in imaginative art, peculiar to themselves among the nations either of ancient or modern times.

CHAP. VIII.

MYTHICAL POETS AND WORKS.

1. ORIGIN AND EARLY CULTIVATION OF THE ART OF POETRY.—2. THRACE AND THRACIANS OF THE MYTHICAL AGE. PIERIA. DAULIA. HELICON. NYSA.—3. LEGENDARY MINSTRELS. AMPHION.—4. ORPHEUS. PHILAMMON. THAMYRIS.—5. EUMOLPUS. MUSÆUS. PAMPHOS. LINUS.—6. OLEN. OLYMPUS.—7. FABULOUS MINSTRELSY OF GREECE CHIEFLY CONNECTED WITH THE RITES OF DEMETER AND DIONYSUS. EARLY ASCENDANCY OF ÆOLIAN GENIUS. ACCREDITED WORKS OF THIS PERIOD.

1. THAT metrical composition should have preceded prose by several centuries in Greece may, on first view, appear a reversal of the natural order of invention. The more simple and spontaneous mode of expression ought, it might seem, to take precedence of the more studied and complicated. Experience, however, proves the contrary to have been the case wherever the progress of literary culture has remained free from external or artificial influences; and a little reflexion will show that such is the natural course of things. The faculties through which literary talent is exercised or appreciated are twofold, the Fancy and the Judgement; the former of which is always in the ascendant in the primitive stages of society. Literary productions therefore, in order to command the attention of a simple people, must entertain and excite rather than instruct. But the language of colloquial discourse possesses in itself no peculiar charm; and that refinement of it which constitutes elegant prose, with the taste for its enjoyment, belongs to a more advanced stage of social culture. To cap-

Origin and early cultivation of the art of poetry.

tivate the fancy alone, it has been found necessary to embellish the language of common life, by combining the ideal dignity of expression and sentiment which constitutes the substance of poetry, with the harmonious cadence of metrical numbers which constitutes its form.

But, in the infancy of society, other circumstances conspired to render rhythm not only an agreeable, but an essential element of popular composition. The essence of all literature is permanence. Without this, the highest efforts of genius in prose or verse were mere transitory effusions, like the fireside tale of wonder, or the burst of occasional oratory to which excited feelings give vent in the ordinary intercourse of life. When preserved and transmitted, those efforts first assume the character of literary monuments. But, even if prose composition were to the taste of a barbarous age, its transmission, by the aid of memory alone, would be scarcely possible, or would require an exertion to which no primitive people could be expected to submit. Rhythm, on the other hand, both facilitates the task of committing to memory, and affords such aid to the powers of retention, as to supply the place of writing in the absence or little prevalence of that art. Hence it will be found that, among all barbarous nations, the first literary productions are of the metrical order: whether hymns in praise of their gods, or epic poems recording the genealogy and exploits of their heroes.

Poetry then is the basis of all intellectual culture. It is the first step by which our nature raises itself above the physical impulses to which we are subject in common with the lower order of creation, the first attempt to embody thought in a connected and

permanent form ; and it were difficult, probably, to discover any race of men so nearly on a level with the brutes, that some species of ballad or song has not been current among them. The origin of this art therefore, among the Greeks, may be considered as coëval with their existence. Its higher cultivation, however, can only be dated from the epoch when the establishment of Hellenic ascendancy had imparted consistency and permanence to a national language, and provided subjects calculated to awaken a nobler vein of poetical inspiration.

Every art, in its earliest state, must be assumed to exist in its simplest form, and limited to its most elementary objects. The simplest forms of the poetical art are the Epic and Lyric; the one describing the actions, the other descanting on the praises of the objects celebrated. Attention will be directed to the special properties of each, and their respective claims to priority or importance, in connexion with the more strictly historical period of their cultivation, where the existence of real works and authors offers tangible material for commentary. The poems of either class which the Greek legends ascribed to the primitive bards were chiefly of a religious tendency. It seems, however, more probable, that in this, as in every subsequent period, human affairs supplied the principal subjects of celebration. A few Pæans, or sacrificial hymns, would suffice for the service of the deity or his altars; but the calls of human vanity would be less easily satisfied. Those legends may, however, possess historical value, as figurative of that union between poetry and priesthood which characterises all primeval civilisation. Poetry was not only the vehicle by which invocations were addressed to the gods, and

oracular edicts, or moral and religious maxims to the people, but was itself considered a species of divine inspiration. While, therefore, poets were likely to become priests and prophets, men of superior intellect would, even where not naturally favoured by the Muses, be led to cultivate the poetical art, as a means of securing influence over their fellow-citizens. Music and poetry were also, among the primitive Greeks, inseparably connected. Hence, in their traditions, the character of poet is usually found to combine those of musician, priest, prophet, and sage. Even in the more recent historical form in which it appears in the page of Homer, the office of bard is identified on some occasions with that of sage or counsellor.¹

Thrace and
Thracians
of the
mythical
age.

2. Several of the earliest and most celebrated of these gifted personages, Orpheus, Thamyris, Eumolpus, and others, are in the popular legend designated Thracians. To this account, taken by the letter, as referring to the nation familiarly bearing that title, importance has been attached by the school of critics who derive all the elementary civilisation of Greece from foreign sources. On the admission that these minstrels really were Thracians in the above sense, we must assume, as essential to the performances recorded of them, either that Thrace was formerly inhabited by a Greek population, or that the poets themselves, if foreigners, possessed a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. In the former case their foreign origin would consist but in name. The latter view, on the other hand, coupled with the extensive influence ascribed to them, would imply a great superiority of the Thracians of those days over the Hellenes in elementary culture.

¹ Odys. γ. 267.

That a few solitary individuals, travelling into a foreign land, should have thoroughly mastered its language, and founded a national school of poetry and music, were scarcely credible, unless the arts which they taught had already reached a comparatively advanced stage in their own country. But the whole tenor of authentic history repudiates the notion of any such precocity among the indigenous tribes of Thrace. They were, in every historical age, a proverbially barbarous people, and their language a barbarous tongue, with as little pretension to literature as they themselves to taste for its cultivation. It seems incredible therefore that the Hellenes, a people surpassing all others in brilliancy of inventive genius, could have been indebted for the improvement of their own language, and the first rudiments of the art of composition, to a foreign race who were never able to advance a step in the same direction at home. These considerations tend to destroy the whole value of the popular accounts, taking the terms Thrace and Thracian in their familiar sense.

Among the more plausible attempts to solve the Pieria. difficulty is the hypothesis, that the Thrace alluded to in these fables was the district of Pieria, situated on the north, or Macedonian side of Mount Olympus, and in so far comprehended within the limits of Thrace in the wider sense of the term.¹ This district, bordering on the sanctuary of the Hellenic Jove, and a favourite seat of Apollo and the Muses, may reasonably be supposed to have been possessed in these times by a Hellenic population, spreading over both sides of the divine

¹ Müll. Proleg. zu ein. w. Myth. p. 219.; Orchom., 2d ed. p. 372. sqq.

Daulia.
Helicon.

mountain. But the case admits of another, and perhaps more satisfactory explanation. It is certain that, in the mythical geography, a tract of country on the frontiers of Bœotia and Phocis, comprehending Mounts Parnassus and Helicon, bore the name of Thrace. In this region the popular mythology also lays the scene of several of the most celebrated adventures the heroes of which are called Thracians. In the fable of Itys and Philomela, Tereus, king of Thrace, marries Procne, daughter of Pandion king of Athens: but his court and palace, with the tragical events that followed, are placed in Phocis. On this apparent anomaly Thucydides, in allusion to an Odrysian chief of his own time, called Teres, has the following commentary¹: "This Teres has no connexion whatever with the Tereus who married Pandion's daughter, nor were they natives of the same Thrace; for the antient Tereus dwelt in Daulia, in the country now called Phocis, but then inhabited by Thracians. It was, indeed, more probable that Pandion should form an alliance with a neighbouring chief, than that he should have sought a husband for his daughter at a great distance among the Odrysians." This remark equally applies to Orpheus and the other supposed Helleno-Thracian bards. It is more probable that the Greeks should have sought their early poets and musicians within the bosom of their own country, than among northern barbarians. The connexion, in this elegant fable², of the nightingale with the

¹ II. xxix.

² The version of it, however, here preferred by Thucydides is evidently of later Attic origin. In the legend of Homer, the name of the metamorphosed heroine's father is Pandareüs, Atticised in Thucydides into Pandion; that of her husband, Zethus. *Odys.* τ. 518.

Hellenic Thrace, is in itself an obvious figure of an early preeminence of that region in poetry and song.

In this way may be elucidated various other Nysa. Thracian chapters of Hellenic mythology. The worship of Bacchus, a Bœotian deity, is described as having met with great opposition in his native province. Among its fiercest opponents was Lycurgus, designated king of Thrace, but who is evidently, like Pentheus in the same series of fables, a type of the resistance offered by the Bœotian chiefs to the spread of those extravagant orgies. The "divine Nyseian mountain" therefore, down which Homer¹ describes the God with his attendants as pursued by Lycurgus, and which the license of later mythology has transferred, not only to the barbarous Thrace, but to Syria, Arabia, India, and elsewhere², is to be sought at Nysa, a district of Mount Helicon, to which Homer applies the title of "preeminently divine,"³ and where there was, in later times, a sanctuary of the God.⁴ Pausanias⁵, while expressing the same opinion as Thucydides regarding the Thrace over which Tereus held sway, also makes the "Thracian" bard Thamyras virtually a Phocian. He assigns him for mother a nymph of Parnassus called Argiope. His father Philammon is described as a native of the same region, son of Apollo by the

¹ Il. §. 133.

² Steph. Byz. and Hesych. in v. Νύσα.

³ Il. β. 508.

⁴ Eustath. ad loc. ; Soph. Antig. 1131. ; Eurip. Bacch. 556. ; Dicæarch. de Stat. Gr. v. 102.

⁵ In the time of this author the name Thracis still attached to a community in Mount Helicon (x. iii.). A family of Thracidæ are also mentioned as office-bearers in the Delphic sanctuary. Diod. Sic. xvi. xxiv.

nymph Chione, and brother of Autolycus, its celebrated robber chieftain.¹ The divine grandsire is obviously here but a figure of his own sacred region; the grandmother Chione, as her name bears, of its snow. Others call the latter heroine Leuconoë.² The names of these heroines, Leuconoë, Argiope, Chionis, are all but so many varied modes of typifying the same "snow-white" Parnassus. This view of the "Thracian" character of these sages becomes the more plausible, if it be remembered that the region of Central Greece, in which the Hellenic Thrace was situated, is that from which, first or chiefly, the seeds of elementary culture were propagated throughout the nation. Here tradition places the first introduction of the alphabet. Here were also the principal seats of Apollo and the Muses. In the heart of the same region was situated the Minyeian Orchomenus, the temple of the Graces, rivalling Thebes herself in the splendour of her princes and zeal for the promotion of art. Among the early masters of poetry or music, not vulgarly styled Thracians, the most illustrious, Amphion and Linus, are Bœotians. Nor was this region of Central Greece less favoured in respect of its religious institutions. It was not only the favourite seat of Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces, but the native country of the Dionysiac rites, zeal for the propa-

¹ Pausan. x. iv., iv. xxxiii.; conf. Apollod. Bib. i. iii.; Ovid. Metam. xi. 301. sqq.; Hygin. Fab. 200. The remaining particulars of the birth of Thamyris appear to be inventions of later fabulists, to account for the anomaly of a Phocian poet being also a Thracian. His mother Argiope, it is said, disowned and persecuted by her seducer, took refuge, when pregnant, among the Odrysians. "Hence," says Pausanias, "how Thamyris came to be called a Thracian." — iv. xxxiii.

² Hygin. Fab. 161.

gation of which is a characteristic of the Thracian sages.

While, therefore, the adoption of either a Pierian or a Phocian Thrace, as the birthplace of the earliest school of Greek poetry, obviates the difficulty of its barbaric origin, the hypothesis of some closer bond of connexion between the population of the two districts is also favoured by the fact of each containing one of the two most celebrated sanctuaries of the Muses, and by the correspondence in each between the names of several principal localities.¹

3. In the list of fabulous Greek poets or musicians, the most illustrious names are those of Amphion, Orpheus, Philammon, Eumolpus, Musæus, Pamphos, Linus, Thamyris, Olen, Olympus. The biography of these mysterious personages belongs to the Greek mythology, rather than to the history of Grecian literature. A short notice will here suffice of the principal legends concerning them, and of their imputed

Legendary
minstrels.

¹ Strabo, p. 410. 471.; conf. Thirl. Hist. of Gr. vol. I. p. 46.; Müll. Orch. 2d ed. p. 372.; Bode, Gesch. d. hell. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 111. The name Thrace is itself a significant term, indicating the geographical character of each district, a substantive form, namely, of the adjective Trachea (τραχέα), "rugged," by the customary enallage of the mute and aspirate letters. This epithet, in whichever of its varieties suited the local dialect, was precisely that by which a rocky wooded mountain district, bounded by a tract of fertile plain, would be designated, as contrasted with the vale or champaign country below. Thus the Parnassian, or Heliconian Thrace was the mountain region bounding the Boeotian plain; the Olympian, or Pierian Thrace was that to the north of the still wider plain of Thessaly, whence the name afterwards spread to the whole region lying north of Hellas; just as the term Asia spread from a single valley of Lydia to the whole great eastern continent, or that of Italia from a small corner of Magna Græcia to the entire Italian peninsula. Another mountain region on the southern frontier of Thessaly was named, with slight dialectical variety, Trachis; and various other districts, in different parts of Greece, received the same or similar appellatives from the same natural peculiarity.

influence on their favourite branches of composition.¹ To the first eight in the list a Hellenic, or, what is equivalent, a Thracian character belongs. The last two names, Olen of Lycia and Olympus of Phrygia, figure the influence of the neighbouring Asiatic school of music on that of Greece.

Amphion.

Amphion is described by Homer² as son of Jupiter, by Antiope, daughter of Asopus the chief river of Bœotia, and, with his brother Zetus, as founder and fortifier of Thebes the Bœotian metropolis. These notices entitle him to rank as the most antient Helleno-Pelasgian patriarch of that district. Cadmus consequently must be considered in Homer's legend, not as the founder, but as the later colonist of Thebes. The infancy and early youth of Amphion, owing to circumstances connected with the mystery of his birth, were passed in the obscurity of a shepherd's hut on mount Cithæron. Here he attracted the notice of Apollo, from whom, or in other accounts from Mercury or the Muses, he received the gift of a lyre, with so brilliant a faculty of using it, as to have collected the stones for the building of his city, and raised them to their places in the walls, by the fascination of his music.³ This the interpreters of fable expound, aptly enough, as signifying that, by the persuasive eloquence of his muse, he induced his countrymen,

¹ Other less celebrated mythical poets of various epochs are: Bæcis, whose oracular epigrams are frequently cited by Herodotus (VIII. xx. alibi); Chrysothemis of Crete; Mopsus, an Argonaut; and Phemonoë, the first Delphic priestess, reputed inventor of the hexameter verse (Paus. x. v.), and by some identified with the Cumæan Sibyl. The reader curious of more ample details relative to the whole of this class of fabulous characters, is referred to Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* i., to the articles in Smith's *Dict. of Ant. Biogr.*, and other popular repertories.

² *Odys.* λ. 260. sqq.; conf. *Hor. de Art. poet.* 394.

³ Eumelus, *Corinth. frg.* xi.; *Philostr. Im.* i. x.

hitherto a scattered race of shepherds or husbandmen, to unite within the walls of a city for the better cultivation of the arts of civilised life. The punishment inflicted by Amphion and his brother Zetus on Dirce, a Bœotian princess, for the insult and persecution suffered by their mother Antiope at her hands, forms the subject of one of the most celebrated extant groups of antient sculpture.¹ But the divine favour vouchsafed Amphion in his earlier days deserted him in later life. He became the husband of Niobe, and father by her of that ill-fated offspring so celebrated in classic song. His death is attributed by some to the weapons of Apollo, as a punishment for the impious fury with which he gave vent to his indignation at the loss of his children; by others to his own suicidal act. He and his brother were buried in the same grave. The spot, though unadorned by any monument, was still revered as a sanctuary in the time of Pausanias; although the same author, on the authority of the antient poem of the Minyas, describes Amphion as tormented in Hades for the impieties of his latter days.²

4. The traditions concerning Orpheus, with a Orpheus. greater popularity in the later mythology, have less the character of genuine archaic legend than those relative to Amphion and some other of his fellow-bards. It is remarkable, considering the lustre which has since attended this name, that no mention of it should occur in Homer, Hesiod, or other most antient poetical authorities.³ Whilst Amphion represents the

¹ Commonly called the Toro Farnese, or Farnesian Bull, preserved in the Royal Museum of Naples.

² Pausan. ix. v. : Minyas, frg. iii.

³ The first mention of him is by Ibycus, about 550 B.C. frg. 9.

popular genius of primeval poetry, Orpheus may be considered as the type of its religious or sacerdotal element. Accordingly, the mystical school of composition which sprang up towards the commencement of the Attic period of literature, simultaneously with a new and abstruse philosophy, connected itself inseparably with his name as its mythical founder. The works which passed vulgarly current in Plato's time as Hymns of the "Thracian" bard were probably some of the more esteemed productions of Onomacritus, Cercops, and other scholars of the time of the Pisistratidæ, celebrated for the concoction of such spurious compositions.¹ What may have been the primitive germ or spirit of the Orphic poetry, contemplated even in this light, it were fruitless to speculate, owing to the number and heterogeneous nature of the doctrines² embodied in the mass of mystical effusions afterwards comprised under the same title. The increasing celebrity of Orpheus, as inventor of the sacred or sacerdotal hymn, led to his becoming a sort of popular type of the lyric poetry at large of the mythical age. The legends concerning the marvellous influence of his art on gods, men, and animals, in the various adventures where, with even more than the usual contempt for consistency which characterises mythical chronology, he is made to figure, especially during the Argonautic expedition, surpass in number and extravagance those narrated of any other Greek minstrel.³

¹ Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* vol. i. p. 347. ; Ritschl, *Die Alex. Bibl.* p. 42.

² See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 482. sq. alibi ; Nitzsch, *Myth. Wört.* vol. ii. p. 375.

³ For his reputed works, see Lobeck, *Agl.* p. 353. sqq. ; Fabric. *B. G.* i. xviii. sq. Those which now pass under his name are : an epic

According to the general outline of these traditions, Orpheus was son of the muse Calliope and of Œagrus, a Thracian river god, or some other equally mysterious father, and disputes with Amphion the merit of first instructing his countrymen in the use of the lyre. That the Thrace possessing the most equitable claim to his nativity was the Pierian region, appears as well from the occurrence of a Pierus in the list of his ancestors¹, as from his Thracian tomb² (for various other countries claimed one) being shown within its bounds. His descent to Hades in search of his mistress Eurydice, where he lulled Cerberus to sleep, bewitched the inhabitants of the gloomy region, and softened the stern bosom of its sovereign by the melody of his notes, with the subsequent sad termination of his amorous adventures, forms an elegant and pathetic chapter in the book of classical fiction. The fury of the Thracian Mænads, to which he fell a sacrifice, is attributed in the more accredited legend³ to his opposition to the Dionysiac mysteries, for which Pentheus, Lycurgus, and other heroes of the Hellenic Thrace were similarly punished. In other accounts he is represented as instrumental to the establishment of the same Bacchanalian ceremonies.⁴ At his death his head and lyre, floating down the Hebrus, were conveyed beyond sea to the shore of Lesbos⁵, where they were preserved and cherished as the

Argonautica, in 1384 lines; Lithica, or a Treatise on the Virtues of Stones, in 768 lines; with numerous hymns and other metrical fragments, mystical and philosophical.

¹ Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 323.

² Paus. ix. xxx.

³ Æschyl. ap. Eratosth. Catast. 24.

⁴ Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 295.

⁵ Phanocl. frg. i.; cf. Lob. Aglaoph. p. 320. Other accounts (Conon, Narr. 45.; Ovid, Metam. xi. 50.) bore his head to Smyrna, the birthplace of Homer.

source of the brilliant flow of lyric composition for which that island was distinguished. This tradition is an evident figure of the passage of lyric genius, with the Æolian migration, from the western to the eastern shore of the Ægæan ; and may also seem further to illustrate the connexion between the Pierian and the Bœotian Thrace, the latter being the mother country of those colonies.

Philammon.

Philammon of Delphi was son of Apollo and the Parnassian nymph Chione, and father of the "Thracian" Thamyris. He was the reputed founder of the first musical solemnity at Delphi, and author of a hymn on the birth of Apollo, as also of various musical compositions. He was also distinguished as a warrior in defence of the Pythian sanctuary against an assault of the Phlegyans.¹

Thamyris.

Thamyris, his son by the nymph Argiope, and whose Parnasso-Thracian origin has already been illustrated, is chiefly celebrated for the adventure recorded of him by Homer.² Having challenged the Muses to a competition in his favourite art, and being defeated, he was punished for his presumption by the loss, not only of his poetical talent, but of his eyesight.

Eumolpus.

5. Eumolpus and Musæus, like Orpheus and Thamyris familiarly designated Thracians, act a prominent part in Athenian fable. The former, in the more popular accounts, was son of Neptune and the nymph Chione, already mentioned as mother of the Parnassian Philammon, but here described as an Attic, not a Parnassian heroine.³ After various youth-

¹ Fabr. i. xxvi.

² Il. β. 595., conf. Fabr. i. xxxv.

³ Apollod. iii. xv. ; Pausan. i. xxxviii.

ful adventures, Eumolpus appears as a powerful "Thracian" sovereign, ally of Eleusis, then an independent state, in a war with Erechtheus king of Athens.¹ He is also made, in the sequel of this legend, founder of the Eleusinian mysteries, and ancestor of the sacerdotal family of Eumolpidæ, who, both in Athens and Eleusis, enjoyed the chief superintendence of the solemnity. . This account, however, is by no means in harmony with that of the Homeric hymn to Ceres, a mythical authority of much prior age to those whence the above details are derived. In that poem Eumolpus is described as a patriarchal chief of Eleusis, who, with four other leaders of the local aristocracy, affords hospitality to the goddess in her wanderings, in gratitude for which she appoints their city the depositary of her sacred rites. Several works, in epic measure it would appear, passed current under his name, on subjects connected with the worship of both Ceres and Bacchus.²

Musæus is variously designated son of Orpheus, Musæus. Linus, and Eumolpus.³ Of the latter he is also occasionally made the father, while his only recorded mother is Selene, or the moon.⁴ He usually ranks as a Thracian, sometimes however, from his fame and influence being chiefly connected with Attica, as an Athenian. His name, derived from that of the Muses, seems an obvious type of the early influence of those goddesses upon Athens. Visionary as his own person may be, the poems attributed to Musæus assume a definite reality at an earlier period than

¹ Isocrat. Panath. p. 273. ; Thucyd. ii. xv. ; Pausan. sup. cit.

² Fabr. i. vi. 7. ; conf. Diod. Sic. i. xi.

³ Fabr. i. xvi. ; Clinton, Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 343.

⁴ Plato, De Rep. p. 364.

those of any other author of the same class. From Herodotus¹ we learn that a collection of them, apparently of an oracular character, was extant in the time of the Pisistratidæ; and that Onomacritus, one of the literary clients of that family, was banished by Hipparchus for surreptitiously inserting among them compositions of his own. The spurious additions, however, seem to have enjoyed a greater popularity and permanence than the original works; for Pausanias² considered all the poems current in his time under the name of Musæus, with the exception of a single hymn to Ceres, as forgeries of Onomacritus. The most specific account of the religious creed of Musæus is a statement of Plato³, that he made the happiness of the blessed in Elysium to consist in perpetual feasting and intoxication, a doctrine which certainly affords no very favourable impression of his system, either of morality or religion. His mythical dignity receives an important accession from the honours paid him by Virgil⁴, who represents him in the Shades surrounded by a crowd of disciples, his authority over whom is figured by the superior height of his stature. This seems to imply that the Latin poet attributed a greater extent or reality to his influence, owing probably to his connexion with Athens, than to that of the other sages or civilisers of primitive Greece.

Pamphos.

Pamphos, of whose nativity no notice has been transmitted, is sometimes associated with Orpheus, sometimes with Musæus, in the exercise of his poeti-

¹ VII. vi.

² I. xxii. For the best list of his accredited poems, see Düntzer, *Frg. Epicc. Græc.* p. 72.

³ *Rep.* p. 363.

⁴ *Æn.* VI. 667.

cal functions, the chief scene of which, as in the case of the latter poet, was Attica. Hymns attributed to him, in honour of Jove, Ceres, Diana, Neptune, Cupid, and the Graces, were sung in the Eleusinian rites, in conjunction with those ascribed to Olen and Orpheus.¹

Among these legendary minstrels, Linus is, per- Linus.
haps, the one in whose favour even the popular accounts advance the slenderest claim to real personality, while the agency of which he is the symbol displays itself in the most palpable forms. In his symbolic capacity he appears as the Eponyme genius of plaintive music. His name, in the same symbolic sense, was common to a mournful song or ode performed in his honour, which will demand its due share of attention in a future chapter on the Orders of Greek lyric composition.² Any further details therefore, relative to himself or his art, will be reserved for that portion of our subject.

6. Olen and Olympus, the remaining minstrels on Olen.
the list, are the only two, setting aside the letter of the Thracian legend, to whom tradition assigns a foreign origin. The former, who ranks as the earliest and most illustrious priest and poet of the Delian Apollo, is variously designated a Lycian and a Hyperborean. The Lycian version of his origin seems the more antient, being that adopted by the older authorities who notice him. In his sacerdotal character he may be claimed equally by both nations, as representing certain mysterious elements of Apollo's worship, connected on the one hand with the coast of Lycia, on the other with some undefined region of

¹ Pausan. i. xxxvii. alibi ; Clint. F. Hell. vol. i. p. 344.

² Book III. Ch. ii. § 11.

Northern Europe.¹ The Lycian Olen was considered by Herodotus as author of the more antient hymns performed in the Delian festivals; and at Delphi the same honour was assigned him in his Hyperborean character.² Bœo, a celebrated priestess of that sanctuary, pronounces him, in two oracular lines, to be not only the most antient of Apollo's prophets, but of all poets, and inventor of the hexameter verse, the foundation of Hellenic poetry.³ His hymns were also sung in the Eleusinian festival.⁴ This reputed influence of the Lycian poet on the sacred music of Greece, is indirectly figured in other primitive traditions of a connexion between the two countries and their Apollo worship. In the Iliad Apollo appears as an essentially Lycian god, patron both of Lycia Proper and of another tribe of Lycians on the Hellespont. Among his Lycian attributes, one of the most prominent was that of "Lycean," or "Wolf-Apollo," embodying the more terrible features of his character. Under this title he was also worshipped in the Argolis⁵; and the coincidence stands in close connexion with other local legends, embodied by Homer in his episode of Prætus and Bellerophon, concerning an intercourse between Lycia and the Argolis in mythical times. The remarkable monuments of primeval sculpture and architecture, still extant at Mycenæ in the latter region, and bearing obvious reference to the rites of Apollo⁶, were

¹ Hdt. iv. xxxiii. sqq.; Paus. v. vii. 4.; conf. Müll. Dor. i. iv.; see also B. II, Ch. xxii. § 8. of this work; conf. B. III. Ch. v. § 3.

² Hdt. iv. xxxv.

³ Paus. x. v.

⁴ Paus. ix. xxvii.

⁵ Müller, Dor. i. p. 215. sq. 302. sqq.

⁶ See Journal of a Tour in Greece, vol. ii. p. 171. sq.; and p. 256., of an article in the Rheinische Museum, 1839, vol. vi.; both by the

also, in the popular tradition, ascribed to Lycian artists.¹

The Asiatic origin of Olympus², or of the art he represents, is still more plainly indicated in the fables concerning him, than that of Olen in the Lycian legend. The chief or only musical instrument in early popular use in Greece, and at all times that most congenial to Hellenic taste, was the lyre, or harp. The flute enjoyed an equal preference among the nations of Asia Minor, from which country it was first brought into more general practice in Europe. The accredited author of its introduction was Olympus, who stands alone accordingly, among his Hellenic fellow-minstrels, in his preference of wind to string instruments. His birth-place is variously assigned to Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia, but his reputed master in musical science, Marsyas the Phrygian, seems to connect him chiefly with the former region. The Greeks, however, distinguished two Olympi : the fabulous musician of the ante-Homeric period, and a real artist of the same name and country in later times, to whom, as will more fully appear hereafter³, were ascribed many

Olympus.

author of this work. He is now convinced, however, that the lost heads of the animals sculptured on the gate of Mycenæ were those of lions, not wolves, as he had once conjectured. He has been led to this conviction chiefly by the near resemblance of style which he has observed between the Lycian lions recently lodged in the British Museum and those of Mycenæ, especially by the extreme smallness of the head, which forms so marked a characteristic of the Lycian figures. This latter peculiarity, while proving that there would have been room for the heads of the Mycenæan lions, if of similar dimensions, in the space allotted them, supplies also an additional evidence of the connexion between the two schools of primitive art. Other still more pointed evidence of this connexion is traceable in the decorative architectural details of the monuments of each country ; upon which, however, this is not the place to enlarge.

¹ Apollod. ii. ii. 1. ; Strab. p. 373. ; Paus. ii. xxv.

² Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. § 344.

³ Infra, B. III. Ch. i. § 9.

of the more important inventions in the higher branches of music. The elder Olympus, therefore, may be considered but as a mythical reflexion of his real successor, called into existence to impart archaic dignity to an art of comparatively recent cultivation in Greece.

Fabulous
minstrelsy
chiefly con-
nected with
the rites of
Ceres or
Bacchus.

7. It is remarkable that, while Apollo is at all periods of Greek tradition the patron deity of poetry and music, the legends of these primitive composers connect them chiefly with the worship of Ceres or with the kindred rites of Dionysus. This is the case with Orpheus, Musæus, Eumolpus, Pamphos, Thamyris, and probably Linus. In respect to Amphion and Olympus no special preference is recorded. Olen is the only one of higher celebrity who appears as an unqualified devotee of Apollo. The other legendary minstrels connected with the worship of that god, such as Philammon of Delphi and Chrysothemis of Crete, founders of the Pythian chorus, or Phemonoë the Pythoness, who disputed with Olen the invention of the hexameter verse, are of inferior and local fame. This peculiarity is explained by the circumstance, that the Dionysiac and Eleusinian rites were more immediately connected with those rural and agricultural festivities, which in all ages first acquire public importance and popularity.¹ It was natural therefore, that in the general tendency of Greek tradition to combine the early efforts of elegant art with religious ceremonial, the patron deities of those festivities should enjoy a priority, more especially in Central Greece, where religious poetry appears chiefly to have flourished. The whole of that region teems,

¹ For the worship of Apollo himself as a rural deity, see *infra*, B. II. Ch. xxii. § 7.

in the popular mythology, with the turbulent enthusiasm of the Bacchic and Eleusinian orgies, so favourable to the flights of lyric inspiration. The musical rites of Apollo seem, in Greece itself, to have been first indebted for their higher culture to his Dorian worshippers. The only spot where they appear with any degree of lustre in mythical times is Delos, where Olen asserts accordingly the honour of his patron deity.

Another inference suggested by this catalogue of primitive authors is the early ascendancy of Æolian genius in poetry and music. With the exception of the two foreigners, Olen and Olympus, they all, whether as Thracians in the sense above illustrated, or as Bœotians, belong to the Æolian family. Circumstances already noticed tended, it is true, in the course of national advancement, to obtain for the dialect of the Ionians a certain preference as the language of poetry; yet, as regards individual authors even in that dialect, it will be found that, while the influence of several of those fabulous Æolo-Thracian minstrels is described as chiefly exercised at Athens, a central seat of the purest Ionism, or in Peloponnesus¹, the later Æolians claim the honour of giving birth to both Homer and Hesiod, to the latter indisputably, to the former by a large preponderance of evidence. This priority, both as to invention and excellence, is maintained throughout the whole of the poetical period, in the more ideal branches of composition, musical and poetical, by Terpander, Arion, Alcæus, Sappho, and Stesichorus. In those branches which connect themselves more

Early
ascendancy
of Æolian
genius.

¹ II. β. 594.

nearly with the objects and interests of real life, the Elegy and Iambus, for example, the more subtle and reflective Ionian genius, in the muse of Archilochus, Callinus, and Simonides, asserts its superiority.

Accredited
works of
this period.

Slender as may be the claims of these legendary bards to a substantial personality, they may at least be considered as representing the early improvers of Grecian poetry, who paved the way for the perfection in which it appears in the page of Homer. As their talents are reputed to have been so largely devoted to the service of the altar, it might seem natural, among a people so studious of antient religious observance, that some of their more esteemed compositions in honour of popular deities should, by the priesthood of the sanctuaries, have been secured a chance of permanent preservation. That works under the name of Musæus existed in the time of Pisistratus has already been stated. Herodotus also mentions hymns of Olen, and Plato¹ cites passages of Orpheus with apparent confidence. Aristotle² however, a higher authority in such matters, while recording his disbelief, not only of the genuine character of the poems attributed to Orpheus, but of their accredited author's existence, ascribes them to one Cercops, a Pythagorean philosopher, or to the same Onomacritus above noticed as the falsifier of Musæus. He quotes the poems of Musæus in one place without comment, in another as his reputed compositions.³ Plato cites them frequently⁴, and without qualification. As

¹ Phileb. p. 66. c.; Cratyl. p. 402. B.; conf. de Leg. p. 669.

² Ap. Cic. de Nat. Deor. I. xxxviii.; conf. Aristot. de An. I. v. 13.; Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. I. p. 332. sq.

³ Polit. viii. v.; Hist. Anim. vi. vi.

⁴ Apol. Soc. p. 41.; Ion, p. 536.; Rep. p. 364. B.; Protag. p. 316. D.

to the works now extant under any of the above titles, their own internal evidence has led modern scholars to a unanimous conviction of their comparatively recent origin. Even with the popular public in the best epochs of Greek literature, the names of these mythical poets were seldom seriously connected with poems of greater extent or variety of character than a few hymns, metrical oracles, and didactic pieces, moral or sacred. The longer, more elaborate compositions, such as the *Argonautica* and *Lithica*, vulgarly ascribed to Orpheus, seem first to have obtained their spurious honours at a very low period, for the history of which consequently, such critical notice as they demand will be reserved.

BOOK II.

POETICAL PERIOD.—EPIC POETRY.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTION.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POETICAL PERIOD. EPIC AND LYRIC STYLES ALONE CULTIVATED.—2. THEIR DEFINITION AND ORIGIN.—3. WORKS COMPRISED UNDER EACH HEAD.—4. PROPOSED MODE OF TREATMENT.

Character-
istics of the
poetical
period.

1. THE period treated in the following book extends from Homer, or the origin of the Homeric poems, down to the LVth Olympiad (560 B.C.), the epoch at which Pisistratus usurped supreme power at Athens. It has been styled poetical, because the works it produced, in so far as known to fame, belong exclusively to that style of composition. It might also not improperly, in contradistinction to the purely mythical era, be entitled historical, as treating of living works, and authors advancing a solid claim to real personality.

Although prose writing must have been more or less generally practised, during this period, for purposes of utility or necessity, the notices of any attempts towards its cultivation as a branch of popular literature are obscure and doubtful. Its origin will, therefore, form more appropriate matter of investigation at the future stage of this history where it asserts an equality with the sister Muse, or even an ultimate ascendancy, in popularity and influence.

The whole poetical literature of Greece was familiarly classed by the native critics under three comprehensive heads: Epic, Lyric, and Dramatic. The compositions of this period fall to be considered under the two former alone; the Drama, like prose writing, being yet so completely in its infancy as not to supply material for a separate subdivision.

Epic and lyric styles alone cultivated.

2. The term Epic, in its literal acceptation, denotes what is narrated or recited; Lyric, what is sung to the lyre. This, however, like some other similar distinctions invented at a later stage of the arts to which they apply, will be found defective in regard to the origin or more flourishing epochs of those arts. Epic poems were, during the earlier and better days of Greek heroic minstrelsy, chanted to an instrumental accompaniment little less habitually than lyric odes. The latter epithet might therefore, in so far, appear as applicable to the Iliad and Odyssey as to a song of Sappho or an elegy of Mimnermus. The distinction is, however, justified even in its extension to this early period, by the more artificial nature of the accompaniment, and the more vital connexion between the music and the words, in the one than the other case. This may be illustrated by the analogy of the Italian opera, where the recitative, with its few harmonious chords struck at appropriate intervals, stands to the aria in a relation similar to that of the epic to the lyric department of Greek poetry.¹ The nicer distinction of terms may have originated about the period

Their definition and origin.

¹ The illustration will be the more apparent to those familiar with the recitative of the professional *improvisatori*. Müller's limitation of this accompaniment to a few notes of simple prelude, to regulate the pitch of the voice, the whole remainder of the performance being purely vocal, is as improbable in itself, as unwarranted by his overstrained interpretation of the phrase *ὑπερλόγου* in the poet's text. Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 33.

when lyric composition first acquired importance as a branch of cultivated literature ; epic poetry being then on the decline, and the practice of its musical recital gradually falling into disuse.¹

The origin of both styles is lost in the mists of antiquity. The earliest efforts in each are probably simultaneous, in every imaginative people, with the first steps in civilisation. The rudest attempt to embody in an attractive form the narrative of an interesting event was an epic poem. The first simple effusion of praise or gratitude to a god or hero was a lyric ode. That both branches were popular in the age of Homer appears from the indirect evidence of his works. To the lyric order belong, in the *Iliad*, the Pæan, the Dirge or Funeral Lament, and the Hymenæal Chorus²; in the *Odyssey*, the songs with which Calypso and Circe enliven the labours of their loom.³ Lyric was also the music of the vintage feast, and that which accompanies the dance of Dædalus on the shield of Achilles.⁴ Of the Pæan two varieties may be distinguished. The sacrificial or convivial Pæan⁵, performed at the banquet in honour of the restoration of Chryseïs to her father, appears to have been sung in parts by a chorus of youths, divided into companies and responding to each other. The triumphal or processional Pæan⁶ is sung by the Greek warriors, on their march back to the camp bearing the corpse

¹ A parallel distinction is observable in the use of the terms *δοιδή* and *ἔπη*. With Homer, *δοιδή* denotes all poetry or song, whether epic or lyric; *ἔπη*, merely conversation or discourse. In later times, *ἔπη* is the familiar phrase for every kind of recitative or epic poetry; *δοιδή*, or *ᾠδή*, is limited to song in the stricter sense, or lyric performance. The longer, more continuous epic narrative, or epopee, bears with Homer the title *ᾠμήνη*.

² σ. 493.

³ ε. 61., κ. 220.

⁴ σ. 569. 590.

⁵ α. 472.

⁶ χ. 391.

of Hector. In the Dirge over the body of Hector¹ in the Trojan palace, professional bards officiate as a chorus to the chief mourners, who successively relieve each other in their melancholy functions.

As Epic, on the other hand, may be classed, in the Iliad the celebration by Achilles of the "glorious deeds of men;"² in the Odyssey the narratives of the exploits of Ulysses and other heroes of the Trojan war by the court bards of Scheria and Ithaca. The description of the sack of Troy by Demodocus, as epitomised by Homer³, offers many essential features of a finished epopee.

But although in point of origin these two branches of composition may be classed as coeval, the Epic invariably enjoys a priority of cultivation, wherever the progress of letters, as in Greece, is spontaneous and free from secondary influence. This is a consequence of the more direct medium through which it appeals to the sympathies, as will be made apparent by a somewhat closer definition of the respective properties of the two.

Epic poetry may be defined as essentially historical or descriptive; Lyric poetry as speculative or discursive: the former deals with facts and events, the latter with feelings and opinions.

The mass of mankind however, in all ages, are more interested in the study of facts than of opinions, in listening to accounts of great or marvellous adventures, than to commentaries on the admiration of which they may be deserving. What is here true of the less educated class in every age, applies to the public at large in a primitive state of society. But,

¹ *Od.* 720.

² *Il.* 189.

³ *Od.* 500.

besides the pleasure of reciting or hearing, the anxiety to perpetuate constituted another powerful cause of this preference. Epic poetry, apart from its pleasantness, possessed, as the popular chronicle of events, a superior utility to the sister branch of art; and that utility was inseparable from its permanence. There was no similar inducement to preserve an outbreak of enthusiastic emotion relative to a particular person or transaction. Novelty was perhaps, in such cases, more desirable than repetition. The superior credit enjoyed by the Epic Muse with the primitive public is evinced, accordingly, by the fact of her compositions having been preserved, in considerable mass, from a period of antiquity several centuries prior to that of the earliest extant specimens of pure lyric art.

The difference of the mode in which the two styles are embodied corresponds to that of their characters. In the epic an exclusive preference is given to prolonged metrical forms in harmony with the continuity of the narrative. The lyric offers a greater subdivision, and more varied combination of numbers, adapted to its more lively and versatile expression of thought or feeling.

Works
comprised
under each
head.

3. Under these two general heads of Epic and Lyric have here been comprised various works but partially marked by the proper features on which the distinction above drawn depends, and which might therefore appear, in a more accurate classification, to require a separate allotment. To the Epic head, for example, have been referred the Works and Days of Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns. The former poem, in a more artificial age of literature, would be assigned to the Didactic rather than the Epic style.

At the period, however, in which this distinction of terms takes its origin, and indeed, more or less, throughout the flourishing ages of Grecian art, the phrase Epic familiarly denotes any descriptive or narrative work, anything told or recited, as distinct from sung or dramatically represented. All poems of the former class were embodied, accordingly, by preference in hexameter verse, as the standard epic rhythm, the employment of which hence became, in its turn, the popular criterion of the epic style of a work. As referred to this test, consequently, the "Works and Days" was an epic poem. The Homeric Hymns, on the other hand, might seem, both in right of their title and their subject, to belong to the Lyric order. The epic character however, in the narrower sense, really predominates in these poems to such an extent as, apart from any technical law of criticism, to warrant the arrangement here adopted. Besides the Hymns, certain other minor hexameter compositions, usually classed, with the Hymns, under the title Homeric, and not devoid of pretensions to respectable antiquity, have, although partaking in no similar degree of the narrative style, been comprehended under the same general denomination of epic poetry.

From deference to a parallel law of custom, various works have been embraced in the Lyric head of subject, which, on a more subtle principle of distinction, might appear to belong more properly to the epic. The Elegiac measure for example, though in its origin and early use familiarly ranked as lyric, was frequently employed in narrative or didactic poems of considerable compass. It may indeed be considered as an intermediate stage between the one

style and the other, being compounded of purely dactylic elements, with such modification as was requisite to adapt the old heroic hexameter to compositions of a more fugitive nature. The Iambic trimeter on the other hand, appropriated, during its earlier stages of cultivation, to the same class of poem as the elegy, and like it comprehended under the general head of lyric poetry, possesses epic qualities only inferior to the hexameter. These qualities, combined with a certain rhetorical spirit and smartness peculiar to itself, obtained for it at a later period a preference in dramatic poetry, similar to that enjoyed by the hexameter in the primitive epic minstrelsy.

Upon the above general data therefore, the whole Greek literature of this period may be classed as follows :—

I. Epic composition, comprising, in addition to heroic poems properly so called, every work in hexameter verse possessing reasonable claims to date prior to the LVth Olympiad.

II. Lyric composition, comprising every poetical work not embodied in hexameter verse, and by consequence, the whole elegiac and iambic, in addition to the melic and choral poetry of the period.

! Proposed mode of treatment.

4. Each class will be made the subject of a separate treatment. This mode has here been considered preferable to that of interlacing the contemporary history of different branches, which is sometimes followed in more advanced stages of literature. The connexion between the two, or influence of one upon the other, is indeed comparatively slight. In the earliest times epic poetry was alone cultivated. It had reached its perfection, and was falling into decay, prior to the

age from which the oldest specimens of lyric composition have been transmitted. As a general rule each style had its own distinct set of authors, who rarely, if ever, trenched on the province of each other. The maturity and lustre of the elder more dignified Muse had but little effect in promoting, more perhaps in retarding, the progress of her more youthful and sprightly sister. Still less influence had the youth and vigour of the latter in sustaining the old age and decrepitude of her predecessor. The vicissitudes of each were chiefly owing to causes connected with the general progress of society, to be duly considered in their proper place.

CHAP. II.

HOMER. ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. HISTORY OF THE POEMS.

1. HOMER, HESIOD, AND THE CYCLIC POETS.—2. ORIGIN AND DEFINITION OF THE HOMERIC EPOPEE.—3. EARLIEST NOTICES OF THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY: HESIOD, CHEST OF CYPSELUS. ARCHILOCHUS, TYRTÆUS, HOMERIDÆ, XENOPHANES.—4. PUBLIC RECITAL, OR RHAPSODISM.—5. EARLY VARIATIONS OR CORRUPTIONS OF THE TEXT. EFFORTS TO CORRECT THEM. "CIVIC EDITIONS." ANTIMACHUS, ARISTOTLE.—6. ALEXANDRIAN GRAMMARIANS AND THEIR EDITIONS.—7. "CHORIZONTES," OR SEPARATISTS. CRATES. SCHOOL OF PERGAMUS. DIVISION OF THE TEXT INTO BOOKS. LATER GRAMMARIANS.—8. MODERN HISTORY OF THE POEMS. VICO. WOLF.—9. SUBSEQUENT VICISSITUDES OF THE HOMERIC QUESTION.

Homer,
Hesiod, and
the Cyclic
poets.

1. THE oldest monuments of Hellenic minstrelsy extant in historical times were two voluminous bodies of epic poems. The one comprised works in the nobler heroic style, recording great events or enterprises, and characterised by extent of subject and unity of treatment; the other was limited to compositions of narrower scope or inferior order, genealogies of men and gods, narratives of the exploits or adventures of individual heroes, and illustrations, didactic and descriptive, of the affairs of ordinary life. The works of the former class, amid the obscure origin of the greater part of them, passed generally current, together with some minor poems marked by a certain resemblance of manner, under the name of "Homer." Those of the second class, for similar reasons, were in the same general way ascribed to "Hesiod." The remaining epic productions of this period, not properly falling within either denomination, may be comprehended under a third head, of Mis-

cellaneous epic poetry. The claims of the two latter classes, either in respect of their own merits or their influence on Greek literature, are of secondary importance, and must for the present be postponed; those of the former class demand an immediate and extensive share of attention.

At the remotest epoch to which the notices of their existence extend, not only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but a large portion of the remaining more elaborate specimens of primitive epic art, were, as already stated, popularly ascribed to "Homer." In the progress, however, of critical inquiry, those two poems obtained, at first in the opinion of more competent judges, afterwards with the Hellenic public at large, an exclusive title to that distinction. The remainder were connected with the names of other early poets, or were classed as anonymous. Their claims to celebrity appear, indeed, to rest as much on the nature of their connexion with their great prototypes, as on their own intrinsic value. If we may judge from the somewhat slender data at our disposal, comparative mediocrity would seem to have been the characteristic of the greater part of them. Neither the whole, nor an integral portion of any one of them, has been preserved, and the passages cited by extant Greek authors from their text are unfortunately but rare and scanty. Their titles, however, with the historical notices of their contents, amounting in various instances to a detailed epitome of their action, show them to have been composed with the view of enlarging and completing the series of legendary annals of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had already engrossed two important stages. The *Thebaid*, *Epigoni*, and *Cypria* brought down the history

of the Achæan race of warriors, from the epoch at which it first took the lead in the Grecian confederacy, to the opening of the *Iliad*. The *Æthiopis*, *Lesser Iliad*, *Ilii Persis*, and *Nosti*, filled up the space between the conclusion of the *Iliad* and the commencement of the *Odyssey*. That portion of the whole series of events which the original Homer had treated, was studiously avoided by the authors of these supplementary works. They were not, however, equally respectful towards each other, nor were the limits of their several subjects so accurately marked out as to exclude, in occasional instances, a treatment of the same event in different poems. This whole chain of epic narrative constituted what is called, in later times, the Epic or Homeric Cycle; under which name it is understood to have been indebted for a more methodical redaction to the Alexandrian grammarians. These compilers are supposed, by selecting such among the duplicate chapters as appeared, either in point of merit or continuity of subject, to deserve a preference, and discarding the rest, to have imparted a more complete continuity to the series; which, when so arranged, extended from the origin of things to the generation immediately prior to the Dorian irruption. That event, as formerly remarked, was tacitly adopted, by the courtesy of Greek literature, as the limit between the heroic and historical age.

Assuming as a basis the unanimous judgment of the best native critics, who set apart the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the only genuine productions of the great original master, around which the remainder were clustered like satellites round two brilliant stars, we shall now enter upon the separate inquiry into their origin and history.

2. Epic poetry, as the reflexion of that twofold instinct of our nature, to perpetuate, and at the same time adorn, the memory of great men or remarkable events, comprehends every species of metrical narrative, from the simplest ballad to the Iliad. The epic poem however in the nobler sense, or Epopee, as it is technically called, represents a more advanced stage of the art. It may be considered as the combination of a number of those insulated subjects into one comprehensive whole.¹ The poet of the one class may be likened to the mason skilled in constructing a wall, chiseling a column, or throwing an arch; of the other, to the architect of a spacious building. Although therefore the Iliad and Odyssey are held, and probably with reason, to be, in their individual capacity, more ancient than the oldest poems ascribed to Hesiod, they represent an order of work of more recent origin. How far their accredited author, even admitting their still disputed claim to original integrity, is entitled to the sole honour of so noble an invention, may be questioned. No art arrives at perfection by a single effort; and there is more truth in the remark of Cicero, that as there were men of valour before Agamemnon, there must have been poems of considerable bulk before the Iliad, than in the more familiar adage of Horace to the opposite effect. That such earlier poems have not been preserved is no argument that none ever existed, or even that they were not worth preserving.

Origin and
definition
of the
Homeric
epopee.

¹ In this distinction various critics, ancient and modern, would discover a figurative etymology for the name *Ὀμηρος*, deriving it from *δημιον* and *ἔπος*, to combine or connect, as indicating the first accredited author of any such comprehensive epic production. Eustath. ad Il. Proem. p. 4.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 125. sq.; Bode, Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 259.

If the Demodoci whom Homer celebrates be not real personages, they represent at least a class more ancient than the poet who describes them; and one of them is introduced as author or reciter of a comprehensive and complicated epic poem. The natural effect of the appearance of two such works as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a primitive age, when the art of writing was unknown or little practised, would be to supplant, and probably extinguish, those previously current. There was here no remedy for any temporary neglect on the part of the public, and poems once erased from the tablets of the memory were lost for ever.

Of the origin or author of either work, the only authentic source of knowledge is their own text. It seems difficult to understand how, among a people so proverbially studious of the memory of the past, all accurate record of the source to which they were indebted, not only for their most popular work of genius, but for their most esteemed text-book of early history and religious doctrine, should, in the course of a few generations, have become extinct. This appears the more surprising, when we consider that, from the earliest period at which notice occurs of the poems, the veneration in which they are held is accompanied by an equal spirit of curiosity relative to their author. Hence, while their study was the basis of the more elegant branches of literary criticism, the efforts to penetrate the mystery of their origin became the foundation of the historical department of the same art. During five and twenty hundred years this inquiry has occupied the subtlest investigators of every age. On no other similar subject have more strange or conflicting theories been pro-

posed, more voluminous commentaries expended, or a keener spirit of controversy displayed; on none, perhaps, has the lavish exuberance of speculative inquiry been more barren hitherto of positive results.

The usual custom of literary criticism enjoins that the article devoted to each author should commence with some notice of his age, birthplace, and character. The peculiarities of the present subject render it necessary, it need hardly be said, to reverse this order. Homer exists but in his poems. They supply the only authentic materials for his biography. The history of the work must here, therefore, necessarily precede that of the author.

3. The earliest extant allusions to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are chiefly of an indirect nature, citations namely, or paraphrases, of portions of their text, by poets of more recent date but also of high antiquity. The "*Shield of Hercules*," ascribed to Hesiod, is borrowed, and in many parts servilely copied, from the episode of the "*Arms of Achilles*" in the 18th book of the *Iliad*. On the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia, executed probably not later than the eighth century B.C., were sculptured in relief, and illustrated by brief poetical inscriptions, various adventures of each poem, with so close a correspondence in the particulars as to prove the artist's familiarity with their text.¹ The engagement between Agamemnon and the Antenoridæ was represented precisely as in the 11th book of the *Iliad*²; and the shield of the Greek commander was inscribed with a verse bearing pointed reference to Homer's description of it in a previous passage of the same book. The subject of

Earliest
notices of
the poems
Hesiod.

Chest of
Cypselus.

¹ Pausan. v. xix.

² 248. sq.

another compartment was the scene of the Odyssey¹ where Ulysses and Circe retire to rest. The four waiting-maids of the goddess are mentioned in the lines annexed, as engaged in the same functions assigned them by Homer. The delivery of the arms by Vulcan to Thetis², and the drive of Nausica from her father's palace to the shore³, were portrayed with equal fidelity to the Homeric original. The interview between Menelaus and Proteus in the 4th, and the Dance of the Phæacians in the 8th book of the Odyssey, were represented in the sculptures of the Throne of Apollo at Amyclæ, executed in the early part of the sixth century B.C.⁴

Archilochus,
Tyrtæus.

Homeridæ.

Xenophanes.

The poems of Archilochus and Tyrtæus offer similar traces of familiarity with those of Homer. Allusion also occurs, at an early period, to a race or society of Homeridæ at Chios, who claimed descent from the poet, and hereditary privileges in connexion with his works.⁵ The first actual mention of the name Homer occurs in a verse of Xenophanes of Colophon⁶, who lived towards the close of this period, and describes the poems as in his day the standard manual of elementary instruction. Even at this early epoch they seem to have furnished material for critical redaction and commentary. Xenophanes himself treated in several of his works of the comparative age and merits of Homer and Hesiod.⁷ The labours of Pisistratus of Athens and his coadjutors, to which so much importance has been attached in the modern schools, will be more fully considered in

¹ κ. 348. sqq.

² Il. σ.

³ Od. ζ.

⁴ Paus. III. xviii.

⁵ Acusilaus et Hellanicus ap. Harpocr. v. Ὀμυρίδαι; conf. Philostr. ap. Schol. Pind. Nem. II. 1.; Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 160.

⁶ Ap. Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 186.

⁷ Karsten, Fragm. VII. xxxi.

the sequel. Contemporary with these Attic scholars was Theagenes of Rhegium, whose commentaries on the poems and their author were esteemed by later critics, and whose various readings, or those of the edition he followed, are cited by the Venetian scholiast.¹ From this epoch downwards the notices of Homer and his works are of constant occurrence. It does not, however, always plainly appear how far the title "Homer" is limited, in the citations of this period, to the Iliad and Odyssey, how far it may not extend to the other Homeric works above described. Callinus², the very ancient elegaic poet, (B.C. 700), is said to have attributed the Cyclic Thebais, Pindar³ the Cypria, to "Homer;" and a similar practice, extending to other poems of the Cycle, prevailed at a much later period in popular quarters. Herodotus, the first extant author who uses the terms Iliad and Odyssey, is also the first who distinctly sets apart those two poems as genuine works of Homer, and discards the claim of others, especially the Cypria and Epigoni, to any such honour.⁴

4. The public recital of the poems appears to have prevailed throughout Greece from a remote period. The place with which tradition first connects it is Chios, an island advancing special claims to be considered the birthplace of Homer, which claims were supported by zeal in preserving and cultivating his works. At Sicyon, as Herodotus⁵ informs us, the practice was abolished by the tyrant Clisthenes (about 600 B.C.),

Public recital, or rhapsodism.

¹ Villoison, Præf. ad Scholl. Venet. p. xxv.; Nitzsch, Hist. Hom. pt. i. p. 131.

² Ap. Pausan. ix. ix.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 298.

³ Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 300.

⁴ II. cxv. sq., iv. xxxii.

⁵ v. lxxvii.

from jealousy of the superior glory reflected by the poems on the neighbouring rival state of Argos. The first public honours awarded them in Sparta are dated by the best authorities from the age of Lycurgus, by whom they were established in that republic, as a national text-book of martial instruction.¹ In Athens, their public rehearsal is alluded to generally by Isocrates² and others, as of remote antiquity, and was indebted to Solon for improved regulations in the mode of performance.³ Its introduction into Syracuse is attributed to Cynæthus⁴, a Chian Homerid of the age of Pindar. The origin and primary import of the title Rhapsodist, familiarly borne by the performers in these solemnities, is obscure. The generally received etymology is that which characterises them as Stitchers or Botchers of poems. The allusion here is partly to the irregularities of which they were guilty, by disturbing the proper order of the text in their recital; partly to their imputed interpolation of matter from their own stores; partly, perhaps chiefly, to their habit of prefixing or subjoining to the original poems, or parts of poems, dedicatory prologues or epilogues in honour of the deities with whose festivals such public performances were connected. Others⁵ derived the name from the staff, or wand of office (rhabdos, rhaps), which distinguished the profes-

¹ Aristot. ap. Heraclid. de Laced. Rep. ii.; conf. Schneidewin, ad loc. et in præf. ad frgg.; Plut. vit. Lyc. c. 4.

² Paneg. c. 42.

³ Diog. Laert. in Vit. ix.

⁴ Philostr. ap. Schol. Pind. Nem. ii. 1.; conf. Eustath. Procem. ad Il. p. 6.

⁵ Welcker, Ep. Cyc. p. 358. sq. Pindar appears to countenance both etymologies; Isth. iv. 66., Nem. ii. init. The latter passage also indirectly alludes to the rhapsodist custom, adverted to in the text, of stitching on procemia.

sional reciter of later times from the original poet. While the latter sang, solely or chiefly, his own compositions to the accompaniment of his lyre, the rhapsodist, bearing a laurel branch or wand as his badge of office, rehearsed, without musical accompaniment, the poems of others. The former interpretation is the more plausible; for whatever degree of value may have attached to the services of this fraternity, a certain degree of sarcasm seems, at every period, to have been connected with their name. From it derives that of Rhapsody, originally applied to the portions of the poems habitually allotted to different performers in the order of recital, afterwards transferred to the twenty-four books, or cantos, into which each work was permanently divided by the Alexandrian grammarians.

5. It seems doubtful how far this widely extended popularity may have contributed to maintain the purity of the text. The Iliad and Odyssey were the acknowledged standard or digest, as it were, of early national history, geography, and mythology. It came, therefore, to be considered essential to the dignity of each tribe or race, in later times, that honourable mention should be made in those poems of their cities or heroes; and such as were overlooked endeavoured to save their credit by the surreptitious insertion of passages creditable to themselves, or by condemning as spurious those which conferred honour on a rival. The professional officiousness of the rhapsodists also led them, in the mode already noticed, to tamper with the text, although more importance, probably, has been attached to this source of corruption than it deserves. The existing notices of these practices refer chiefly to the commencement of the

Early variations, or corruptions of the text.

sixth century B. C., when the closer connexion between the different Hellenic states, the consequent increase of international rivalry, and rapid extension of literary taste and resources, afforded new temptations, with new facilities, for such license. The results appear, not only in the number of various readings preserved by commentators, but in the citation, by respectable authorities, of passages of Homer now no longer to be found in his text.¹ Some of these quotations have been referred, with apparent reason, to those other ancient poems which still continued, in popular usage, to be classed under the head of Homer or Homeric. But, even with this allowance, there would remain a certain number for the Iliad and Odyssey.

Perhaps, however, these varieties are not exclusively owing to the license of editors or rhapsodists. Another and a purer source, hitherto unnoticed by critics, might be a corresponding variety in the genius of the original author. Without here entering on the much agitated question, how far the early transmission of the poems may be due to the art of memory, how far to that of writing, it may at least be admitted that the chief means of their general promulgation was by open recital. Whatever may have been the case with a few curious repositories of the text, the public at large was a listening rather than a reading public. But, even in our own age, the author of a popular work, after its first publication, usually finds cause for alteration or correction, and avails himself of a new edition for that purpose. It may however safely be assumed, both that such

¹ Düntzer, *Fragm. der Ep. Poes.* pt. i. p. 27. sqq.

variations would occur in equal or greater numbers to a poet of Homer's age and character, and that he would be still more ready to give effect to them. Even without any change in the substance of his narrative, he would naturally be disposed to diversify the details of illustration or description to suit the taste of different audiences; and such variations, transferred to the memory or the written copies of different portions of the public, would give rise to controversy, which was the original, which the interpolated text.¹

Entire copies of works of so great compass would also, during the earlier period of their circulation, amid the imperfection of the mechanical element of literature, be comparatively rare. Each rhapsodist however, would be desirous to possess in manuscript, those portions at least in the recital of which he chiefly excelled. This would lead to the circulation of garbled or imperfect editions. Such piecemeal transmission, both in rehearsal and writing, is accordingly mentioned, by the earliest critical authorities on the subject, as one chief cause of confusion or corruption.

But to whatever sources those floating varieties may be traceable, it became, with the advance of literary culture, the more desirable to check the license in which they originated. This object could only be effectually attained by establishing, with the common sanction of the nation, in so far as it could be procured, a standard text of the national poet.

Efforts to
correct
them.
"Civic
editions."

¹ See a remarkable passage of Goethe (Briefwechsel zw. Schiller und G. vol. III. p. 71.), where he draws a parallel between various texts of Homer stigmatised by Wolf as recent interpolations, and passages of his own poems added by himself on subsequent revision, for the purpose of elucidating his subject or improving his style.

And here the practice of rhapsodism, if on the one hand it may have been a source of corruption, was instrumental in providing a remedy, by suggesting to the different states where it prevailed the compilation, under public auspices, of complete editions for the use of the festivals. Many such accordingly were extant in later times, under the title of Civic, or State editions. For this service the Athenian public was indebted to the joint labours of Solon and Pisistratus. Solon is described as having checked the prevailing irregularities of recital, and forced the rhapsodists to adhere to the regular order of the text¹; Pisistratus as having collected or compiled the poems, previously in a state of disorder, into a single body or volume.² The earliest edition however, of which mention occurs in later times coupled with the name of an individual redactor, is that of Antimachus of Colophon³, a contemporary of Plato, and himself a poet of some celebrity. Aristotle⁴, besides a tract entitled "Homeric Difficulties," no longer extant, and the commentaries interspersed in his miscellaneous works, also prepared an edition of the Iliad for the use of his illustrious pupil Alexander, who carried it, inseparable from his person, in a precious casket; hence its familiar name, the Edition of the Casket. The proper execution however of this task, was beyond the resources of any single editor, however great his personal qualifications. It required a succession of efforts, under a combination of favourable circumstances, such as did not take

Antima-
chus.
Aristotle.

¹ Dieuchidas ap. Diog. Laert. in Sol. ix.: *οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἐληξεν, ἀκείθεν ἀρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον*; conf. Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 378. sqq.

² See infra, Ch. iii. § 1.

³ Wolf, Proleg. p. 174. 182.

⁴ Wolf, *ibid.* p. 183. sq.

place for several generations subsequent to the age of Aristotle.

6. The decline of original genius in Greece was simultaneous with that of freedom and political virtue. From the epoch of the Macedonian supremacy the national talent, deprived of that creative power by which it had hitherto been animated, was directed to the imitation of the more perfect ancient models, and, by consequence, to a studious analysis of the principles on which their excellence depended. The arts of grammar and criticism, which had hitherto formed no separate branch of literary pursuit, now became one of the most popular, and the poems of Homer the favourite subject for its exercise. Alexandria, under the auspices of her munificent sovereigns, took the lead in this, as in every other walk of literature: and to the labours of her succession of able masters, we are mainly indebted for the purity and integrity in which the standard monuments of Greek poetical genius have been transmitted to posterity. The zeal of the Ptolemies for the encouragement of learning placed at the disposal of its professors all the aids which wealth and power, often arbitrarily exercised, could supply. Neither pains nor cost were spared in collecting the more ancient and authoritative copies of Homer from every part of the Hellenic world, while the vast library amassed at Alexandria afforded all the incidental resources for the prosecution of such studies. Among the older texts collated by the Alexandrian editors, the Massilian, Chian, Argive, Cyprian, Sinopic, Cretan¹, and Æolic², called col-

Alexandrian grammarians, and their editions.

¹ Wolf, Prol. p. 175.

² Buttm. Schol. ad Odyss. p. 607.

lectively the "Civic" or "State editions," to distinguish them from those by "individual editors¹," seem to have stood in the highest estimation. No distinct notices have been preserved of their relative antiquity, or the special ground of their reputation. The Massilian and Chian appear to have been considered of best authority. The Chian was doubtless that authorised in the old Homeric school of recitation established in the city from which its name is derived. The Massilian was also probably of Ionian origin, transported from Asia by the Phocæans into their Gallic colony, either on its first foundation in 600 B.C., or by the refugees from the parent city, when destroyed by the Persians sixty years afterwards. The others may also be presumed to have been similarly compiled under national auspices.

The more detailed account of the lives or labours of the Alexandrian grammarians belongs to another portion of this history. A succinct notice of their services in regard to Homer will here suffice. It must be borne in mind that their entire compositions are now lost, but the copious notices of their views, contained in the extant scholia, afford sufficient data for estimating both the real and comparative value of their treatment of the poems.

The most distinguished names are those of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, and Crates. The claims of Zenodotus² to celebrity consist chiefly in his having been the founder of a school, and prepared the way for better things. He also enjoys the credit of having compiled and arranged the collective works

¹ αἱ πολιτικά, κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ πόλεων; and αἱ κατ' ἄνδρα. Villois. Proleg. ad Sch. Ven. p. 26.

² B.C. 320—245. Ritschl, Die Alexand. Bibl. p. 89.

of the national epic poets.¹ His commentaries on Homer display little either of correct judgment or insight into the genius of his author, and his treatment of the text of the poems was proverbially arbitrary and licentious. Nearly contemporary with Zenodotus, the poets Aratus² and Rhianus³ undertook editions of Homer. That of Rhianus remained in good credit in the subsequent schools. The labours of Aratus seem to have been confined to the *Odyssey*, and, if completed, obtained but little authority, no appeal being made to his readings in the extant scholia. The answer of Timon the Phliasian, to the question proposed to him by Aratus as to the best mode of reestablishing the genuine text, sheds light on the state of Homeric criticism at this period. His advice was, to procure and collate ancient copies without regard to those then in circulation.⁴ This want was supplied for behoof of Zenodotus by his patron Ptolemy Philadelphus, to whom the Alexandrian library was chiefly indebted for its rich store of standard codices of Homer, as of other leading Greek poets. Zenodotus was succeeded, as head of the Alexandrian school, by his pupil Aristophanes⁵ of Byzantium, a scholar of better judgement and more accurate learning. He was the first who started doubts of the genuine character of the latter part of the *Odyssey*, placing the termination of the poem at the 296th verse of the 23rd book.⁶ This view was also favoured by his successor Aristarchus⁷, the critic of highest fame and authority among the antients. To him the public were indebted for what

¹ See Welck. *Ep. Cyc.* p. 8. 12.

² Wolf, *ibid.* p. 187.

³ B. c. 260—184. Ritschl, *loc. cit.*

⁷ B. c. 224—152. Ritschl, *loc. cit.*

³ Wolf, *Prol.* p. 186.

⁴ *Diog. Laert.* ix. 113.

⁶ *Schol. Buttm.* ad *loc.*

afterwards constituted the standard text of both poems, the same, it is understood, which, with subsequent modifications, has been transmitted to the present day.¹ The merits of Aristarchus, like those of the great majority of professional grammarians in every age, consisted rather in acuteness of verbal criticism, than in refinement of taste or the faculty of appreciating the higher excellences of his author. A large portion, however, of his speculations were devoted to this more delicate branch of his art. With much audacity in censuring and condemning, or in suggesting additions and improvements from his own stores, he yet appears to have confined those liberties to his commentary, rarely if ever venturing on any serious alteration of the text not justified by competent authority.

Chorizontes, or
Separatists.

7. During, or shortly prior to, the time of Aristophanes, the opinion was started as to the separate authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey.² Its first proposer was a certain Xenon, concerning whom, beyond the simple fact of his having originated this theory, history is silent. The only adherent of his views recorded by name was Hellanicus, a disciple of the school of Zenodotus. Their doctrine was controverted by Aristarchus, but seems otherwise to have obtained little attention, still less approbation, among the antient critics. During the subsequent virulent controversies on almost every other point, no difference of opinion is here recorded between the chiefs of opposite sects. The notices of such difference in any quarter consist but of incidental references by the scholiasts to the Chorizontes, or Separatists, as the

¹ Wolf, Prol. p. 241.

² See *infra*, Ch. xvi. ✕

followers of Xenon were called. Seneca¹ mentions the question as one of the unprofitable subtleties which amused Greek sophists; while Longinus, the most genial of all the later Homeric critics, in treating at large of the difference of subject and character in the two poems, makes no allusion to so much as a doubt of their common authorship.

To the sect of Aristarchus was opposed that of Crates² of Mallos, founder of a rival school of grammarians at Pergamus, under the auspices of Attalus, sovereign of that state. He was author of an edition of the poems, and, however inferior in general popularity, was no unworthy antagonist of the great Alexandrian. Of the readings of the text recorded as having been disputed between the two, those of Crates are frequently entitled to a preference, and some have been preferred accordingly in subsequent editions. He also numbers among his adherents several leading grammarians of later times. His speculations on the age and life of the poet are marked by originality, occasionally tending to paradox.³

In early times the only subdivision of the text was by heads of subjects, or rhapsodies, as some of the more comprehensive heads were called, embodying the parts usually allotted in the public rehearsals to different performers.⁴ Thus what is now comprised

Crates.
School of
Pergamus.

Division of
the text
into books.

¹ De Brevit. Vit. xiii.

² B. C. 160.

³ Suid. in v.; conf. Wolf, Prol. p. 276.; B. Thiersch, Zeitalt. Homers, p. 18. sq. The other editions by grammarians of inferior note, of which mention occurs, were: those of Callistratus, Sosigenes, and Philemon, of the Alexandrian school (Villois. Præf. ad Schol. Ven. p. 23.); the Cyclic edition, that, namely, embodied in the Alexandrian collection of Cyclic poems (Schol. Buttm. ad Odyss. π. 195. p. 25.); and one by Tyrannio, freedman of Cicero (Suid. in v.). Conf. Lehrs, de Aristarch. studd. Homer. p. 29. sq.

⁴ Heyn. ad Il. vol. viii. p. 787.

in the fifth and a portion of the sixth book of the Iliad was called the "Prowess of Diomed." The ninth book was named "Litæ," or the "Supplication." The second contains the "Dream," and the "Bœotia" or "Catalogue." The present division into twenty-four books of unequal length is attributed to Aristarchus.¹ In the edition² of Crates, however, the text (of each poem, it may be presumed) appears to have been divided into but nine books; each, consequently, of more than double the average bulk of those of Aristarchus. The method of Crates was in conformity with that adopted in the other Homeric poems supposed to have been similarly subdivided by the Alexandrian critics. The Thebais and Epi-
goni contained each seven books; the Cypria eleven; the Æthiopis five; the Lesser Iliad and Nosti each four. Although no exact notice is extant of the entire length of any one of these works, there can be little doubt, from the existing abstract of their contents, or the general allusions of the antients, that they were of sufficient bulk to admit of their cantos containing an average number of lines double that allotted to each of the four and twenty Aristarchean rhapsodies. The same method was followed by Apollonius Rhodius, himself an Alexandrian grammarian, in his Argonautica. The arrangement of Aristarchus was therefore a departure from the ordinary practice. But his boundless authority in the later schools

¹ Plut. Vit. Hom. iv.; Eustath. Proœm. ad Il. p. 5.

² Suid. v. Κράτης. There seems no ground for taking the term *διορθωσις*, as here used by Suidas, in any other sense than its ordinary one of Edition. The phrase for a mere "correcting commentary," as distinct from a "corrected text," is τὰ διορθωτικά. Vill. Præf. ad Sch. Ven. p. 31.

secured his method universal acquiescence, and that of Crates seems to have been limited to his own edition.

The labours of succeeding grammarians during the better days of classical literature, of Dionysius Thrax, Didymus, and others, shed but little additional light on the text or history of the poems. They were confined, in great measure, to controversies between the adherents of the rival schools of the Alexandrian era, or to vindications of the opinions, and revisals of the editions, of their respective chiefs. To the middle or lower ages of the Byzantine empire belong the whole or greater part of the extant scholia, which are chiefly valuable as affording access to the views and opinions of authors of a better period.¹

Later
gramma-
rians.

8. During the first few centuries after the revival of letters, modern classical scholars were content to acquiesce in the prevailing doctrine of the ancient public, which, while restricting the honour of emanating from Homer to the Iliad and Odyssey alone, among the poems that formerly claimed it, admitted them both as his genuine integral works. But towards the end of the 17th century certain novelties of opinion began to transpire, tending to place the whole question in a light different from any in which it had been contemplated by the leading ancient critics.² (The first attempt to combine these speculations into a

Modern
history of
the poems.
Vico.
Wolf.

¹ For the bibliography of Homer, the number, age, or relative credit of the existing manuscripts, editions, or commentaries, ancient and modern, see generally, Bernhardt, *Grundr. der Griech. Lit.* pt. II. p. 117. sq.; and Hoffmann, *Bibliogr. Lex. der Gr. Lit.* pt. II. p. 314.

² Casaub. and Menag. ad *Diog. Laert.* ix. 13.; *Perizon. Animadv.* hist. vi.; Bentley, *Phileleuth.* Lips. pt. I. § 7.; Hédelin d'Aubignac, *Conject. academ.*; Perrault, *Parall. des Anc. et Mod.* 1692, vol. III. p. 33. sq.

methodical form is contained in the *Scienza nuova* of Giambattista Vico. This eccentric Neapolitan was an original thinker of no ordinary stamp, whose opinions, as remarkable for novelty and ingenuity as deficient in solidity, overlooked or neglected in his own day, have, in various instances, anticipated theories destined to obtain for their more recent propounders the fame of original discovery. In a treatise upon Homer, embodied in the above-cited work, there occurs, among many valuable remarks, mingled with an equal amount of error and paradox, the following passage: "Herein we must admire the hand of Providence, that at a time when alphabetic writing was not yet invented, men should sometimes discourse in verse, which, by the aid of rhythm or metre, might facilitate the action of the memory in more effectually preserving the vicissitudes of national history. . . . Homer left none of his compositions in writing, as we are told by Fl. Josephus, in his Tract against Apion: but the rhapsodists went about singing the books separately, some one some the other, at the feasts and public solemnities of the Greek cities. The Pisistratidæ first divided and arranged, or caused to be so arranged, the poems of Homer into *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, whence we may judge what a confused collection of materials they must previously have been."¹ (This extract contains the germ and substance of that theory which, nearly a century afterwards, reproduced and extended, with all the array of profound scholarship, in the form of an elaborate dissertation, obtained its author a first

¹ Ed. Milan. 1836, vol. v. p. 478. 480. Elsewhere he speaks of a "Homer of the *Iliad*" and a "Homer of the *Odyssey*."

rank among historical critics, and became the foundation of a new school of classical research.

The publication of Wolf's *Prolegomena*, or Prefatory Essay to the *Iliad*, in which his views were developed, took place during a crisis in the intellectual as well as political destinies of Europe. A bold spirit of speculative inquiry was then abroad, the valuable effects of which, in exploding error and prejudice, have been too often counterbalanced by the spread of groundless or mischievous innovation. While the antiquity or universality of any doctrine was a powerful attraction to sceptical assault, few but such as were fenced on all sides by impenetrable barriers of demonstrated fact were safe from the danger of falling, at least a temporary sacrifice to zeal for some conjectural novelty. Wolf himself professed the scope of his argument to be rather to subvert the antient fabric of opinion, than to erect any solid edifice in its place; and the result has justified the accuracy of the figure. The publication of his essay may be compared to that of a pamphlet containing specious revolutionary doctrines in a hitherto tranquil state, at the moment when the minds of men were ripe for political change. Unanimous in rejecting their old form of government, scarcely any two citizens can agree as to that to be adopted in its stead. A period of discord is followed by one of anarchy, and that, in its turn, by a gradual inclination to revert to the former system.

Wolf's views, partly also suggested by the elegant and ingenious essay of Robert Wood¹, are in so far an extension or modification of those of Vico,

¹ On the original genius of Homer, 1769.

that he ascribes, in more positive terms than the Italian critic, the previously undigested materials of each poem to a variety of authors; and assumes them to have been, not only first arranged, but first committed to writing, by Pisistratus. This latter service Vico, most preposterously, supposes to have been first rendered them by the Alexandrian grammarians. Beyond these general heads, it is not very easy to gather Wolf's precise doctrines, from the vague and often self-contradictory mode in which they are stated. Sometimes he speaks as if each work contained a primitive kernel of epic unity, enlarged by an extension of the main subject, or the addition of episodes, in its gradual descent to posterity, but not digested on any consistent plan prior to the days of Pisistratus. Elsewhere each seems to be considered as a chaos of unconnected elements, first compiled and adjusted by the same Attic hero of each version of his fluctuating theory. At other times he attaches importance to the question, whether the two poems are by the same Homer or different Homers, which would seem at least a virtual admission of each being substantially by a single author. In one place he altogether denies the familiar use of writing for literary purposes prior to the age of Pisistratus; in another he allows that its benefits may have been extended several centuries earlier to the works of other Greek poets, but not to those of Homer; a hypothesis the very reverse of what all reasonable probability would seem to justify.¹ The only spe-

¹ On these and other inconsistencies of Wolf, see Clint. *Fest. Hell.* vol. i. p. 370. It may safely be asserted, that, were the principles of Wolf's school of commentary to be enforced against his own *Prolegomena*, that essay could not possibly, in its integrity, be the work of the same author.

cific facts by which he can be said to abide are, that the component elements of each poem, whether by few or by many authors, neither possessed any such epic continuity as they now exhibit, nor were committed to writing, until those services were rendered to them by Pisistratus, about the middle of the sixth century before Christ.

9. If the opinions of the master were so unsettled, harmony among his disciples could the less be expected. His extreme view of a total denial of written preservation to Homer, up to so recent a period, by his fondly admiring countrymen, and to Homer alone among their early poets, found but few supporters. Nor was the title of Pisistratus to have first imparted epic consistency to the poems very generally recognised. The basis however of the theory, that they were neither committed to writing till long after the period of their composition, nor originally composed in their integral form, obtained a general acquiescence. While the historical arguments, on which Wolf principally laid stress, ascribing the functions of first compiler as well as writer to Pisistratus, were disregarded, the internal evidence, as it was called, of discrepancy in matter or style between different parts was more prominently put forward. The favourite field for critical acumen now became the analysis, or rather dissection, of the text; and a large portion of the scholarship of the age has been exhausted in efforts to prove, by a very pointless, for the most part, and tasteless course of hypercritical subtlety, that the works which had hitherto been admired and honoured by the greatest critics of every period as standard models of epic art, were but an ill digested chaos of originally unconnected atoms, teem-

Subsequent
vicissitudes
of the
"Homeric
question."

ing with incongruities and absurdities of the grossest description.¹

A certain encouragement was held out to this style of commentary by the circumstance of its being in some degree countenanced by ancient example. (In the infancy of Greek critical art, when its object was rather to appreciate the higher attributes of genius than detect its petty blemishes, the surpassing excellence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* led to their being set up as a type of absolute perfection in poetical composition. The admiration of the work was transferred naturally to the author. The production of two such poems seemed to require, not only an original genius of the highest order, but a great proficiency in the technical rules, and an ample store of the aids, of grammatical and rhetorical science. The principles of this school are concisely stated in one of its own trite aphorisms: that "to wrest the thunderbolt from Jupiter, the club from Hercules, or a line from the text of the *Iliad* was an equally impossible undertaking."² By a natural reaction, this enthusiasm provoked, in the maturer stages of grammatical science, no less zealous endeavours to detect flaws in these boasted models of perfection. Although there appears no intention on the part of any school of ancient criticism to dispute a general unity of plan in the poems, still, wherever it seemed that a phrase, verse, or integral part, could be spared without an entire sacrifice of poetical continuity, it seldom failed, in some quarter or other, to be condemned as an excrescence on the original fabric, whether an afterthought of the poet or a corruption of transcribers and rhapsodists. In the minor details of the text

¹ See Append. A.

² Heyn. ad Il. c. vol. VIII. p. 799.

there were no limits to this license. Taking, therefore, into account the extension given to the same system in our own time, it might safely be pronounced, that, were all the portions so stigmatised by successive generations of critics to be discarded, the fate of the poems would resemble that of the picture exposed in the market-place, with a request that each passing dilettante would draw a brush through the part that appeared to him defective. The consequence was, that in a few hours not an entire feature could be distinguished.

In spite, however, of these aberrations of taste or judgement on the part of his disciples, it cannot be denied that Wolf conferred a real benefit on classical science, by opening up the field of rational scepticism which has inherited his name. The popular view of the history of the poems demanded, no doubt, in the absence of all authentic notice of their author, a more searching scrutiny than it had yet undergone. The composition of two works of so elaborate a structure in the semibarbarous period from which they were held to emanate, was in itself a striking phenomenon. While the mode or extent of their committal to writing at the same early period was involved in much obscurity, their preservation in so perfect a state, unwritten, appeared little less than a miracle. Nor could it be overlooked that, amid a general unity, their text offered discrepancies of detail which, though certainly not greater than can be detected in similar works of civilised epochs, held out legitimate handle for speculation. The full discussion to which these various points have, during the last fifty years, been subjected, in themselves and in their bearings on others of collateral interest in Greek

philology, if not productive of any conclusive settlement of the main question, has certainly proved of infinite benefit to the general cause of classical criticism.¹

The data for regulating the judgment in all such inquiries may be classed under two principal heads: I. Historical authority, comprising, besides the testimony of native authors, the balance of tradition, of received opinion, and of general probability: II. The internal evidence of the poems themselves. These two sources of knowledge are indeed often so closely interwoven as scarcely to admit of their being treated altogether independantly of each other. It will yet be proper, for method's sake, to keep them in as far as possible distinct. The internal evidence is now admitted to be by far the most important, the only basis indeed of any sound conclusions. It will, therefore, be analysed hereafter in considerable detail. The historical evidence possesses, however, a prior claim on attention.

¹ Subjoined is a notice of the principal authors who have advocated in whole, or for the most part, the doctrines of Wolf: C. F. Franceson, *Essai sur la Question, si Homère, &c.*; F. Schlegel, *Gesch. der Ep. Dichtk.* viii.; Heyne, *Obs. ad Il.*; W. Müller, *Homer. Vorschule*; B. Thiersch, *Urgestalt der Odyssee*; Hermann, *Opusc.* vol. v. p. 52. sqq., vol. vi. p. 70. sqq.; Ritschl, *Die Alexandrin. Biblioth.*; Lachmann, *Betrachtungen üb. die Ilias*; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. ch. xxi.

The following are such as have entertained middle or opposite views: Ste. Croix, *Réfutation, &c., de M. Wolf*; Hug, *Erfindung der Buchstabenschrift*; Kreuser, *Vorfragen üb. Homer*; Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 366.; Coleridge, *Introd. to the Study of the Gr. Classics*; *Quarterly Review*, vol. xlv. p. 121.; Welcker, *Der Epische Cyclus*, p. 122. sqq.; K. O. Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, app. to vol. i. 2nd ed.; Payne Knight, *Prolegg. ad Hom.*; Nitzsch, *de Hist. Homer.*; *Artikel Odyssee in d. Hallisch. Encycl.*; *Erklärende Anmkk. zur Odyssee*. The two last-mentioned authors are the leading supporters of the Separatist doctrine.

CHAP. III.

HOMER.—ORIGIN OF THE POEMS.—HISTORICAL DATA.

1. AUTHORITIES CONCERNING PISISTRATUS AND HIS COMPILATION.—2. VARIETIES OF THEORY BASED ON THOSE AUTHORITIES.—3. SILENCE OF THE EARLIER CLASSICS. ARGUMENT FROM THE CYCLIC POEMS.—4. WHAT WERE THE POEMS OF "HOMER" "COLLECTED AND ARRANGED" BY PISISTRATUS.—5. JUST ESTIMATE OF HIS HOMERIC LABOURS.

1. IN the modern schools, the "Homeric question" resolves itself into two main heads of speculative inquiry: first, whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are to be considered as each in its integral capacity the work of a single author: secondly, how far, allowing this to be the case, both poems are to be ascribed to the same author. It is to the former head alone that the historical class of evidence can be said to apply. The other, or as it is technically called the Separatist question, can hardly be said to offer materials for such investigation, being alluded to by the ancients but as a subtlety of one or two commentators of no authority, whose views were repudiated or contemned by the best native critics. It is on grounds of internal evidence that so great importance has been attached to the Separatist doctrine in our own times, and upon these grounds alone it will here accordingly fall to be considered.

Authorities
concerning
Pisistratus
and his
compi-
lation.

With the above limitation, the historical element of the inquiry concentrates itself around the tradition concerning the services rendered to the poems by Pisistratus and his family. This is owing partly to the importance of those services, partly to the pecu-

liar prominence assigned them throughout the late discussion. Of the Athenian usurper himself no mention occurs in connexion with the works of Homer, in the text of any writer of the best days of Greek literature; but a passage of the Platonic dialogue¹ which bears as its title the name of "Hipparchus," son and successor of Pisistratus, and which is the earliest extant authority on the subject, ascribes to the same Hipparchus, not only the first establishment at Athens of the public rehearsal of the poems, but their first introduction into that republic. This account is however so grossly improbable in itself, and so contrary to all other more reasonable data, that it has never been considered more than a confused version of the prevailing tradition of certain improvements having been effected by a member of the family in the festive recitals of the poems. But even this more restricted view of their services is not borne out by other authorities. Dieuchidas, a Megarian writer of uncertain age but good credit, quoted by Diogenes Laertius in his life of Solon², ascribes the same or similar improvements to that lawgiver, subjoining the remark, that "Solon therefore had done more than Pisistratus to elucidate the poems." He mentions in the sequel the imputed interpolation, by Solon, of the passage of the Catalogue relative to the isle of Salamis. From these various data, it may be inferred that there were three traditions current in later times, as to the better regulation of the public rehearsals in Athens; one of which ascribed it to Solon, another to Pisistratus, a third to his son Hipparchus. The two latter may be presumed to imply the extension or improvement, by those

¹ p. 228.² ix.

princes, of the original ordinance of Solon. The next allusion to the services of Pisistratus is by Cicero¹, who describes him as "reported to have arranged the books of Homer, previously in a state of confusion, in the form in which we now possess them." Pausanias² mentions his collection of the poet's previously scattered works as a current rumour, and alludes also to certain assistants in his task. Ælian³ combines the two notices relative to Lycurgus and Pisistratus into one, assigning to the former the first introduction of the poems into Greece, but in a disordered state; to the latter their final arrangement. But the most explicit notice of the critical labours of Pisistratus is a somewhat mutilated fragment of Tzetzes, the Byzantine grammarian⁴, to the following effect: "Pisistratus collected the scattered poems of Homer, and with much care and diligence arranged them into the volumes which they now occupy, with the aid of four distinguished scholars: Conchylus of . . . , Onomacritus of Athens, Zopyrus of Heraclea, and Orpheus of Croton." "Before his time," it is added, "the study of Homer was a confused and difficult matter." Josephus⁵ does not mention Pisistratus, but states it to be an opinion entertained in some quarters, that "the poems of Homer were not committed to writing until long after their composition, but handed down by memory, and afterwards collected into one volume; which," he adds, "may account for the many discrepancies in their text."

The services here described as rendered by Pisi-

¹ De Orat. III. xxxiv.

² VII. xxvi.; conf. Eust. præf. p. 5.

³ Var. Hist. XIII. xiv.

⁴ Ritschl, Die Alexandr. Biblioth. p. 3.; conf. Cramer, Anecd. Gr. vol. I. p. 6.; Bernh. Grundr. der Gr. Lit. vol. II. p. 68. sq.

⁵ Contr. Ap. I. ii.

stratus to the poems are: first, the encouragement and regulation of their public recital; secondly, their collection and arrangement in their present form.

Varieties
of theory
based on
them.

2. The modern theories on either point are of the same vague character as the testimonies on which they are based. The doctrine of Wolf, the extreme of Philo-Pisistratism, assumed the Attic tyrant to be the first writer as well as compiler, and hence, in so far as their epic unity is concerned, the first actual author of an Iliad or Odyssey, previously a confused mass of heroic songs. Others have run into an opposite extreme, limiting his merit to little more than having, in concert with Solon, provided for the performance of the public rehearsals, according to the epic sequel originally inherent in the cantos, but disturbed in the popular schools of rhapsodism. A third party, adopting a middle course, would ascribe to him, together with the regulation of the popular rehearsals, the preparation of a complete edition of the whole series of cantos or books, previously extant in writing, but without any standard integral text, and hence liable to be perverted from their epic continuity. Other modifications of opinion might be enumerated, but those above stated will suffice to place in a clear light the bearings of the general question.

The first of these three views, the primary Wolfian hypothesis, now numbers comparatively few supporters. Not one of the various authorities cited in its favour ascribes to Pisistratus the committal of the poems to writing. Tzetzes, the most specific and apparently authentic historian of his labours, is not only silent upon this point, but the terms of the above-cited passage, describing an association of pro-

fessional men of letters engaged in preparing complete editions of the national classics, imply a state of Greek literature altogether incompatible with the denial of a written integrity to its acknowledged standard; to the Greek bible, as Wolf¹ himself calls the *Iliad*. Aristotle², the oldest and best authority concerning the early promulgation of the poems in Greece, was not only ignorant of this later form of the tradition, but indirectly contradicts it, describing the Spartan lawgiver as having in the course of his travels, several centuries prior to the time of Pisistratus, received the poems as written documents from Creophilus of Samos, and brought them to Lacedæmon. Whatever may be the critical value of this story, it proves at least that those who attached weight to it knew nothing of any prior claim of Athens to the first written arrangement of the poems. Xenophanes³ of Colophon and Theagenes⁴ of Rhegium, both contemporary with Pisistratus, wrote commentaries on Homer. But a written commentary on a work itself unwritten is surely a thing unheard of. Still less compatible were the labours of these critics with a mass of undigested ballads as their text-book. Nor can the authorities most laudatory of Pisistratus reasonably be understood as asserting his having first imparted epic unity to the poems, or as expressing any doubt of its prior existence. They allude rather to the restoration of a previous order dislocated by the popular organs of transmission. Cicero⁵, the oldest

¹ Vorlesung. üb. d. *Ilias*, vol. i. p. 7.

² Ap. Heraclid. *Polit. frg.* ii. ed. Schneidewin.

³ *Frgg.* vii. xxxi.; conf. Welck. *Ep. Cyc.* p. 186.

⁴ Vill. *Præf. ad Sch. Ven.* p. 25.; Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* pt. i. p. 51.

⁵ *Orat.* iii. xliii.

and gravest among them, could hardly have applied the expression "books (libros), before confused and dispersed," to hitherto unwritten and unconnected songs. The term books must either denote in its familiar sense written volumes, or if it be understood in the figurative sense of cantos or heads of subject, it implies an existence of the body of the work to which they belonged. Nor can confusion or dispersion be said to prevail, where order and unity were never contemplated. With how little justice Cicero can be made responsible for the opinion here imputed to him appears from another passage of his works, allusive to the state of literature in Greece many generations anterior to Pisistratus. "If," says he¹, "we place the foundation of Rome in the 7th Olympiad (750 B. C.), that event would coincide with a period at which Greece abounded with poets and musicians, and when, consequently, less weight attached to fabulous tradition." The orator here clearly alludes to a Greek literature in the technical sense of the term, about two hundred years prior to Pisistratus; he cannot, therefore, possibly have been under the impression that Homer, among all these poets, was denied a written text till the age of that prince. Even Josephus², the only author who questions the fact of the poems having been written by Homer himself, is by no means favourable to the claims of Pisistratus. The tract in which he alludes to the subject is an elaborate attempt to depreciate, in a keen spirit of national controversy, the antiquity of Greek civilisation and learning. His neglect, therefore, either to quote authorities or specify dates

¹ De Repub. II. x.

² C. Ap. I. ii.

warrants the opinion, that, if he had ever heard of any such tradition relative to the Pisistratidæ, he did not consider it sufficiently valid for his purpose. Had he been able to quote, as easily as Wolf¹ has imagined, "the unanimous voice of all previous antiquity" in favour of his views, his triumph over Apion would have been complete, without an additional word of argument. (It is indeed remarkable that, while the whole of the authors cited in behalf of the modern doctrine belong to the Roman period, and with the exception of Cicero to its decline, not one of them attempts to corroborate his own statement by more ancient or nearly contemporaneous authority. The greater the accumulation of such unsupported statements, the greater, obviously, the evidence of the hollowness of the tradition they repeat.) Where, on the other hand, appeal does happen to be made, as by Diogenes Laertius, to prior authority, the testimony cited, that of Dieuchidas², the earliest writer who alludes to the Athenian usurper, is subversive of his more exaggerated claims, implying that the unity of the poems had been already better provided for by Solon.

3. Apart from such more specific reasons, it seems impossible to reconcile with the modern doctrine the entire silence of the writers of the best ages of Greece on the subject, and the absence of all appearance of doubt on their part, amid their accumulated notices of the poems, as to the genuine original integrity of the text. This objection has been met by a denial of any obligation on the part of those writers, in their incidental allusions to a popular literary work, to

Silence of
the earlier
classics.

¹ Prol. p. 142.

² Ap. Diog. in Vit. Solonis, ix.

discuss its origin or early transmission. In so far as restricted to such allusions, the apology may have weight. It does not, however, meet the present case. Plato often does, and even Aristotle may at times, though that is perhaps more doubtful, quote, not merely Homer or Hesiod, but Orpheus or Musæus, in passing illustration of some speculative doctrine, without being held to any serious admission of the genuine character of the work appealed to: but that the proverbially sceptical and punctilious Stagirite critic, in a regular treatise on the Art of Poetry¹, should adopt the Iliad and Odyssey as his standard models of epic unity, and speak of Homer, in his strictly personal capacity, as the inspired author of so wonderful a combination, if he knew that the poems were really indebted for this noblest feature of their composition to a bookmaker of a comparatively recent epoch, seems incredible. / As little can it be supposed that Aristotle could be ignorant of any very important fact in the history of either Homer, Pisistratus, or Solon, which was matter of notoriety in the time of Cicero. This negative argument has, however, also been met in another and perhaps a more specious form. "Such speculative questions," it has been urged, "do not belong to the more youthful and genial stages of literary criticism, but to those later epochs, in which philological research is pursued as a distinct branch of science. Plato or Aristotle, satisfied with the possession of their Homer, limit their commentary to the beauties of the transmitted text, without investigating how, or through what medium, they obtained it." This rule of interpretation is at the best very ques-

¹ De Arte Poetic. passim.

tionable, but its presumed application to the case fails entirely. The Alexandrian commentators, it will be admitted, were as subtle a race of speculative critics as ever existed; yet they were no less in the dark as to the modern theory, than their ancestors of the Attic period. Not a hint of any such theory can be found in their remains. The argument that their opinions are but partially represented in the existing scholia cannot here avail. It were in itself hardly conceivable, that among such an infinity of citations, from the commentaries of several hundred grammarians¹, all allusion to a point of so great interest should be omitted, especially by authors fond of giving effect to precisely this subtle class of notices. But the prominence actually assigned, in the same Alexandrian schools, to the more limited scepticism of the Chorizontes, the minor proposition it may be called, as to a twofold authorship, is conclusive evidence that the major, of a complete patchwork Homer, would not, if already mooted, have been overlooked. The summary manner in which the Separatist doctrine itself is dismissed by Aristarchus, and other leading commentators, convincingly proves that the more extended theory of subdivision, if known to them at all, could not have been countenanced by them. Those who insisted on ascribing both poems to a single author could never have admitted a multitude for each.

Still more conclusive is the historical argument in favour of an entire Iliad and Odyssey, centuries prior to the age of Pisistratus, derived from those other epic poems to which attention has already been

Argument
from the
Cyclic
poems.

¹ See Fabric. Bib. Gr. Harl. vol. i. p. 440. sqq.

directed, as also vulgarly ascribed to Homer, with claims to an antiquity little inferior to that of his genuine works. Those poems, unfortunately, no longer exist in their integrity. Several of them, however, as may be collected from their remains or the notices concerning them, contained, in the choice of their subjects and mode of treatment, proofs of a systematic imitation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and, by consequence, of a familiarity with their text as already extant in the form in which we now possess it. To enter in detail upon the evidence bearing on this point would be to anticipate what properly belongs to another place.¹ Attention, however, may here be called to the following particulars. In the first place it will be remarked, that, while a veneration for the great master induced the disciples or imitators to select subjects connected with those on which he had shed lustre, a similar feeling, or the fear of entering into competition with him, also led them to avoid encroaching on the ground he had occupied. Arctinus, the next most celebrated poet of the school, took up, in his *Æthiopis*, the series of adventures before Troy, precisely at the stage in which the *Iliad* ceases, and carried them on to the death of Ajax. The Lesser *Iliad* continued the interrupted tale to the fall of the city, which catastrophe was also treated by Arctinus in a work entitled the *Destruction of Troy*. The author of the *Cypria* treated the previous subject from the birth of Helen, and brought it down to the exact epoch at which the *Iliad* commences. The *Nosti* filled up the interval between *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Each of these works, while vastly inferior both in

¹ See *infra*, Ch. xix.

design and execution to their two prototypes, emulated at least the comprehensive scope of their action, borrowing also from them much of their own epic machinery, such as catalogues of warriors, quarrels among the chiefs, funeral games, and other similar details. To these Cyclic or Homeric epopees might be added numerous others¹, such as the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus, and *Heraclea* of Pisander, standing in no such immediate relation to the *Iliad*, but also emanating from a more or less remote antiquity, and of great length and elaborate structure. The evidence supplied by these facts, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* existed previously to the Olympic era, can only be evaded by assuming all those poems to have been also originally composed on no definite plan, nor by any single author, but to have been indebted for their existence to the same fortuitous cohesion or the same bookmaking artifice, as the Pisistratian Homer. This is an extreme of paradox, such as, with our present clearer insight into the early history of Greek epic literature, will hardly find acceptance in any reasonable quarter.

Another evidence that Homer's name was from the earliest period identified with regular epic compositions is the fact, that while a large proportion of the works of that class claiming a remote antiquity were familiarly ascribed to him, none such were ever assigned to the rival school of Hesiod. With this name, by equal priority of right, was connected, in the same conventional usage, that other voluminous body of hexameter poems already described as chiefly of a didactic tendency, or, where treating

¹ *Infra*, Ch. xxii.

heroic subjects, of a brief or desultory character. This distinction, and by consequence the respective peculiarities on which it is founded, is certainly far older than the time of Pisistratus.

What were
the poems
collected
and ar-
ranged by
Pisistra-
tus?

4. And here a question occurs of no little moment as bearing on this whole inquiry, but which has hitherto been overlooked or but lightly treated: What were the "poems of Homer" which Pisistratus, in the tradition, is described as collecting and arranging? Were they limited to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? or did they comprise other members of the "Homeric" Cycle? Although the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* came gradually, in the progress of the critical art, by the force rather of internal than historical evidence, to be recognised as the sole genuine works of "the poet," yet this, it has been shown, was not the case in early times. It was not so, probably, in the age of Simonides and Pindar¹, scarcely in that of Herodotus, and, it may confidently be said, not certainly in that of Pisistratus. There can be no reasonable doubt that the "poems of Homer," forbidden to be rhapsodised at Sicyon by Clisthenes, tyrant of that state and contemporary of Pisistratus, on account of the prominence they gave to the glory of the rival city of Argos, comprised the *Thebais* and *Epigoni*²; and it can hardly be supposed that any more critical line of distinction had yet been drawn in Athens. Were, however, the tradition of an adjustment or redaction of the "previously scattered" limbs or volumes of "Homer," to be thus understood of the general mass or series of Homeric poems, the result would be a com-

¹ Ap. Welck. *Ep. Cyc.* p. 199. 300.

² See Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. p. 173.; who, however, goes too far in excluding the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

plete change in the bearings of the whole question as affecting the Iliad and Odyssey alone. The text of Tzetzes, above cited, also certainly favours this view. The duties performed by Pisistratus and his coadjutors towards "Homer" are there mentioned but incidentally, in the way of illustration or parallel to the like undertaking of Zenodotus in the Alexandrian period.¹ But the compilation of that critic included, it is certain, the apocryphal as well as the genuine works of "Homer." From other collateral accounts it appears that Pisistratus also compiled and arranged the poems of Hesiod², which title, in like manner, comprised, besides the two more accredited works of the Bæotian bard, numerous others enjoying, in more critical ages, little or no claim to genuine Hesiodic origin; and there seems no sufficient reason to draw a distinction, as to the value of any such generic expression, between the case of Hesiod and that of Homer. The simple fact that the remaining mass of Epico-Homeric poems were collected by Pisistratus, under whatever title, can hardly admit of doubt. He was the founder, as Zenodotus with whom he is compared by Tzetzes was the director, of a public library.³ His "Collection and Arrangement" of the "Poems of Homer" for his Athenian Institute may, therefore, in the general spirit of the tradition, safely be understood in the same comprehensive sense as that of his Alexandrian successor for the shelves of the Musæum.⁴ The whole series would not only be

¹ Ritschl, *Die Alex. Bibl.* p. 3.

² Müll. *Proleg. zu ein. wissent. Mythol.* p. 399.

³ Wolf, *Prol.* p. 145.; Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* pt. i. p. 102.

⁴ Further evidence in favour of this view will be found in two short articles on the subject in the *Rheinische Museum* (1849, p. 135. sq.); one by K. L. Koth, the other by Professor Ritschl of Bonn. From the additional

required for the Athenian library, but must have formed the most bulky portion of its contents. Unless, therefore, it be assumed that the popular title to Homeric honours, which the Thebais, Cypria, Æthiopis, and Lesser Iliad had enjoyed for ages, and continued to retain long after the time of Pisistratus, was dismissed or set at naught by that compiler, at the epoch too when the Iliad and Odyssey themselves are asserted to have been but disjointed and unconnected fragments, (a somewhat extravagant hypothesis,) it seems difficult to escape the inference, that the "volumes of Homer," collected and arranged at Athens, comprehended a great deal more than those to which the title is now exclusively limited. The circumstance that the Homeric labours of the Athenian prince should have been understood, as certainly appears to have been the case, by later writers, as limited to the Iliad and Odyssey, can create no surprise. It furnishes but one, among numerous instances, where the expression "Homer," applied in early times to the collective Homeric mass, has been similarly misunderstood in after ages.

The establishment of a public library by Pisistratus, although perhaps the best authenticated fact of his literary history, is in itself singularly inconsistent with the more exaggerated view of his editorial functions. The notion of a professional

illustrations there supplied of the mutilated scholion of Tzetzes (*supra*, p. 205.), it appears probable that in that scholion the obscure word *Concylus*, formerly supposed to be the name of one of the coadjutors of Pisistratus, is, as Dr. Cramer had conjectured, a remnant of the phrase *ἐπικόγκυλον*, or Epic Cycle. It would thus refer, not to the person of the commentator, but to the material on which his critical labours were bestowed. Epic Cycle, it need hardly be remarked, is but another name for the Collective Epic poems of the Homeric School.

book-collector being the first committer to writing of the works deposited in his library involves something very nearly akin to absurdity.¹ Equally incompatible with this theory, though often, strange to say, adduced in its favour, are the allusions by ancient grammarians to single lines or short passages, as "interpolated" here and there, by Pisistratus or his coadjutors, on the genuine text, not only of Homer, but of Hesiod, Musæus, Orpheus, and other poets, real or imaginary, whose works they had the credit of collecting.² Such allusions, unless on the supposition, not merely of the poems having long previously enjoyed the benefit of a written integrity, but of there having already existed for each some fixed textual standard of that integrity, were altogether nugatory.

5. Strong as may be the foregoing body of objections to the modern Pisistratian theory, they scarcely suffice to bear out the opposite extreme of opinion, where the services of the Attic prince are

Just estimate of his Homeric labours.

¹ Wolf, however, finds no difficulty. Proleg. p. 145.: "Non reperio qui alii inesse potuerunt scriptores, quam aliquot poetæ, nuper demum vel ab ipsius jussu perscripti." These aliquot poetæ, it may be remarked, comprised: I. Of epic literature, besides Homer, the whole body of Homeric, or cyclic authors: Arctinus, Lesches, Hagias, Stasinus, and other inferior or anonymous poets and works of that school. II. The whole body of probably little less voluminous Hesiodic poems. III. Of Miscellaneous authors and works, epic or lyric, genuine and spurious, not immediately connected with either of those schools, may be numbered: Asius, Eumelus, Cinæthon, Pisander, Callinus, Archilochus, Epimenides, Aristæas, Abaris, Sappho, Alcæus, Arion, Alcman, Tyrtæus, Terpander, Stesichorus, Mimnermus, Solon, Orpheus, Musæus, &c.; in fact, more than a half of the whole standard poetical literature of Greece. It is surprising with what levity some of the most important questions of Greek literary history are dismissed or misrepresented by this critic.

² Diog. Laert. Vit. Solon. ix.; Plut. Vit. These. xx.; Schol. Odys. λ. 604.; Paus. vii. xxvi.; Herodot. vii. vi.

restricted to a mere share in establishing the public rehearsal of the poems, and checking the license of the rhapsodists; although the arguments in favour even of this more limited view are not devoid of plausibility. Apart from the silence of earlier authorities, stress has been laid on the absence of allusion, by the Alexandrian critics, to any Athenian text, amid their frequent appeals to those of other states, such as Argos, Chios, or Marseilles. This silence, however, though incompatible with any such extensive influence on the poems as has been ascribed to Pisistratus, need not entirely exclude his title to the merit of having prepared an edition for his own immediate use and that of his native public. But any such edition, even if extant in later times, could have enjoyed no separate authority, and must have been comprehended, with sundry others, under the general head of "common" or "ordinary editions," occasionally cited in the extant scholia.¹

The more rigid, therefore, the scrutiny to which the properly historical data bearing on this inquiry are subjected, the more conclusively favourable do they appear to the view embodied in the foregoing general summary of the history of the poems. I. That each was originally composed, in its substantial integrity and order, as we now possess it. II. That, in the course of their passage to posterity, this order, if not altogether obliterated, was yet so habitually disturbed by the popular organs of transmission as to threaten its permanent dissolution. III. On the advance of literary culture, a zealous determination manifested itself in various quarters, to check this

¹ See Append. B.

license, and enforce regularity in the public recitals established in the leading Greek states. IV. With this object, new editions were prepared, under public auspices, for the use of different republics. Such were the texts of Chios, Argos, and the other "Civic Editions;" such also that of Pisistratus, assuming it ever to have existed.

That this reduction to order of the poems, whatever may have been its precise nature, was provided for in various other cities besides Athens, apart from the indirect evidence of the "Civic Editions," is asserted on the same authority habitually appealed to in favour of the exclusive claims of Pisistratus.¹ There was this difference in the result, that, while those editions obtained fame and authority, the names of their compilers were not preserved. The edition of Athens, on the other hand, if it ever existed, lapsed into obscurity, while the memory of its compiler's zeal was magnified, during the literary ascendancy of Athens, with other local traditions of that state, into a form which has supplied a basis for the still more exaggerated theories of the modern school.

¹ Suid. v. "Ομηρος.

CHAP. IV.

HOMER. ORIGIN OF THE POEMS. INTERNAL DATA.

1. PRESENT STATE OF THE HOMERIC QUESTION.—2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF TWO KINDS. BEARINGS OF EACH ON THE CASE OF HOMER.—3. ANALYSIS OF THE POEMS. GENERAL RULES FOR ITS GUIDANCE.—4. SIMILARITY AND DISCREPANCY OF STYLE. THEIR RELATIVE VALUE AS SOURCES OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE.—5. CONSISTENCY IN THE POET'S PORTRAITURE OF CHARACTER.—6. STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH PRODUCED THE POEMS.—7. ANTIQUITY OF THE HOMERIC EPOPEE. ILII-PERSIS OF DEMODOCUS.—8. SUBDIVISION OF THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS.

Present
state of the
Homeric
question.

1. It will be desirable, as preliminary to any general application of the internal data of the poems to the question of their origin, to have distinctly in view the leading varieties of opinion to be examined. These varieties may be classed under the four following heads:—

I. The old opinion of Aristotle, Aristarchus, Longinus, and the native public at large, that both poems are the work of a single Homer.

II. The doctrine of the Chorizontes, or Separatists, that each is the production of a single, but not of the same poet.

III. That a number of independant lays on the Trojan war and its consequences, emanating from various authors and epochs of the primitive minstrelsy, having been observed, at a more advanced period of literature, to comprise two continuous series of epic narrative, had been incorporated by an ingenious compiler into the existing form of an Iliad and Odyssey.

IV. That an original kernel, or skeleton, of each

poem had been, in the course of ages, amplified to the bulk each now presents, partly by an extension of the primary subject, partly by the incorporation of other independent lays or episodes.

The latter two of these heads are but a compendium or summary of a class of doctrines, which assume a great variety of shapes, as modified by the caprice of their respective advocates. They represent, conjointly, the substance of Wolf's from the first vague and pliable theory. The credit of that theory has been on the wane ever since the sensation excited by its novelty had so far subsided as to admit of its being subjected to a dispassionate scrutiny, and the current of opinion has long been setting slowly, but surely, in a retrograde course. That the German public, where this whole question has been chiefly agitated, should be ready, unconditionally, to abandon doctrines with which its claims to preeminence in classical research are so intimately associated, was hardly to be expected; yet the various modifications of theory which have been propounded even in the German schools, while evading any actual return to the old Aristotelian creed, are but so many steps in that direction. It is plain, for example, that, in the ratio in which the second and third of the above four varieties of opinion differ from each other, they approximate to the first. The second admits the unity of each poem and author, but draws a broad distinction between the two. The third, while it confounds the distinction, as broadly denies the unity. A concession, on either side, of but one of the points at issue, would amount to a recognition of the antient doctrine.

The literary historian who, some years ago, had

ventured on this next and last step might have been exposed to the stigma of lagging behind the spirit of the age, of narrow-minded deference to exploded error. By reference, however, to the existing state of opinion, he may now perhaps rather claim to rank as a sceptic than a bigot. His title to impartiality, at least, will hardly in the present instance be disputed, when it is stated that, on commencing the course of study preliminary to this undertaking, he was, like most young scholars, himself a zealous disciple of the Wolfian school. Having been led, by a twenty-years' diligent scrutiny of its doctrines, to a thorough conviction of their fallacy, he is the more alive to the duty of attempting, by a full exposition of the results of that scrutiny, to produce a similar conviction on the minds of others.

Internal
evidence of
two kinds.

2. The internal evidence of any such works as the Iliad or Odyssey, bearing on the question of their origin or structure, is of two kinds, Circumstantial and Personal; or, in the technical language of the schools, Objective and Subjective. The former hinges on a comparative view of the facts and events, the manners, customs, and institutions described or alluded to, as illustrative of the age or state of society from which the descriptions emanate. The evidence of the latter kind deals rather with the literary or imaginative than the historical element of the text, with the genius of the author rather than of his times or facts; but deals with them in a similar manner, by testing their unity or diversity as reflected in their written features of language, sentiment, or style.

Bearings of
each on the
present case.

The arguments derived from the former source affect chiefly the question of separate authorship in

the two poems. Any serious attempts to bring such arguments to bear against the individual integrity of each have been directed chiefly to portions of the text, the genuine character of which had been doubted by leading native critics, where, consequently, the discrepancy of the part, even where admitted, may be considered in some sense to imply the unity of the whole. The consideration, therefore, of the Circumstantial head of internal evidence will be reserved chiefly for those portions of this analysis devoted either to the Separatist theory, or to the corruptions which the text of either poem may, in the ordinary course of transmission, have undergone. The few points falling under this head to which it has been considered necessary here to direct attention resolve themselves, in great measure, into questions of historical probability similar to those treated in the previous chapter.

One of the most curious anomalies observable in the general course of Homeric criticism during the last half-century, is the familiar way in which, in the same quarters where the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are pronounced a compilation of discordant materials derived from poets and epochs extending over about five centuries, both works, together with their "author" "Homer," continue to be quoted in their integrity as the most antient contemporary evidence on all questions of remotest Hellenic history, manners, art, or science. Great importance for example has been attached, after Thucydides, Strabo, and other classics, to the absence from either poem of the names *Hellas*, or *Hellene*, for Greece and its inhabitants, and of that of *Peloponnesus* for its southern peninsula, as historical evidence of the late period at which these

phrases became prevalent. But if the poems really be a cento of contributions by numerous authors from the tenth or eleventh centuries B. C. down to Solon and Pisistratus, any appeal to such uniformity must here involve one of two inferences: either that the phraseology in question was unknown during the whole of that period, which it is certain was not the case; or that the whole body of contributors had conspired in affecting ignorance, which were absurd. The omission therefore is in itself substantial evidence of unity, in the period at least in which the works were composed. Nor can the customary apology here avail, that deference to the usage of earlier bards whose songs form the basis of the compilation, might cause this phraseology to become inveterate with their successors, since both terms occur in the text of Hesiod and in that of Homer's oldest disciples and most successful imitators. The argument may be extended to other negative peculiarities in the poet's accounts of manners or institutions, whether referable to ignorance or other causes. That one Homer should have been ignorant of the use of cavalry in war, or from eccentricity or antiquarian affectation should have pretended to be so, is possible, but scarcely credible in the case of a number of Homers of different ages and countries. That one poet should systematically exclude from his heroes' tables fish, boiled meat, game, and other articles of good cheer, so much esteemed by heroes of other ages and countries, has often been remarked as singular; that ten or twelve Homers should enter into any such conspiracy against heroic freedom of diet seems unaccountable.

Among the reasons for assigning the two poems to

different authors, much importance has been attached to the preference of Iris in the one, of Mercury in the other, as the messenger of Jove. The force of this argument, as bearing on the Separatist question, will be considered hereafter. It tells, however, obviously both ways on the doctrines at large of the modern school. That two Homers should have preferred, the one the male the other the female functionary, were nothing surprising; but that out of a number of Homers, composing independently on the adventures of the Trojan war, all those who adopted Achilles as their hero and the military events of the siege as their subject, should have restricted themselves to the one, those who preferred the voyages of Ulysses, to the other class of agency, were a marvellous coincidence.

Many similar examples of consistency in the poet's historical notices might be adduced. The above will suffice to illustrate the principle of unity which they involve. Reserving, therefore, the further consideration of such questions for the comparative age or authorship of the separate poems, we now pass on to the more properly personal or *subjective* department of internal evidence, which will engage a large and well-merited share of attention.

3. The critical analysis of a work of genius is limited, in ordinary cases, to the elucidation of its beauties, defects, or peculiarities. In the present case, not only the character of the poems, but their very existence, with that of their author, is at stake. This is unfortunate, as imparting a controversial spirit to a subject which, it were especially to be wished, should be treated in that easy agreeable tone with which polemical discussion is least compatible. Every

*Analysis of
the poems.
General
rules for its
guidance.*

effort, however, will be made to merge the one head of inquiry in the other, so that the perception of the causes may flow naturally from that of the effects.

The internal evidence of the poems is now universally admitted to be the only source from which any clear light can be expected on their history; yet there is no branch of the whole Homeric question which has been so greatly neglected. Neither ingenuity nor subtlety has here, indeed, been spared by the supporters of the sceptical doctrine. Their attempts to prove too much may even have contributed at times to strengthen the case of their opponents. The complete mutilation, not merely of the entire poems, but of their separate limbs, paragraphs, and verses, which would ensue were effect given to those commentaries, would prove as incompatible with the existence of a fugitive ballad as of a finished epopee. They also tend by their own discrepancy to defeat each other. The flaw or blemish where one critic discovers plain evidence of patchwork, is passed over unheeded by another; while the text admitted by the first as a genuine fruit of the primitive heroic minstrelsy, is discarded by the second as the spurious offspring of a tasteless imitator. By the supporters of the old opinion, on the other hand, the arguments from this source, by far the most conclusive at their disposal, have been turned to comparatively slender account. The objections founded on the real or imputed discordances of the action have indeed been vigorously combated, but no attempt has been made to place the whole question on that higher ground of principle which it is capable of occupying. Unity of genius in such compositions can neither be proved nor set aside by reference to mere mechanical results. It

must be sought in those delicate traits of conception or feeling, where the variety of individual character in our species would seem, in itself, to preclude the possibility of so singular a harmony as is admitted, by even the most virulent opponents¹ of the original integrity of the *Iliad*, to pervade almost every page of that extraordinary poem.

In adopting any general principle for judging literary works by internal evidence, an important previous question occurs: whether the same rules are to be followed in regard to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as would apply to poems of similar character in historical times. This question, when proposed in the abstract, can admit of but one answer: that the text of Homer must be tried by the same touchstone as that of Virgil, or Milton; or if indulgence be afforded, it ought to be to the poet of an age least provided with mechanical aids to accurate composition. Certain it is however that this simple rule of equity has, throughout the whole recent course of Homeric research, been systematically reversed; and that, were the same rigorous tests of uniformity, so mercilessly enforced in regard to Homer, to be transferred to his more civilised successors, different portions of the *Æneid* or *Paradise Lost* might, upon still more valid grounds, be assigned to different authors. Any such attempt would undoubtedly awaken, even in many of those who in Homer's case have been most zealous in the work of destruction, feelings of unmixed reprobation or ridicule.² It is the obscurity alone in which the origin of the

¹ Herm. Opusc. vol. vi. p. 72.

² Bentley's edition of the *Paradise Lost* supplies an example of a singularly pointed nature.

Greek poems is involved that affords a shield behind which the real hypercriticism of such attacks shelters itself. But is it not obvious that, by the admission of any such *external* influence on the judgement, the whole principle of *internal* evidence is corrupted in its source? The thing to be proved can never be made an element of the proof. No critic, then, can honestly grapple with this analysis, who is not prepared to extend the same criteria enforced in Homer's case to every other work or author.

— The remarks offered in a former page on the early vicissitudes of the poems will obviate any impression that, in advocating the substantial correctness of the old opinion, it is proposed to maintain the absolute integrity of their text as it now exists. The circumstances under which they were transmitted render it next to impossible but that their original purity should have suffered. In some, perhaps the greater number of cases, the tampering may have been so managed as to be no longer discernible; in others the existing anomalies may afford reasonable ground of suspicion, and, where supported by traditional authority, of conviction. But even in these latter cases the impartial critic, instead of condemning, on account of trivial blemishes, a substantial well-proportioned edifice as a patchwork of different times and architects, will rather avail himself of its general solidity and elegance as a criterion for distinguishing the injudicious alterations or repairs to which it may have been subjected.

Similarity
and discre-
pancy of
style. Their
relative
value as

4. It may be laid down as a general rule, in all questions as to the genuine character of a great literary work, that the evidence supplied by similarity of style is stronger on the one side, than that

derived from a corresponding amount of anomaly on the other. As long as human nature is imperfect, the efforts of human art will be unequal. The same poet can as little be expected to maintain unvarying consistency and propriety, as the same man uninterrupted health of body or serenity of mind. It must further be remembered that original genius is proverbially eccentric and capricious, and that these characteristics are more especially apt to find place in the compositions of a poet unshackled by the critical refinements of civilised ages. The same freedom of fancy which raises him to the highest regions of the sublime, will at times lead him into defects at which an ordinary versifier of the present day might be entitled to cavil. Such occasional blemishes appear also in a more striking light, from the contrast with the excellences on which they are engrafted. The truth of this remark is borne out by the case, not only of Homer, but of every poet of similar genius flourishing under parallel circumstances. Let Dante or Shakspeare be submitted to the same ordeal by which Homer has been tested, and it is certain that from their standard works might be selected numerous passages, or even integral parts, which, if collated with the nobler specimens of their style, would as amply deserve expunction as any line, text, or book, of either Iliad or Odyssey. Still less attention is due to the arguments derived from occasional discrepancies of fact or of geographical and mythological allusion. Such anomalies, as will be abundantly shown in the sequel, are not only observable, and to a far greater extent, in the text of the most accomplished successors of Homer, but would even seem, from the similarity in the

sources of
internal
evidence.

mode of their occurrence, to be inseparable from the free and genial treatment of any prolonged series of mythical adventures.¹

Very different is the value of the affirmative evidence, resulting from a large amount of correspondence, in any such case. Writers of ordinary capacity, whose style is formed on the prevailing taste of the day, may frequently present so great a general resemblance, as to render it difficult to decide upon internal grounds to whom, among those of a given period, a production is to be ascribed: but any such pervading identity between any two or more different minds, in respect to all the higher excellences, as well as the more delicate characteristics, of poetical genius, as it would be necessary to assume on the basis of the modern Homeric theory, were a phenomenon unexampled in historical times, nor consequently admissible on hypothetical grounds in the darker periods of art. Throughout the two poems the same deep knowledge of human nature is displayed, in identically the same forms, not merely in the delineation of those more prominent passions or feelings which may sometimes be vigorously apprehended even by inferior artists, but in the penetrating power with which the single great master dives into the recesses of the heart, plucks forth its hidden treasures, and embodies them in living forms before our eyes. Throughout, the same spirit and originality in the conception of his characters are combined with the same constancy in

¹ This rule is not only admitted, but pointedly enforced by Hermann, in theory, and against others, in the course of the same commentaries where it is so completely contemned and violated by himself. *Opp. Misc.* vol. vi. p. 80. et alibi.

sustaining them; the same vivid impression of the varied phenomena of nature, with the same graphic powers of description, perspicuity of narrative, and harmony of numbers. Were therefore the authorship of the poems, over which these excellences are so copiously spread, to be parcelled out as has been proposed, the dark ages of Greece would present the phenomenon, not merely of one, but of a legion of heroic bards, equalling or surpassing the greatest of which any other age or country can boast. With this improbability would be combined the little less marvellous circumstance, that these transcendantly gifted minstrels, amid the variety of materials which tradition placed at their disposal, should have conspired in selecting the Troic series of adventures, or even two limited portions of it, while the crowd of second-rate poets were equally unanimous in preferring different subjects, or different portions of the same. To the above coincidences need scarcely be added, as regards the more popular form of the modern theory, the still more marvellous coincidence, that these poems, after several centuries of circulation in their separate capacity, should have been found to constitute the parts of two vast integral epopees, each following out a continuous train of events through numerous complicated vicissitudes: that one part should have suggested itself as a beginning, another as a middle, a third as an end; that the rest should have afforded appropriate episodes; and that each should have been interspersed with mutual references to the incidents destined by the presiding genius of Parnassus to go before and follow after: that one should have contained a prophecy of events to be carried into effect in the sequel, and in due

time as punctually fulfilled in another, with, perhaps, an equally pointed reference to the prediction : that each should have taken up in its turn the same series of actors, in the persons not only of the more prominent heroes, but of the subordinate, and, for the most part, purely fictitious characters, heralds, charioteers, goatherds, waiting-maids, even warriors of remote Asiatic regions, whose epic importance consists mainly in their sonorous names ; pure Greek names, in many cases, assigned to Paphlagonian or Halizonian barbarians, and which it is incredible could be the simultaneous invention of each poet for the occasion.

Consistency
in the poet's
portraiture
of charac-
ter.

5. It is probable that, like most other great painters of human nature, Homer was indebted to previous tradition for the original sketches of his principal heroes. These sketches, however, could have been little more than outlines which, as worked up into the finished portraits of the Iliad and Odyssey, must rank as his own genuine productions. In every branch of imitative art, this faculty of representing to the life the moral phenomena of our nature in their varied phases of virtue, vice, weakness, or eccentricity, is the highest and rarest attribute of genius ; and rarest of all as exercised by Homer through the medium of dramatic action, where the characters are never formally described, but made to develop themselves by their own language and conduct. It is this, among his many great qualities, which chiefly raises Homer above all other poets of his own class ; nor, with the single exception perhaps of the great English dramatist, has any poet ever produced so numerous and spirited a variety of original characters, of different ages, ranks, and sexes. Still more peculiar to himself

than their variety is the unity of thought, feeling, and expression, often of minute phraseology, with which they are individually sustained, and yet without an appearance of effort on the part of their author. Each describes himself spontaneously, when brought on the scene; just as the automata of Vulcan in the *Odyssey*, though indebted to the divine artist for the mechanism on which they move, appear to perform their functions by their own unaided powers. That any two or more poets should simultaneously have conceived such a character as Achilles is next to impossible. Still less credible is it, that the different parts of the *Iliad*, where the hero successively appears as the same sublime ideal being, under the influence of the same combination of virtues, failings, and passions, thinking, speaking, acting, and suffering, according to the same single type of heroic grandeur, can be the production of more than a single mind. Such evidence is perhaps even stronger in the case of the less prominent actors, in so far as it is still less possible that different artists should simultaneously agree in their portraits of mere subordinate incidental personages, than of heroes whose renown may have rendered their characters a species of public property. Two poets of the Elizabethan age might, without any concert, have harmonised to a great extent in their portrait of Henry V. ; but that the correspondence should have extended to the imaginary companions of his youth, the Falstaffs, Pistols, Bardolphs, Quicklys, were incredible. But the nicest shades of peculiarity in the inferior actors of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are conceived and maintained in the same spirit of distinction as in Achilles or Hector. Even where there exists some

bond of connexion, ethic or historical, between the destinies of certain pairs of heroes, as of Achilles and Patroclus, Hector and Paris, Agamemnon and Menelaus, the poet has, with the most subtle though palpable design, availed himself of this contingency, as will hereafter be demonstrated, in adapting or contrasting as it may be, the relations of the one to the other, so as to give more effectual relief to the distinctive peculiarities of each.¹

State of
society
which pro-
duced the
poems.

6. The most comprehensive, and perhaps upon the whole, most plausible, objection, on the ground of internal evidence, to the popular view, is the improbability that, in "so rude an age," any poet should have conceived so vast and complicated a scheme of epic action as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*; or that two such works, even if executed, could have been preserved entire to posterity. In order rightly to appreciate this difficulty, attention must be recalled to a distinction, already noticed, between the earlier and more advanced stages of the poetical art. The rules laid down by the standard antient critics cannot, unless in rare and partial instances, be considered as their own invention. The critical office consists in eliciting and reducing to system, from the original works of genius, those laws, to the intuitive observance of which the authors of the works owe their fame and popularity. That, without the ex-

¹ It is somewhat remarkable that the above internal evidences have rarely been more eloquently or convincingly summed up than by Wolf himself (*Præf. ad Il. p. xxii.*), who admits that, but for the force of the historical proofs on the other side, they would be irresistible. It is not too much to assert, that, had Wolf survived the subsequent stages of the controversy which bears his name, he would have subscribed to the now unanimous admission of critics of all classes, that the internal evidence is the only valid basis on which the question can be treated. Wolf may, therefore, in so far, fairly be adduced as a witness against his own cause.

ample of such original models, the ingenuity of speculative bookmaking should have devised any abstract norm of theoretical perfection for the higher branches of poetry, is repugnant to all experience. This, however, is the anomaly which the objection above stated presupposes in the case of epic composition, where it is perhaps more especially unlikely to have found place. Nor must it be overlooked that, whatever sceptical doubts may have been entertained as to an original unity of the whole design, the elegance of detail by which the parts are adorned has never been denied to be the genuine offspring of the old heroic minstrelsy. Here, again, is an obvious reversal of what reason and experience teach in such cases. While elegance of detail is the proper characteristic of an advanced stage of art, magnitude of design is that of its earlier epochs in every country. If the semibarbarous age of Greece could produce a poet distinguished by all the individual elements of excellence, perspicuity of style, richness of imagery, harmony of numbers, and above all by purity and depth of moral sentiment, it could hardly have denied him the faculty of combining these elements into a comprehensive and symmetrical whole. The same principle extends to other branches of primeval art. How the stupendous masses of Tiryns or Stonehenge were conveyed and adjusted will ever remain wonderful to civilised posterity. We do not, however, insist on discovering in them the work of a colony of accomplished mathematicians; but were they arranged in graceful architectural forms, and adorned with finely executed sculptures, the latter inference would be unavoidable. Any theory therefore which, while it concedes the surpassing finish of detail in

the Iliad and Odyssey to the so-called barbarous age of their author, can only explain their vastness of design as an effort of the professional ingenuity of later times, is essentially paradoxical.

Admitting then the perfecting of epic art, the transition from legends of petty adventure to the completion of a great heroic poem, to be the office rather of inspired genius than of bookmaking artifice, it may further confidently be asserted, that the state of society most favourable to the development of such genius is precisely that pictured in the Iliad; that intermediate stage namely, equally removed from the extremes of barbarism and refinement, which, free from the artificial distinction of vulgarity and politeness, admits of contemporary objects, interwoven with personal feelings and sympathies, being made the subject of poetical description. In order rightly to judge on this point, it will be necessary to discard, or greatly qualify, the epithets "rude" and "barbarous," so frequently bestowed on the age of Homer, and test it by his own descriptions. We there find a race among whom civilisation was sufficiently matured to impart splendour to the social fabric, without impairing their own martial ferocity or simplicity of habits. In the upper class we perceive an order of patriarchal nobility, clothed in elegant garments; protected by highly wrought armour; inhabiting spacious mansions adorned with colonnades, gilding, statuary, and pleasure-gardens; delighting in music, poetry, and oratory; performing journeys in chariots, with an ease and rapidity scarcely conceivable in a country not intersected with made roads; and navigating in fifty-oar galleys, with a freedom equal or

superior to their descendants centuries afterwards. The population reside chiefly in towns, with the exception of those engaged in agriculture, which art is carried to a high state of perfection in all its leading branches as cultivated in later times, while many of the elementary trades and manufactures are exercised as distinct professions. Such is Homer's own picture of the social condition of his age, betraying certainly no such barbarism as to preclude the highest development of the epic faculty. A few generations later, it might with better reason be urged, that the change of manners would have interposed serious obstacles to the production of two such poems, by blunting the heroic enthusiasm of their author, and substituting the studied magniloquence of Æschylus or Pindar for the native simplicity and grandeur of Homer.

7. The fact that poets of ordinary talents, at a period not essentially different from that which produced the *Iliad*, had succeeded in embodying the same or a similar series of events in long narratives, is established by the existence of those other primitive works, *Thebais*, *Cypria*, *Ilii-persis*, and others, the genuine integrity of which has never been seriously impugned. It were surely a strange distinction to allow to an inferior genius of the ante-Olympic era the capacity of inditing a long epopee of inferior merit, and yet deny to a genius of surpassing excellence the ability to compose one of just and happy proportions.¹ But, in fact, the descriptions given

Antiquity
of the
Homeric
epopee.
Ilii-persis
of Demodocus.

¹ This consideration also meets the objection, to which some might attach importance, derived from the want or imperfection of the art of writing, as offering a bar either to the composition or preservation of such voluminous poems in their existing integrity. If a *Cypria* could

in the *Odyssey*, of the poems recited by the minstrels who figure in its action, afford conclusive evidence that works of a similarly extensive character were familiar to its author. Attention may, in particular, be directed to that recited by the Phæacian bard Demodocus, under the title of *Hippocosmos*, or the “*Stratagem of the Horse*.” The narrative of this poem, according to the poet’s own epitome of its contents¹ as here subjoined, must have comprised the whole series of events from the fabric of the fatal image down to the sack of the city and recovery of Helen, as actually treated by Homer’s *Cyclic* successors in the works entitled *Ilii-persis*, or *Destruction of Troy*.²

“After the usual procemium invoking the divine aid, the scene opens in the quarters of the Greeks, who are described as setting fire to their camp and sailing from the coast, in order to delude the Trojans into the belief of their having finally abandoned the siege, leaving the wooden horse as an atoning gift to the protecting gods of the city. We are then transported to Troy, where the colossal image, manned by the bravest of the Greeks, is found already lodged in the agora, and the inhabitants are engaged in warm debate as to its disposal. Some, suspecting treachery, were for opening the planks to ascertain its contents; others for throwing it at once over the cliffs of the citadel. A third party asserted the sincerity of the offering, and the propriety of its dedication in the temple of the goddess. The latter opinion prevails, through a decree of destiny that the city should fall as soon as the wooden horse was admitted within its ramparts. The final success of the stratagem is then described; the issue of the warriors from their ambush, and their exploits in different quarters of the city. The brunt of the struggle is concentrated round the dwelling of Helen

be handed down from the eighth century B.C., an *Iliad* might, from a few generations earlier. The full examination of this point, however, belongs to the early history and progress of the art of writing itself. *Infra*, B. III. Ch. vii.

¹ *Odys.* *el.* 492.

² *Infra*, Ch. xix. § 10.

and Deiphobus, under the conduct of Menelaus and Ulysses, who, supported by Minerva, finally secure the complete victory of the Greeks."

The artistic epic arrangement of this poem appears from a collation of its title with its contents. The "Hippocosmos," literally, Preparation or Outfit of the Horse, ought historically speaking to form the introductory scene. But the poem opens with the subsequent operations of the Greek armament; nor is there a word of the horse itself until, on the scene shifting to Troy, it is found already within the walls. Here then was the proper place for the description of the actual Hippocosmos, the fabric and equipment of the horse, with the list of heroes it contained, as a retrospective episode. Besides this subsidiary narrative, the epitome alludes to other heads of matter sufficient to swell the poem out to a bulk little short of an Iliad or Odyssey. For example, the two verses,

514. *ἤειδεν δ' ὡς ἄστυ διέπραθον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
ἰππόθεν ἐκχύμενοι, κοῖλον λόχον ἐκπρολιπόντες,*

comprehend the return of the fleet from its ambush on the neighbouring coasts, the secret march of the Greeks to the city, the issue of their comrades from the horse, occupation of the gates, and admission of the main body. What a copious mass of epic materials is also suggested by the line

516. *ἄλλον δ' ἄλλη ἄειδε πόλιν κεραϊζέμεν αἰπήν,*

indicating the separate adventures of Neoptolemus, the lesser Ajax, and others so celebrated in the Cyclic accounts of the catastrophe. More specific mention is made of the assault on the abode of Helen,

whose capture forms an appropriate close to the poem and the vicissitudes of the war.

Subdivision
of the fol-
lowing ana-
lysis.

8. The properties of every such poem as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* may, as objects of analytical criticism, be classed under three heads: the plan and conduct of the action; the conception and portraiture of character; and those features of detail in language, sentiment, or imagery which, amid the poverty of our critical vocabulary, fall to be comprised under the general denomination of *Style*. In regard to the first two heads, the analysis of each poem will here require to be taken separately. The third head will embrace both poems simultaneously; the evidence of parallel passages, and of correspondence in language, sentiment, and imagery, bearing no less immediately on the question of unity of origin in the two poems than in the separate parts of each. There is however one important element of epic composition, its divine or supernatural mechanism, which, while also common to both poems, can hardly with propriety be included under any one of these heads. The direct agency of the gods on human affairs, by constituting them in some degree leading characters of each work, might seem indeed to entitle them to a place under the second head. That agency, however, also comprehends an essential portion of the figurative imagery of the poems, involving questions altogether foreign to the mere human department of their action. It will, therefore, be more appropriately ranked under a separate head of *Divine mechanism*.

CHAP. V.

HOMER. ILIAD. CONCORDANCE OF THE TEXT.

I. ANALYTICAL EPITOME OF THE TEXT.—2. "ARISTEA OF DIOMED."—3. SECESSION OF ACHILLES. CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAMPART. INTERDICT OF JUPITER.—4. FIRST AND LAST BOOKS. PARALLEL OF.—5. SECOND BOOK. CATALOGUE.—6. TENTH BOOK, OR DOLONEA.

1. BEFORE turning our attention to the higher features of poetical or moral design in the action of the Iliad, it will be proper to consider how far even the purely mechanical structure of the text is compatible with the operations of more than a single workman. The subjoined epitome has, accordingly, been drawn up with the view of placing in a more distinct light the minuter links in the chain of connexion, and will hence, it need scarcely be added, be found to comprise matters of detail not usually thought worthy of a place in a similar compendium.

Analytical
epitome of
the text.

I.

The poet invokes the Muse to celebrate the anger of Achilles and its consequences, the reverses of the Greek arms, and slaughter of many heroes. Chryses, priest of Apollo, arrives in the camp for the purpose of ransoming his daughter Chryseïs, taken by Achilles in the sack of the neighbouring town of Thebes, and allotted to Agamemnon as his share of the spoil. The petition of Chryses is contemptuously rejected by Atrides; and Apollo, in revenge, sends a pestilence into the host. On the tenth day Achilles calls a council, when the augur Calchas, at his behest, expounds the cause of the divine wrath, and urges its propitiation by restoring Chryseïs to her father. Agamemnon accedes to this proposal, but declares his intention, to which he adheres in spite of a remonstrance from Nestor¹, of indemnifying himself for the

¹ 275.; conf. ix. 108.

loss of the damsel by appropriating Briseïs, the favourite mistress of Achilles. That hero, furious at the insult, is about to inflict summary vengeance on its author, when he is checked by Minerva, who assures him "that ere long his anger will be propitiated by an offer of gifts many times the value of what he is about to lose."¹ Achilles acquiesces, but resolves to abstain from all further part in the war, and foretells that the day is not far distant when Agamemnon, "witnessing the destruction of his host by the arms of Hector, will repent of his insolence to the best of his warriors." Chryseïs is sent back to her parents, and Briseïs is led off from the tent of Achilles to that of Agamemnon. Achilles supplicates his mother Thetis, to persuade Jupiter to avenge his wrongs by the discomfiture of the Greeks. He also describes the sack of Thebes, "the city of Eëtion," in which Chryseïs was taken.² Thetis fulfils her son's request, on the return of Jupiter from Ethiopia twelve days afterwards.³ Her prayer is granted, and confirmed by a nod of Jupiter's head⁴, much against the will of Juno, a warm friend to the Greek cause.

II.

On the morrow Jove, mindful of his promise to Thetis, encourages Agamemnon in a dream⁵ with an assurance of the speedy conquest of the city. In the ensuing council of war it is decided accordingly to march out to battle, after a long debate in which these events are described as taking place in the ninth year of the war.⁶ Thersites reproaches Agamemnon with his treatment of Achilles. Nestor advises Agamemnon to marshal the troops according to their different tribes.⁷ A catalogue is given of the armament, with a more succinct account of the Trojan forces, who advance to the combat. Two Hellenic chiefs, Protesilaus and Philoctetes, are described, the latter as absent on account of disease, the former as slain on the first landing of the army.⁸ The secession of Achilles is alluded to, with its cause, Agamemnon's insulting treatment of him, in the seizure of his mistress Briseïs, the maid of Lyrnessus⁹, captured by him in the sack of that city, when Thebes also was destroyed. An assurance is added of his being speedily restored to the battle. Two Mysian

¹ 213.; conf. ix. 120. xix. 140. ² 366.; conf. ii. 691., vi. 415., ix. 328., xxiii. 826. ³ 493. sq.; conf. 528., viii. 370., xiii. 350., xv. 76. 598., xviii. 74. ⁴ 528.; conf. xv. 75.

⁵ 6.; conf. ix. 18. ⁶ 295. ⁷ 362. ⁸ 701.; conf. xv. 705., xiii. 681., xvi. 286. ⁹ 690. sq.; conf. xx. 192., et locc. cit.

leaders, Chromis and the augur Ennomus¹, are described as among the warriors afterwards slain by Achilles in the river Scamander.

III.

On the advance of the two armies, Paris challenges Menelaus to single combat, on condition that Helen and her property shall be awarded to the victor. Priam is sent for to ratify the agreement. He is found sitting on the ramparts with Helen, of whom he inquires the names of the Greek heroes in the distance. Allusion is made by Antenor to the embassy of Menelaus and Ulysses to claim Helen, previous to the declaration of war by the Greeks.² Paris, defeated by Menelaus, is rescued by Venus, who conveys him to Helen's apartments³ in the city. Agamemnon claims the victory and stipulated prize for his brother.

IV.

Jupiter, in furtherance of his views relative to the future course of the war, dispatches Minerva to prevent the fulfilment of the treaty.⁴ She persuades Pandarus, prince of Lycia, to shoot treacherously at Menelaus, who is slightly wounded⁵, and the Trojans again advance to the attack. Agamemnon, in marshalling the host, reproves Diomed⁶ for want of zeal, and bids him remember the valiant exploits of his father Tydeus⁷, under the auspices of Minerva, in the war of Thebes. Mars takes the field as champion of the Trojans, Pallas of the Greeks.⁸ The Trojans, giving way, are reminded by Apollo from their citadel, that Achilles no longer fights in the ranks of the enemy.⁹ Piroüs, chief of the Thracians¹⁰, is slain.

V.

Diomed under the patronage of Minerva signalises himself. Minerva persuades Mars to retire from the battle.¹¹ Diomed, wounded by an arrow of Pandarus, is healed by his patroness, who orders him to avoid collision with the other deities, but to attack Venus should she interfere. Pandarus, expressing mortification at the failure of his shots at Menelaus and Diomed¹², mounts the chariot of Æneas, and in a joint assault on Diomed is slain.

¹ 859.; conf. xxi. 7., xvii. 218.

² 203. sqq.; conf. vii. 347. sqq., xi. 125. 138. sqq. ³ 382.; conf. vi. 321.

⁴ 68. sqq.; conf. vii. 69. 347. sqq. ⁵ 127.; conf. v. 206. ⁶ 370.; conf.

ix. 34. ⁷ 372.; conf. v. 800. x. 285. ⁸ 439.; conf. v. 30. ⁹ 512.; conf.

v. 788., vi. 99., vii. 229., ix. 352.; xiii. 100. sq., xiv. 366., xv. 721.,

xviii. 257., xx. 26. ¹⁰ 527.; conf. ii. 844., vi. 7., x. 434.

¹¹ 30.; conf. iv. 439.

¹² 206.; conf. iv. 127.

Æneas is rescued by Apollo, but Diomed obtains possession of his horses.¹ Mars joins Hector in a charge on the Greeks. Diomed, observing the approach of the god, advises his countrymen to retreat. Minerva reproaches him with pusillanimity, reminding him that, when Achilles fought in the Greek ranks², the Trojans ventured not so much as to quit the walls of their city, and taunts him with inferiority to his father Tydeus³ her former favourite, whose exploits in the Theban war she contrasts with his own present backwardness. Diomed justifies his conduct, as in compliance with her injunctions not to oppose the gods. Commending his obedience, she takes her place by his side in his chariot, and by a thrust of the hero's spear⁴ Mars is disabled and flies.

VI.

Acamas, the remaining Thracian chief⁵, is slain by Ajax. Helenus the Trojan augur sends Hector to the city to propitiate Minerva, that she may restrain the valour of Diomed, which he considers "no less formidable than that of Achilles had formerly been."⁶ Diomed and Glaucus, in a friendly dialogue, agree to avoid hostile collision during the remainder of the war. Hector arrives at Troy, and after performing his commission visits Paris, whom he finds still in Helen's apartment.⁷ Andromache implores Hector to moderate his valour, reminding him of her family afflictions, consequent on the destruction by Achilles of her native city Thebes.⁸ Hector returns to the field accompanied by Paris.

VII.

The havoc committed by the two Trojan chiefs on rejoining the battle, induces Minerva to accept Apollo's proposal of a single combat between Hector and one of the Greek heroes. Hector accordingly challenges the best among them, apologising at the same time for the violation of the late treaty, on the plea of its having been so ordained by Jupiter.⁹ The lot falls upon Ajax, who boasts that "Hector will find the Greek camp contains other notable warriors besides the deserter Achilles."¹⁰ The combatants are separated by nightfall. In the Trojan council, Antenor recommends the restoration of Helen, in fulfilment¹¹ of the

¹ 263. 323.; conf. viii. 108., xxiii. 291. ² 788.; conf. iv. 512., et locc. citt. ³ 800.; conf. iv. 372., x. 285. ⁴ 855.; conf. xxi. 396.
⁵ 7.; conf. iv. 527., ii. 844., x. 434. ⁶ 99.; conf. iv. 512., et locc. citt. ⁷ 321.; conf. iii. 382. ⁸ 415.; conf. i. 366., et locc. citt.
⁹ 69.; conf. iv. 68. ¹⁰ 229.; conf. iv. 512., et locc. citt. ¹¹ 347. sqq.; conf. iii. 203., iv. 68., xi. 125. 138. sqq.

late treaty, auguring nothing but disaster in a cause where they fight under perjured vows. Paris refuses to part with his mistress. A day's truce is agreed on for the burial of the slain. The Greeks construct a rampart for the protection of the camp; but, owing to the just inaugural rites having been neglected, the gods decree the destruction of the work at the close of the war.¹ Euneüs, king of Lemnos², sends a present of a thousand measures of wine to Agamemnon.

VIII.

The next morning Jove issues an order³ to the deities to abstain from all part in the action, which he views seated on Mount Ida, and turns the tide of success against the Greeks. Nestor is saved by Diomed, through the fleetness of the horses he had captured from Æneas.⁴ The Greeks, driven back on their camp, are rallied by Agamemnon from the deck of the ship of Ulysses in the centre of the line, the extremities of which are flanked by the ships of Achilles and Ajax.⁵ Neptune, pressed by Juno to succour the Greeks, refuses to disobey the order of Jove.⁶ Juno and Pallas complain bitterly of Jupiter for yielding to the prayers of Thetis⁷ on behalf of Achilles, and determine, in the face of the divine order, to proceed to the field. They are however deterred by a threatening message from Jupiter⁸, who then returns from Ida to Olympus.⁹ He there announces his intention of reducing the Greeks to still greater straits the next day, until the death of Patroclus shall restore Achilles to their ranks.¹⁰ Darkness interrupts the assault of the Trojans on the camp. Hector takes up his quarters on the plain, kindling watch-fires¹¹, and bent on renewing the attack next morning.

IX.

Agamemnon, in despair at this reverse of fortune, complains of the deceit practised on him by Jupiter¹², and proposes in council to embark for Greece during the night. Diomed reprobrates his pusillanimity, and contrasts it with his former boldness, when reproving himself¹³ for a merely apparent tardiness for the combat.

¹ 450.; conf. XII. 6. ² 467.; conf. IX. 72., XXI. 41., XXIII. 747.

³ 5. 47.; conf. 210. 352—397., XI. 74., XIII. 8. 524., XIV. 135. 160. sqq. XV. 128. sqq., XX. 23. ⁴ 106.; conf. V. 263. 323., XXIII. 291. ⁵ 223.; conf. X. 113., XI. 5., XIII. 681., II. 701. ⁶ 210.; conf. 5. supra. ⁷ 370.; conf. I. 493. sqq., et locc. citt. ⁸ 352—397.; conf. 5. supra, et locc. citt. ⁹ 439.; conf. XI. 182. ¹⁰ 470.; conf. XVI—XVIII. ¹¹ 509.; conf. X. 12., XI. 56., XX. 3.

¹² 18.; conf. II. 6. sqq. ¹³ 34.; conf. IV. 370.

Nestor enjoins the posting of a guard¹ round the rampart, and that Agamemnon should entertain the chiefs in his quarters, now well supplied with wine recently arrived from Thrace.² At supper he reminds Agamemnon how unwisely his former remonstrance³ against exasperating Achilles had been slighted, and counsels him to appease the hero's wrath. Atreides consents to restore Briseis, adding other precious gifts.⁴ Ulysses, Ajax, and Phoenix are sent as a deputation to Achilles, who spurns all offers of conciliation. Scornfully contrasting Agamemnon's present humility with his late overbearing conduct, he ridicules their attempt to defend the host by a rampart, as a substitute for *his* valour. He reminds them that, while he fought, the Trojans dare not venture beyond their walls⁵; and declares that he will not raise an arm for the relief, until Hector shall approach his own tents, ravaging the ships with fire and sword.⁶ On the return of the mission the chiefs retire to rest.

X.

Agamemnon, harassed by the view of the Trojan fires⁷ on the plain and by his gloomy prospects for the morrow, rises from his couch and rouses Nestor and Menelaus, who console him with the hope that Achilles may yet relent in time to restore their fortunes. The other chiefs are awakened in order to visit the guard⁸, Diomed being dispatched for Ajax at his quarters in the extremity of the line.⁹ Diomed and Ulysses, during the night, explore the Trojan position. The former hero supplicates Pallas to continue to him the favour vouchsafed of old to his father Tydeus in the Theban war.¹⁰ Seizing and killing Dolon, a spy of Hector, on their way, they penetrate the hostile lines, slay Rhesus a Thracian chief newly arrived¹¹, and lead off his horses and chariot to the Greek camp.

XI.

In the morning the Goddess of discord, by Jove's orders, standing on the ship of Ulysses in the centre of the line, excites the army to action from the flank of Ajax to that of Achilles.¹² Agamemnon marshals his troops outside of the ditch. Hector advances from his quarters on the crown of the plain.¹³ Discord,

¹ 66.; conf. x. 97. 180. sqq.² 72.; conf. vii. 467., et locc. citt.³ 108.; conf. i. 275.⁴ 120.; conf. i. 213., xix. 140.⁵ 352.; conf.

iv. 512., et locc. citt.

⁶ 650.; conf. xvi. 61.⁷ 12.; conf. viii. 509., et locc. citt.⁸ 97. 180.; conf. ix. 66.⁹ 113.;

conf. viii. 223., et locc. citt.

¹⁰ 285.; conf. iv. 372., et locc. citt.¹¹ 434.; conf. iv. 527., et locc. citt.¹² 5.; conf. viii. 223., et locc. citt.¹³ 56.; conf. xx. 3., viii. 509., et locc. citt.

alone among the deities, is now present, the rest being restrained by the decree of Jove¹, who again takes up his post on Mount Ida.² Agamemnon kills two sons of Antimachus, the Trojan elder who had proposed in the council of Priam to murder Menelaus and Ulysses on their embassy³ to reclaim Helen. Soon after, wounded⁴ himself in the hand by Coon son of Antenor, Atrides retires from the field, after killing Coon. Diomed also withdraws, wounded in the heel by an arrow of Paris.⁵ Ulysses⁶, Machaon the physician⁷ and his brother Eurypylus⁸ are also disabled by wounds and retire. Machaon is driven to the camp by Nestor, who entertains him with wine in his tent.⁹ Achilles, observing the chariot pass, sends Patroclus to inquire the name of the wounded hero, "a message pregnant with future evil to Patroclus." Nestor informs Patroclus of the wounds of Agamemnon, Diomed, and Ulysses¹⁰, and implores him to intercede with Achilles, either to come to the rescue, or to send the Myrmidon host under his own command.¹¹ On his way back to the tent of Achilles, Patroclus meets Eurypylus led off the field, and, accompanying him to his tent, assists in dressing his wound.¹²

XII.

While Patroclus tends the wounded Eurypylus¹³, the Greeks are driven to their entrenchments, the future destruction of which¹⁴, formerly threatened by Apollo and Neptune, is now distinctly foretold. Hector, by advice of Polydamas the seer,

¹ 74.; conf. viii. 5., et locc. citt. ² 182.; conf. viii. 439. It is amusing to observe the blunders into which the more unscrupulous disciples of Wolf are occasionally led by their zeal to detect the blunders of Homer. One of the arguments urged by Hermann (Op. Misc. vol. v. p. 64.) in favour of his proposal to assign to a separate poet the whole text from v. 47. of B. viii. to the end of B. xii., is the *perversity*, as he describes it, of the existing arrangement, where Jupiter, after having at v. 439. of B. viii. returned from Ida to Olympus, is suddenly, and without further notice, at the opening of B. xiii., found again seated on the top of the former mountain. Is not the perversity rather on the part of the critic, who has overlooked this passage of B. xi. ? ³ 125. 138.; conf. iii. 203., et locc. citt. ⁴ 252.; conf. xix. 53., xiv. 28., xvi. 26. ⁵ 399.; conf. 376., xiv. 28., xvi. 25. ⁶ 434. 487.; conf. xiv. 28., xvi. 26. ⁷ 506.; conf. xiv. 6. ⁸ 583.; conf. xvi. 27., xii. 1., et locc. citt. ⁹ 517. 598. 650.; conf. xiv. 1. ¹⁰ 660. sqq.; conf. xiv. 28., et locc. citt. ¹¹ 796.; conf. xvi. 38., xv. 64. ¹² 809.; conf. xii. 1., xv. 392., xvi. 27. ¹³ 1.; conf. xi. 583. 809., xvi. 25., et locc. citt. ¹⁴ 6.; conf. vii. 450.

causes his troops to dismount and attack on foot. Asius alone, with his chariot, clears the ditch, "which he was never to recross alive, being destined to perish in it by the hand of Idomeneus."¹ Hector succeeds in forcing one of the gates. Glaucus is slightly wounded by an arrow of Teucrus.²

XIII.

Jupiter, still seated on Mount Ida, "not suspecting that after his prohibition³ any deity will venture to take part in the fight," turns his attention to another quarter of the earth. Neptune avails himself of this opportunity⁴, in the disguise of Calchas, to rally the Greeks, disheartened by the loss of so many of their heroes, and deprived, through Agamemnon's ill-judged rashness, of the services of their best champion. Jupiter, on the other hand, continues his favour to the Trojans, "in fulfilment of his promise to Thetis."⁵ Idomeneus signalises himself, killing Asius⁶, with other Trojan heroes. Deiphobus kills Ascalaphus a son of Mars, without the knowledge of that deity, restrained by Jove's command⁷ from the battle. Hector directs the assault on the Greek lines in front of the ship of Protesilaus⁸, their weakest point.

XIV.

Nestor, still sitting drinking in his tent with Machaon⁹, while that hero's wound is dressed¹⁰, hearing the tumult increase, goes

¹ 113.; conf. xiii. 387. ² 387.; conf. xvi. 510.

³ 8.; conf. viii. 5., et locc. citt. ⁴ 10.; conf. xiv. 135., xv. 14. 158.

⁵ 350.; conf. i. 493., et locc. citt. ⁶ 387.; conf. xii. 113. ⁷ 518.;

conf. xv. 112. 128., viii. 5., et locc. citt. ⁸ 681.; conf. ii. 701., et locc. citt., viii. 223., et locc. citt.

⁹ 1.; conf. xi. 517. 598. 650. ¹⁰ 6.; conf. xi. 506. Here may be observed another blunder of that merciless castigator of Homeric blunders, Hermann. Among his arguments (Opp. Miscell. vol. v. p. 60.) against the genuine character of this book, is the absence of all allusion to the wound of Machaon (inflicted in xi. 506.) in this passage, of which that wound forms the principal subject.

One more example may be subjoined of the imperfect knowledge of the poet's text upon which this writer's formidable system of scepticism is based. Among his arguments (op. cit. p. 66.) in favour of the "singulum carmen" supposed to be encased in the thirteenth book (v. 344—674.) is the occurrence in those 330 lines alone, among the portions of the text devoted to military matters, of exulting addresses by victorious heroes to their fallen enemies. The value of this remark may be tested by a reference to the following eleven parallel passages, three of which are in the immediate sequel of this same engagement: xiv. 453. 469. 478., xvi. 744. 829., xx. 388., xxi. 121. 183., xi. 362. 379. 449.

forth to reconnoitre. He meets the three disabled heroes¹, Agamemnon, Diomed, and Ulysses, the former of whom chides the old warrior for leaving the field, expressing his alarm lest other heroes should, like Achilles, have taken offence at him. Neptune consoles him, condemning the conduct of Achilles.² Juno, by aid of Venus, lulls Jupiter to sleep on Mount Ida, fearing lest his attention should be recalled to the affairs of Troy, and to the interference of Neptune.³ Neptune assures the Greeks that Hector's boldness, caused solely by his knowledge of the absence of Achilles⁴, might be checked by a vigorous display of valour. Hector, stunned by a blow of Ajax⁵, is carried to the rear. Menelaus slays Hyperenor.⁶

XV.

The Greeks repulse the Trojans from the lines. Jupiter, awakening on Mount Ida, reproaches Juno with her treachery⁷, and orders Neptune off the field.⁸ He then pronounces the decree of Fate: "that the Greeks shall be routed until danger threatens the quarters of Achilles, who will then send Patroclus into action.⁹ After slaying Sarpedon¹⁰, Patroclus will himself fall by the hand of Hector.¹¹ Achilles will then arise and avenge his friend's death on the Trojan chief¹²; and henceforward fortune will favour the Greeks. But no relief can be granted until the wrath of Achilles be satiated, as promised to Thetis, and confirmed by a nod of the divine head."¹³ Mars, informed of the death¹⁴ of his son Ascalaphus, arms for vengeance, but is restrained by Minerva from his threatened act of disobedience.¹⁵ Jupiter then dispatches Apollo to restore the disabled Hector¹⁶, and complete the rout of the Greeks suspended by the interference of Neptune. They are again driven back with great loss to their lines. Patroclus, alarmed for the safety of the camp, returns from the tent of Eurypylus¹⁷ to that of Achilles, for the purpose of again imploring him to relent. The Trojans surmount the rampart; and Hector, seizing the ship

¹ 28.; conf. xi. 252. 399. 434. 487., xvi. 25., xix. 48. sqq. ² 135.; conf. xiii. 10., xv. 14. 158. ³ 160. sqq.; conf. xv. 4., xiii. 8., viii. 5., et locc. citt. ⁴ 366.; conf. iv. 512., et locc. citt. ⁵ 409.; conf. xv. 220. 239. 249. ⁶ 516.; conf. xvii. 24.

⁷ 4.; conf. xiv. 160. sq., et locc. citt. ⁸ 14. 41. 158.; conf. xiii. 10., xiv. 135. sqq. ⁹ 64.; conf. xvi. 38. 126., xl. 796. ¹⁰ 67.; conf. xvi. 490. ¹¹ 65.; conf. xvi. 818. ¹² 68.; conf. xxii. 344. ¹³ 75, 76.; conf. i. 493. 528., et locc. citt. ¹⁴ 112.; conf. xiii. 518., viii. 5., et locc. citt. ¹⁵ 128.; conf. viii. 5., et locc. citt. ¹⁶ 220. 239. 249.; conf. xiv. 409., xx. 443., xxii. 213. sq., xxiii. 188., xxiv. 18. ¹⁷ 392.; conf. xi. 809., xii. 1., xvi. 27.

"which had brought Protesilaus to Troy, but which never restored him to his native land,"¹ and rejoicing in the glorious change of the late timid line of Trojan tactics², orders his troops to advance with torches, and set fire to the fleet.

XVI.

Patroclus, following Nestor's advice, describes to Achilles the rout of the Greeks, the disablement of Agamemnon, Ulysses, Diomed, and Eurypylos³, with the danger to which the camp is exposed, and begs permission to put on the hero's armour, and go forth with the Myrmidons to the relief.⁴ Achilles, "although he had formerly resolved to afford no aid until his own quarters were assailed by the hostile⁵ fire," consents, but enjoins Patroclus to abstain from distant pursuit, and return when he has delivered the camp. Observing the nearer approach of the flames, he becomes urgent himself with Patroclus and his men to arm and sally forth. Patroclus accordingly, equipped in the armour and mounting the chariot of Achilles, advances at the head of 2500 Myrmidons, fifty from each of the fifty ships⁶ of the hero, to the burning vessel of Protesilaus⁷, where the brunt of the battle still continued. The Trojans, mistaking Patroclus for Achilles, are seized with panic and repulsed. Sarpedon is slain by Patroclus.⁸ Apollo is sent by Jupiter to rescue the body. Glaucus, though still suffering from the wound received from Teucrus in mounting the wall⁹, gallantly defends the corpse of his brother. It is rescued by Apollo, after having been stripped of its arms by the Myrmidon troops.¹⁰ Patroclus, in breach of the order of Achilles, pursuing the enemy towards the city, is stunned by a blow from Apollo¹¹, then stabbed by Euphorbus¹² son of Panthoüs, and finally dispatched by Hector¹³, whose speedy death by the hand of Achilles¹⁴ he prophesies with his last words. Automedon, the charioteer of Achilles, pursued by Hector, escapes with his equipage to the camp.¹⁵

XVII.

Menelaus signalises himself in defence of the body of Patroclus.

¹ 705.; conf. II. 701., et locc. citt. ² 721.; conf. XVIII. 257., IV. 512. et locc. citt.

³ 25-27.; conf. XI. 252. 399. 434. 583. 809., XII. 1., XIV. 28., et locc. citt.

⁴ 38.; conf. 126., XI. 796. XV. 64. ⁵ 61. sqq.; conf. IX. 650. ⁶ 168.;

conf. II. 685. ⁷ 286.; conf. II. 701., et locc. citt. ⁸ 490.; conf. XV.

67. ⁹ 510.; conf. XII. 387. ¹⁰ 663.; conf. XXIII. 800. ¹¹ 788.;

conf. XVIII. 454., XIX. 413. ¹² 807.; conf. XVII. 14. ¹³ 818.; conf.

XV. 65. ¹⁴ 852.; conf. XXII. 344. ¹⁵ 864.; conf. XVII. 75.

Euphorbus boasts of his share in the death of that hero.¹ Menelaus, reminding him of the recent fate of his brother Hyperenor², slain by himself in the early part of the battle, attacks and kills him. Hector, recalled by Apollo from the pursuit of Automedon³, arrays himself in the arms of Achilles, stripped from the body of Patroclus.⁴ Jupiter pronounces that he shall not return alive in them to Troy. The divine⁵ horses of Achilles bewail the death of Patroclus. Jupiter, having now willed a change in the destinies of the war⁶, sends Pallas, in the likeness of Phoenix, to encourage the Greeks. Menelaus dispatches Antilochus to announce to Achilles the death of his friend. The Greeks obtain possession of the body.

XVIII.

Achilles is overwhelmed with grief at the intelligence. Thetis, alarmed by his cry of distress, rises from the ocean, and inquires what can so afflict him, now that Jove's promise⁷ to avenge his wrongs has been fulfilled. She engages to procure him a new suit of armour from Vulcan, in the room of that he had lost.⁸ Warned by Iris that the body of Patroclus is again in danger, he appears on the ramparts, and with his shout of war puts the Trojans to flight, when darkness terminates the action. Polydamas, the seer, proposes in the Trojan council that they should avoid pitched battles, now that Achilles is again in the field, and shut themselves up within their walls.⁹ Hector scornfully rejects this advice.¹⁰ Achilles delays the obsequies of Patroclus until he shall have slain Hector, and captured twelve noble Trojans¹¹ to sacrifice on the funeral pile of his friend. Thetis, in requesting new arms from Vulcan for her son, relates the vicissitudes of his lot, the insult of Agamemnon, the vain attempt at reconciliation, the permission obtained by Patroclus to aid the Greeks equipped in the arms of his chief, and his own death by the joint agency of Apollo and Hector.¹² Vulcan prepares a suit of armour, with a shield of five plies of metal.¹³

XIX.

On the following morning Thetis delivers the new suit of arms to her son, who convenes a general council of the army. It is

¹ 14.; conf. xvi. 807. ² 24.; conf. xiv. 516. ³ 75.; conf. xvi. 864. ⁴ 194.; conf. xviii. 130.; xxii. 323. ⁵ 426. 444.; conf. xxiii. 277. 283., xix. 409. ⁶ 546.; conf. xv. 72. ⁷ 74.; conf. i. 493., et locc. citt. ⁸ 130.; conf. xvii. 194., et locc. citt. ⁹ 257—286.; conf. iv. 512., et locc. citt. ¹⁰ 284.; conf. xxii. 100. ¹¹ 336.; conf. xxi. 27., xxiii. 175. ¹² 454.; conf. xvi. 788., et locc. citt. ¹³ 481.; conf. xx. 269.

attended by Agamemnon, though still suffering¹ from the wound received from Coon son of Antenor, and by the other disabled heroes, Ulysses and Diomed.² The reconciliation then takes place, unconditionally on the part of Achilles; but Agamemnon, restoring Briseïs the maid of Lyrnessus³, confers on the hero all the gifts offered by Ulysses the day before.⁴ Xanthus, the favourite horse of Achilles, prophesies⁵ his master's death, through the same hostile agency of Apollo⁶ which caused that of Patroclus.

XX.

Jupiter, assembling the deities, revokes his previous interdict⁷ against their interference, "lest the Trojans, who had never yet made head against Achilles in the field⁸, should, now that he is further embittered by the loss of his friend, be unable, without divine aid, even to defend the walls of their city." Æneas encounters Achilles, who reminds him of a former escape from death at his hand in the war of Lyrnessus.⁹ The spear of the Dardanian chief can penetrate but two of the five plies¹⁰ of the divine shield. He is rescued by Neptune, whose hatred to the line of Priam does not extend to that of Anchises. Achilles kills Polydorus, son of Priam.¹¹ Hector, engaging Achilles, is preserved from death by Apollo.¹²

XXI.

Achilles, driving the enemy into the river Scamander¹³, captures twelve youths¹⁴ for sacrifice to the manes of Patroclus. He then kills Lycaon¹⁵, a son of Priam, full brother of Polydorus slain by him shortly before, and who had also some weeks previously been taken prisoner by him, and ransomed by Euneüs¹⁶ of Lemnos. His next victim is Asteropæus, chief of the Pæonians, whom he spoils of his arms.¹⁷ He is then himself assailed by the river god, but defended by Vulcan. Mars attacks Minerva, reproaching her

¹ 53.; conf. xi. 252., et locc. citt. ² 48. sq.; conf. xiv. 28., et locc. citt.
³ 60. sqq.; conf. xx. 192., et locc. citt. ⁴ 140. 147.; conf. ix. 120. sqq.,
 i. 213. ⁵ 409.; conf. xvii. 426., et locc. citt. ⁶ 413. sq.; conf. xvi.
 788., xviii. 454.

⁷ 23.; conf. viii. 5., et locc. citt. ⁸ 26.; conf. iv. 512., et locc. citt.
⁹ 192.; conf. 92., xix. 60., ii. 690—692., ix. 328. ¹⁰ 269.; conf.
 xviii. 481. ¹¹ 407.; conf. xxi. 91. 35., et locc. citt. ¹² 443.;
 conf. xv. 220. 239., et locc. citt.

¹³ 7.; conf. ii. 859., et locc. citt. ¹⁴ 27.; conf. xviii. 336., xxiii. 175.
¹⁵ 35. 91.; conf. xx. 407., xxii. 46. ¹⁶ 41.; conf. vii. 467., et locc. citt.
¹⁷ 183.; conf. xxiii. 560.

with having formerly instigated Diomed to wound him.¹ He is again disabled and led off the field.

XXII.

Priam, from the wall, exhorts Hector to take refuge from Achilles within the gate, reminding him of the recent fate of his brothers Lycaon and Polydorus.² Hector remains, ashamed to quit the field, after his late boast to Polydamas³ that he would single-handed defend the city against Achilles. Apollo, foreseeing the fatal hour of his favourite to be arrived, withdraws the protection hitherto vouchsafed him⁴, and he is slain. Achilles, himself resplendent with the arms of Vulcan⁵, strips his fallen enemy of those plundered from Patroclus⁶, and drags the body to the camp at his chariot-wheels.

XXIII.

The day following, Achilles performs the obsequies of his friend, sacrificing on his funeral pile the twelve Trojan youths.⁷ Apollo⁸ preserves the body of Hector from corruption. On the morrow, Achilles celebrates the funeral games of Patroclus, but takes no part himself in the chariot race, owing to the grief of his immortal steeds⁹ for the death of that hero. Diomed conquers with the horses taken from Æneas when their owner was preserved by Apollo.¹⁰ Among the prizes distributed by Achilles are, the arms spoiled from Asteropæus¹¹; a silver cup, received as the price of Lycaon, son of Priam, from Euneüs of Lemnos¹²; the arms stripped by Patroclus from Sarpedon¹³; and a ball of iron taken in the sack of Thebes.¹⁴

XXIV.

Achilles continues to drag the corpse of Hector daily round the tomb of Patroclus, while Apollo preserves it from decay.¹⁵ Thetis, by order of Jupiter, exhorts Achilles to restore it if demanded. On the twelfth day Priam, warned by a message from Jupiter,

¹ 396.; conf. v. 855.

² 46.; conf. xxi. 35., et locc. citt. ³ 100.; conf. xviii. 284. ⁴ 213. 302. 344.; conf. xx. 443., xv. 220., et locc. citt. ⁵ 316.; conf. xviii. in fine. ⁶ 323.; conf. xvii. 194. et locc. citt.

⁷ 175.; conf. xxi. 27., xviii. 336. ⁸ 188.; conf. xv. 220., et locc. citt. ⁹ 277. 283.; conf. xvii. 426. 444., xix. 409. ¹⁰ 291.; conf. v. 263. 323., viii. 108. ¹¹ 560.; conf. xxi. 183. ¹² 747.; conf. xxi. 41., vii. 467., et locc. citt. ¹³ 800.; conf. xvi. 663. ¹⁴ 826.; conf. i. 366., et locc. citt.

¹⁵ 18.; conf. xxiii. 188., xv. 220., et locc. citt.

visits in person the tent of Achilles, and supplicates the restoration of the body. The request is granted. The old king, passing the night in the Myrmidon camp, returns next morning with his precious burthen to Troy, and after nine days' preparation performs the obsequies of his son.

Aristea of
Diomed.

2. The extent and value of the above concordance in the mechanical structure of the poem¹ will be better appreciated, if traced in detail through one or more of those portions of the text to which, by sceptical commentators, appeal has chiefly been made as betraying a former independance of character.

Let us first examine the "rhapsody" called, in the old subdivision of the poem, the "Prowess of Diomed," comprising the fifth and sixth books according to the existing arrangement.²

I. The first line ushers the reader into the midst of a battle, without any notice of where or why it was fought, or who were the contending parties, by the announcement that "Pallas there urged Diomed into the thickest of the fight." Such an exordium plainly assumes, on the part of the poet's audience, a previous knowledge of a combat already commenced and interrupted. II. That this combat belonged to the few weeks of the Trojan war marked by the secession of Achilles is proved, not only by his absence from the field, but by several pointed allusions to its cause. III. The deities left in immediate charge of the interrupted action of the previous book were, Mars on the side of the Trojans, Minerva on that of the

¹ See Appendix C.

² The old limits of this canto have been differently fixed by different authorities. That of Herodotus (II. cxvi.), as the earliest, has here been preferred. The first part of B. VI. is also occasionally distinguished by its proper title of "Interview between Hector and Andromache;" but the action even there continues to hinge essentially on the "Prowess of Diomed."

Greeks. At the commencement of this book, accordingly, Minerva's first care is, by a stratagem, to procure Mars's retirement from the field, and a consequent freer scope for the exploits of her favourite hero. IV. The leading occurrence of the previous book is the violation of the truce between the two armies by the treacherous shot of Pandarus. To this outrage Pandarus himself alludes in the renewed action, expressing his modification at its only partial success; and his own death by the hand of Diomed forms an appropriate conclusion of his career. V. Diomed defeats Æneas, and obtains possession of his horses. This prize, with the circumstances attending its acquisition, is afterwards repeatedly noticed by the victor; first in the eighth book and again in the twenty-third. VI. Diomed successively wounds Venus and Mars. The latter achievement is referred to in the twenty-first book by the injured god himself. VII. Minerva reminds the Greeks that, "while Achilles fought in their ranks, the Trojans never ventured to advance beyond the gates of their city." This statement is confirmed by Achilles himself in the ninth book, and by other heroes in numerous parallel passages. VIII. Diomed and Glaucus, after their dialogue, agree to avoid hostile encounter during the remainder of the war, and the compact is carefully observed in the sequel. IX. Paris, who acts a prominent part in the preceding and subsequent engagements, does not appear in that now described, having in the third book, after his defeat by Menelaus, been carried off by Venus to repose in his wife's apartments. X. Accordingly Hector, on his visit to Troy to propitiate Minerva, finds him loitering in Helen's chamber, and orders

him back to the field. XI. Andromache describes Achilles as destroyer of her native city. This exploit is ascribed to the same hero in numerous other parts of the poem.

That these coincidences could be the result of chance is incredible; and it certainly requires a wide stretch of sceptical credulity to believe that Pisi-stratus, or any other primitive bookmaker, should have possessed either the inclination or the means of interlarding his disjointed stock of materials with such a series of mutual references. The same species of interconnexion might be exemplified throughout. It were, however, superfluous to follow up an operation which the reader may, if he think fit, by aid of the foregoing compendium perform quite as effectually for himself, and the results of which will occasionally be found curious, as well as convincing. Attention will here be confined to the few following general observations.

Secession of
Achilles.

3. Let it be kept carefully in view, how far any part of the narrative could apply to any other period of the Trojan War than the few weeks signalised by the secession of Achilles. Let it be considered, more especially, whether any portion of the first eighteen books could be intelligible without his anger and absence from the field; or, of the remaining six, apart from his reconciliation with Agamemnon. Take, for example, the part of the third book (v. 121. to 244.) which bears with the antients the title of "View from the Walls." It happens that the more specific class of mutual references, which elsewhere form the chief mechanical bond of connexion, are there entirely wanting. One thing however is certain, that either the transactions there detailed

must have been from the first intended for an epoch of the war marked by the absence of Achilles, or else the author of this book must have been ignorant of any such hero having taken part in the siege; a somewhat extravagant alternative. Whoever, therefore, subdivides Homer's personality as has been proposed, must subscribe to the following singularly improbable assumptions: first, that all the more excellent poets who had selected the war of Troy as their subject had limited themselves, not only to the tenth year of the siege, but to the particular month of that year signalised by the quarrel between the chiefs; secondly, that more than three fourths of them had, in their choice of adventures, preferred those involving the defeat and disgrace of their countrymen; thirdly, that all the second-rate authors of the same primitive period, such as Arctinus, Stasinus, or Lesches, who treated of the same war, had as scrupulously confined themselves to its previous or subsequent stages. It is only by reference to the primary concentration of the whole Iliad around the destinies and influence of Achilles, that the above anomaly of its subject, the humiliation of the national arms during so large a portion of its action, can be explained. The cantos celebrating these disgraces and disasters are of the very essence of an entire Iliad; but the notion of a separate poem or ballad, of whatever length, exclusively devoted to such matter, having ever been composed by a popular Greek minstrel for a popular audience, seems altogether monstrous.¹

¹ This, however, forms the essence of the whole theory of Hermann in his tract *De Interpolationibus Homeri* (Opusc. vol. v. p. 52.), and of Lachmann, in his *Betrachtungen üb. die Ilias*.

Construc-
tion of the
rampart.

Another essential basis of mechanical unity in the poem is the construction of the rampart. This takes place in the seventh book. The reason ascribed for the glaring improbability that the Greeks should have left their camp and fleet unfortified during nine years, in the midst of a hostile country, is a purely poetical one: "So long as Achilles fought, the terror of his name sufficed to keep every foe at a distance." The disasters consequent on his secession first led to the necessity of other means of protection. Accordingly, in the battles previous to the eighth book, no allusion occurs to a rampart; in all those which follow it forms a prominent feature. Here then, in the anomaly as in the propriety of the Iliad, the destiny of Achilles, or rather this peculiar crisis of it, forms the pervading bond of connexion to the whole poem.

Jove's
interdict
against
divine in-
terference.

A similar bond of connexion in the military details of the narrative, is the decree issued by Jupiter, at the commencement of the eighth book, against any further interference of the gods in the battles. In the opening of the twentieth book this interdict is withdrawn. During the twelve intermediate books it is kept steadily in view. No interposition takes place but on the part of the specially authorised agents of Jove, or on that of one or two contumacious deities described as boldly setting his commands at defiance, but checked and reprimanded for their disobedience; while the other divine warriors, who in the previous and subsequent cantos are so active in support of their favourite heroes, repeatedly allude to the supreme edict as the cause of their present inactivity.¹

¹ See the mutual references cited to v. 5. of B. VIII. Even the apparent exceptions do but confirm the rule. Hermann's attempt (*De Interpol. Hom.* p. 64.) to make out a case of discrepancy in the interference of

4. Besides these more general marks of unity in the poem, the individual structure of several of its integral parts offers curious evidence of consistency of plan in the whole. The first book, for example, in addition to prophecies and allusions to future occurrences, too emphatic to have been introduced without the intention of following them out to their fulfilment, contains, in the multiplicity and variety of its incidents, unequivocal proof of the opening scene of a long drama. Within these 600 verses are condensed materials sufficient in number and importance to have furnished several books each of equal length with the first, according to the mode in which Homer is accustomed to work up his subject when fairly embarked on it. As the events succeed each other, so the scene shifts with a rapidity unexampled elsewhere. The arrival of Chryses in the camp, his address to the assembled host, the refusal of his request by Agamemnon, and the acknowledgement of its justice by the troops, his departure and prayer to his patron deity, the descent of the god from Olympus, the ten days' ravages of his weapons, and the funeral rites of the victims are dispatched in less than fifty lines. The altercation between the chiefs, as the basis of the whole poem, is treated more at length. But even here the orations are far from copious. Nestor himself is comparatively

First and
last books.
Parallel of.

Minerva and Apollo in the Dolonea is hypercritical. There is here no direct combative participation in the conflict, to which alone the interdict of Jove can possibly refer. The ordinary divine interposition, by dreams, warnings, or otherwise, is expressly excepted from the general rule (VIII. 36. 466. sqq.). Accordingly, in the same context, almost the same verse of B. VIII., where Juno abandons her intention of succouring the Greeks from deference to her husband's order, she is yet said (218.) to have "instilled into Agamemnon's mind the necessity of immediately arming his troops, otherwise Hector would have succeeded in burning the fleet." Conf. XVI. 668., XI. 438.

brief. Then follow, in rapid succession, the shipment of the maiden for her home, the purification of the host, the delivery of Briseïs by Achilles to Agamemnon's heralds, the dialogue between Achilles and his mother, with his retrospective account of the sack of Thebes and capture of the prisoner whose ransom involved such fatal consequences. A change of scene transports us to Chrysa, where are described the delivery of the damsel to her father, with the sacrifice and banquet in honour of Apollo. Another change brings us back to Achilles, and a third conveys us to Olympus, where we have the promised interview between Thetis and Jove, with other scenes illustrative of the part taken by the different deities in the affairs of earth. In proportion to the number and importance of the events, the period of time occupied by this canto, upwards of three weeks, is more than double that allotted to the succeeding twenty-two books. In this accumulation of incidents may be traced, not so much any deliberate artifice, as the spontaneous anxiety of a mind pregnant with a great subject, to secure, by laying down at the outset a broad foundation of facts, a wide field for subsequent enlargement; and to rivet the attention of his reader, by launching him at once on the full stream of the narrative.

Nor are the evidences of that mixture of comprehensiveness and conciseness, which marks an introductory canto, less discernible in the style than in the matter of this book. Where the facts to be narrated in any poem are abundant, the ornamental details may be expected to be proportionally scanty; a rule generally exemplified in the text of Homer. No where, accordingly, are these elegant accessories so

sparingly distributed as in this book. Throughout the Iliad, a favourite class of figurative embellishment is the Simile; and it is one which the fervour of the poet's imagination has at times led him to accumulate to a defective excess. The whole number of such figures in the poem is about 190, giving an average of about six for every 500 lines. The greatest proportion is in the description of battles, the part of the text which chiefly suggested and required some such relief to an otherwise monotonous recurrence of similar incidents. The sixteenth book, comprising 867 lines, has 20 similes; the seventeenth, 761 lines, has 19; the second, containing 877 lines, has 10. The smallest proportion observable in any one of the subsequent books gives one for 250 lines. (In the first book, here under consideration, consisting of 611 lines, there occurs not one) This peculiarity (2) explains itself as naturally by the number and importance of the historical incidents in Alpha, as the accumulation of purely illustrative matter, in the other books above cited, by the opposite character of their contents.

That the part containing, next to the first canto, the fewest embellishments of this class should happen to be the concluding one, though a curious, is no fortuitous coincidence. It forms part of a general and, as bearing on the present subject, important analogy between the two books. As in Alpha we trace, in the number and rapid succession of events, the opening; so in Omega, a like peculiarity indicates the winding up of a long narrative, and the anxiety of the poet to abridge the concluding details, after disposing of the main heads of action. The indignities inflicted on Hector's corpse; the council

of the gods ; the mission of Iris to Thetis, of Thetis to Achilles ; the interview between the goddess and her son ; the mission of Iris to Priam ; his journey, interview with Achilles, return with the body of Hector, and the subsequent preparation and performance of the funeral rites, comprise a mass of incidents equal in number, if not in importance, to those contained in the first act of the poem. They also, it happens, occupy an exactly equal period of time, about twenty-two or twenty-three days. These coincidences certainly offer a strong argument, not only of systematic design in the structure of the poem, but of that spontaneous harmony which marks the operations of the same genius under similar circumstances. •

Another indication of an opening canto is a certain descriptive introduction, on their first appearance on the scene, of several of the less distinguished actors, a courtesy of which there is no example in other portions of the Iliad. The heroes of more universal renown, Achilles, Agamemnon, Ulysses, are indeed brought at once on the stage without any ceremony of announcement : but the other two chief performers in the first book, Nestor and Calchas, personages whose notoriety depended probably in a great measure on the Iliad, are each ushered in with a particular notice of their persons and qualities. There could be no reason for this more pointed personal description of these individuals in this canto than in any other, unless it were intended for the commencement of a series. The catalogue in the immediately following book precludes also, in a great degree, the necessity of such introductory notices in the sequel.

Second
Book.
Catalogue.

5. Similar indications of the preparatory stages of a great subject extend to the second book. Such,

for example, is Nestor's advice to Agamemnon to marshal his forces in distinct companies under their respective leaders. The natural inference here would be, apart from the general context, either that this advice had been offered in the first year of the war, or else that the Greeks had been accustomed, during the nine previous years, to engage the enemy without any sort of order or discipline, a very unsatisfactory alternative. This injunction, therefore, complied with by Agamemnon in the immediate sequel, is, like many other similar passages of both poems, but a piece of poetical mechanism forming a transition to the ensuing muster-roll of the Greek host. All sceptical inference is excluded, not merely by the previous and subsequent text, which proves the dialogue to have taken place in the ninth year, and after the quarrel, but by the distinct allusion of Nestor himself to these facts in the course of his speech.

The injunction of Iris to Priam to arm his forces, forming the introduction to the Trojan catalogue, presents another parallel anomaly, and for a similar object. Polites, a son of the Trojan king, sent out to reconnoitre, and whose person the goddess assumes, is here made to assert, "that although he had been in many an engagement, he had never beheld so numerous a host as that now advancing." Now it is certain that he must have known the Greek army to be much smaller than before, since, besides the heavy losses sustained in previous battles and the late pestilence, it was diminished by the whole amount of the Myrmidon force. This, therefore, is but a hyperbolical commonplace introductory to the Trojan march from the city.

The Catalogue is perhaps the portion of the poem

in favour of which a claim to separate authorship has been most plausibly urged. Although the example of Homer has since rendered some such formal enumeration of the forces engaged a common practice in epic poems descriptive of great warlike adventures, still so minute a statistical detail can neither be considered as imperatively required, nor perhaps such as would, in ordinary cases, suggest itself to the mind of a poet. Yet there is scarcely any portion of the Iliad where both historical and internal evidence are more clearly in favour of a connexion, from the remotest period, with the remainder of the work. The composition of the Catalogue, whensoever it may have taken place, necessarily presumes its author's acquaintance with a previously existing Iliad. It were impossible otherwise to account for the harmony observable in the recurrence of so vast a number of proper names, most of them historically unimportant, and not a few altogether fictitious; or of so many geographical and genealogical details as are condensed in these few hundred lines, and incidentally scattered over the thousands which follow. Equally inexplicable were the pointed allusions occurring in this episode to events narrated in the previous and subsequent text, several of which could hardly be of traditional notoriety, but through the medium of the Iliad. The composition of the Catalogue, and by consequence of the Iliad, at a very remote period, is further vouched for by the circumstance already referred to, that in the works of succeeding poets of very antient date, modelled more or less closely on the Iliad, similar catalogues were introduced. That contained in the Cypria was limited to the Trojan force, a fact which forms in itself a

conclusive argument that the Catalogue of the Iliad existed in its substantial integrity at the period when the Cypria was composed. Unless the enumeration of his native heroes had already been provided for, the author of that popular poem could never have restricted such a mark of distinction to their enemies. The style of the Catalogue is certainly far from deficient in the distinctive excellences of Homer. The genial spirit and vivacity infused into an otherwise dry recapitulation of names and facts, and the perspicuity, metrical harmony, and conciseness of their arrangement, reflect the single master mind as clearly perhaps as even the most brilliant descriptions in the body of the poem. Corrupted and interpolated it may have been: no part of the poem afforded, with so fair a field, so strong a temptation to such practices. Nor certainly are there wanting evidences of their having been resorted to. But interpolations in themselves imply the existence of an original genuine text.¹

In drawing this head of the subject to a close, the "Dolonea," or "night-watch," still demands a few words of remark. That the author of that episode was familiar with the previous narrative of the Iliad, even with the Catalogue, may be seen by reference to the epitome of its contents. The sleepless anxiety of Agamemnon during the night, owing to the gloomy prospects of his host after the disasters of the previous day; his allusion to the prowess of Hector as the immediate, and to his quarrel with Achilles as the remote cause of his distress; to the bivouac of the Trojans on the plain, to the construction of the rampart, and the posting of the guard; with the

Tenth
Book, or
Dolonea.

¹ See Appendix D.

pointed mention of Rhesus of Thrace, unnoticed among the chiefs of that country in the Catalogue, as but recently arrived in the Trojan camp; all guarantee the previous existence of the first nine books of the poems in their substantial integrity. Nor, even were it not self-evident that this episode could only be intended as a continuation, not as a conclusion of the foregoing narrative, are there wanting sufficiently plain, though not quite so specific, allusions to a sequel. At the period therefore when the *Dolonea* was composed, an *Iliad* must have existed, whatever may have been its exact length or proportion. It happens, however, that, among these references of the episode to other parts of the existing text, there is not one indispensable to the full understanding of the action; nor is there any distinct allusion in the remaining books to the adventure which this one records. Although therefore the episode could not exist without the *Iliad*, the *Iliad* might no doubt exist without the episode. Upon this ground certain nameless commentators, alluded to by Eustathius¹, conjectured it to be a later addition to the primary fabric of the poem. On the other hand, the general harmony between its text and the remainder of the work, with the Homeric purity of its style, excluded all pretext for ascribing it to a different author. It was therefore admitted to be a genuine composition of Homer; not, however, an original canto of the *Iliad*, but a separate poem by the same author, first inserted in the place it now occupies by Pisistratus, the favourite hero of all such performances with this later school of sophists. Of the historical value of such theories, transmitted but on the hearsay

¹ Conf. Schol. Bekk. ad x. 1

of a Byzantine writer of the twelfth century, little need be added to what has already been remarked in other places. ✓

The simple hypothesis however, that this book may have been an afterthought of the genuine Homer, need not in itself be considered as altogether unreasonable. Excellent as the structure of the *Iliad* is in its existing form, it does not follow, nay, it is highly improbable, that the poem was, even in its entire substance, so designed and finished off-hand, to use a familiar phrase, by a single impulse of its author. The conceptions of such a genius, in proportion as they are great, are not necessarily nor probably at once embodied in their full maturity. Ruder draughts of an *Iliad* may, no doubt, have preceded that which now forms so perfect a whole. Admitting the poem to have been originally composed without a *Dolonea*, the author himself could hardly have failed to discover that so long a series of national disaster and humiliation, extending over more than one half of the narrative, besides being poetically defective on the ground of monotony and sameness, might, if unrelieved by some such cheering episode, prove distasteful or even offensive to a patriotic audience. The tenth book, while it affords an agreeable relief to the national distress, also tends, through the force of contrast, to deepen its effect, and thus forms an indispensable element of the moral harmony of the entire action.

CHAP. VI.

HOMER. ILIAD. UNITY OF THE ACTION.

1. PRINCIPLE OF POETICAL UNITY, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE ILIAD. — 2. SIMPLICITY OF THE PLOT, AND ITS RANGE OF CHARACTERS. — 3. CHARACTER OF ACHILLES THE MAIN POETICAL FEATURE OF THE WORK. — 4. QUARREL OF ACHILLES AND AGAMEMNON. — 5. COURSE OF THE ACTION DURING THE SECESSION OF ACHILLES. NATIONAL PARTIALITIES OF HOMER. OBDURACY OF ACHILLES. — 6. RELAXATION OF HIS WRATH. DEFECTS AND ADVANTAGES OF THE CRISIS. — 7. ADAPTATION OF THE CHARACTERS OF ACHILLES AND PATROCLUS TO EACH OTHER. — 8. REVULSION OF FEELING. GRIEF AND REMORSE OF ACHILLES. FEROCITY OF ACHILLES. — 9. SOFTER FEATURES OF HIS CHARACTER. INTERVIEW WITH PRIAM. — 10. MORAL SCOPE AND TENDENCY OF THE ILIAD. — 11. AMPLIFICATION OF THE SUBJECT. EPISODES. DEFINITION OF THE TERM. — 12. CHARACTERISTICS OF HOMER'S EPISODES. — 13. CONTRAST OF VIRGIL.

Principle
of poetical
unity, as
exemplified
in the Iliad.

1. THE foundation of excellence in every branch of narrative composition is the talent of seizing and giving effect to the principal feature of a subject. The primary qualification of a skilful pleader is instinctively to apprehend the point in which the strength of his case lies, and constitute it the centre of his argument. The less momentous or less favourable details are either suppressed or scattered incidentally around, so that, like the decorative adjuncts of a solid building, they may acquire from the connexion an importance which they could not separately have enjoyed. The art of the historian is but a continued observance of the same rule. He arranges in the front of his narrative the main facts supplied by the Chronicle or Gazette; the less important circumstances which may there, from their bearing on the petty interests of the day, have been more carefully detailed, are abridged or discarded. Nor, certainly,

is the observance of this principle less essential to the success of the epic poet than of the historian or orator. It is, accordingly, in Homer's fine application of it that those artifices of his composition are to be sought, which, in the phraseology of the schools, are familiarly classed under the heads of unity of action, time, and place, or other similar figures of scholastic rhetoric. In order to test the justice of this remark in its more immediate reference to the *Iliad*, we must consider: first, the general tenor of the historical tradition on which the work is founded; secondly, the special properties of that portion of the same tradition which has been selected as the principal action.

From the notices interspersed throughout the poem, it appears that the first nine years of the siege passed without any event of a decisive character. After a vigorous attempt to frustrate the landing of the Greeks, the Trojans, unable to cope with them in the field, shut themselves up within the walls of the city, where, by the strength of its fortifications, they baffled every assault of the enemy.¹ The Greeks naturally shaped their tactics by those of the besieged, and, in order to wear out their resources, occupied themselves in ravaging the country, and reducing other cities² of the hostile confederacy. In the tenth year however events occurred to alter the Trojan policy. Dissensions between Agamemnon and Achilles, the hero on whose valour the Greeks mainly relied for success, caused the secession of the latter from the cause. In proportion as this event tended to discourage the one party, already somewhat disheartened by a long and unprofitable warfare, it revived the hopes of the other. The city was at this epoch

¹ VIII. 5., et locc. cit. in Ch. v. § 1.

² IX. 328.

crowded with Asiatic auxiliaries, who, however valuable their services, pressed heavily on the resources of Priam¹, and rendered some desperate effort the more indispensable. Such a combination of circumstances obviously marked out this as the moment for a bold attack on the invaders. The quarrel therefore between the chiefs, as the immediate cause of a change in the languid character of the war, and of a series of fierce engagements involving the death of Hector the main bulwark of his country, but, above all, from the fine field it afforded for developing the character of Achilles, the heart and soul of the Iliad, could not fail to offer itself to the genius of Homer, as the centre or pivot of action in any poem founded on the siege of Troy.

Nor does the peculiar nature of these events mark out the completion of the design less clearly than its commencement. From the quarrel of the heroes down to the restoration of Hector's body, the whole series of occurrences follow each other by as constant a chain of cause and effect as the vibrations of a pendulum, and cease as naturally on the exhaustion of the impetus which set them in motion. On the withdrawal of Achilles depend the unwonted boldness and success of the Trojans. The disasters of the Greeks excite the sympathy of Patroclus, whose successful mediation with Achilles leads to his own death by the hand of Hector. Grief, anger, and remorse procure the immediate restoration of Achilles to the field, and the infliction of death on the destroyer of his friend. The duties of friendship and of religion indispensably require a performance of the last honours to the remains of the two fallen

¹ II. 130., XVII. 220. sqq., XVIII. 288. sqq.

warriors. While, therefore, up to this point the main events are inseparably linked with each other, it is equally certain that, beyond it, tradition supplies no occurrence standing in any similar epic relation to those which precede; nor is it easy to see how the ingenuity of poetical fiction could have suggested an addition calculated to form other than a tasteless excrescence. The subsequent adventures of the war, the closing career and death of Achilles, the arrival and exploits of Memnon, Penthesilea, Neoptolemus, furnished abundant materials for new poems: but even the genius of Homer could hardly have succeeded in bringing any one of those adventures into appropriate epic connexion with the narrative of the *Iliad*. In so far therefore the dogma of certain antient grammarians, that the first verse, nay, the first word of the poem contains a summary of the whole action, however frivolous their mode of propounding it, can hardly be considered as groundless in fact. The "anger of Achilles" and its consequences really include all that the *Iliad* relates, and exclude all that it omits.

2. Skilfully, however, as the plot of the poem is devised, it will yet be found, in respect to actual events, to be but meagre. "The commander of an enterprise affronts his bravest warrior, who retires indignant from the field. Successive disasters lead to vain attempts to conciliate his anger. At length, when the enemy's fire threatens his own quarters, he allows his friend to go forth with his followers to the rescue. The death of that friend by the hand of the hostile leader imposes on him the duty of revenge; the fulfilment of which duty, terminating in the death of the rival chief, restores matters much to the same

Simplicity
of the
action, and
its range of
characters.

footing as at the commencement." Nor is this simple line of action relieved by any of those ingenious underplots, by which succeeding epic poets have usually endeavoured to extend the interest of their narratives. In the *Iliad* are no cunning schemes of designing villains, treacherous friends, or jealous rivals, to baffle the designs of the principal actors; no attempts to mystify or conceal the proposed order of occurrences, in order to surprise or disappoint by unlooked-for disclosures. The opening of the poem contains a prediction of the events that are to follow during the greater part of its progress, and before we are far advanced we are made equally familiar with the remainder. The few unforeseen occurrences adorn, but do not impede, the smooth train of the principal action, which, gliding over them, advances steadily to its appointed issue.

This limitation of the main subject is not only a characteristic property of the poem, but one of its greatest excellences. In every department of art simplicity is an essential element of grandeur, and grandeur is the main feature of the *Iliad*. Any subordinate complication of parts would have detracted, in a proportional degree, from the dignity of the whole. It might, however, plausibly be urged, admitting the justice of this principle, that in so far as such secondary plots constitute the medium for exhibiting variety of character, their exclusion has deprived the poet of opportunity for portraying many of the passions and vices which supply not the least instructive lessons of human nature. In this alleged deficiency, however, consists another chief element of the ideal sublimity of the *Iliad*. The term hero, in the true spirit of the Homeric minstrelsy (whatever may be its sense in

the page of later mythology), excludes, as a general rule, without any actual exemption from the failings incident to humanity, those baser vices which inspire disgust or contempt. But the war of Troy was the greatest of all heroic adventures. The chiefs who took part in it were the noblest and the last of the race of genuine heroes. So they are described by both Homer and Hesiod¹, an intermediate stage between the divine and human natures, superior in moral and physical attributes as well to their sons and descendants as to the ordinary men of their own day. The degeneracy from heroism to common humanity is dated, by the latter poet expressly, by the former indirectly, from the extinction of this generation. It was natural therefore, in a selection of the Trojan war as his subject, that the poet's efforts to impart variety to his characters should be limited to such combinations of virtue and vice, greatness and weakness, as should still allow that essential attribute of heroism, generosity, to predominate. This limitation, while it rendered success the more difficult, rendered it also, if attained, the more complete; inasmuch as the sympathies called forth by human action or suffering are the more pure and pleasing, in proportion as they are less alloyed by the shame arising from exposure of the baser features of our nature. The gratification, therefore, which we derive from the *Iliad's* varied portraiture of imperfect excellence, if it ever admits of our remarking the absence of the villain of the piece, certainly never admits of our regretting it. Among the chief beauties of one of the greatest works of modern graphic art, the *Last Supper* of Leonardo, has been remarked the skill with which the

¹ Works and D. 165. 174.; conf. Od. II. 276., II. XXIV. 454. alibi.

artist has varied the expression called forth on the countenances of eleven individuals of the same habits and interests by the sudden announcement of a fact in which they had all an equal concern, and where the predominant emotion in the breast of each was fundamentally the same: surprise at the imputation thrown out, and conscious innocence of the crime imputed. But in one this feeling is tempered with indignation, in another with doubt, in a third with humility, in a fourth with mortification, in a fifth with scorn. Similar is the power displayed by Homer in modifying the shades of his heroes' characters. All are actuated by a common spirit of chivalrous enterprise, all engaged in a common pursuit of martial renown; but differ no less in the peculiarities of disposition and language which mark their generous course, than in their capacities for attaining the glorious ends towards which it is directed.

Character
of Achilles
the main
poetical
feature of
the Iliad.

3. But the grand poetical feature of the Iliad is the character of Achilles. Its conception is the highest effort of the poet's genius; on its delineation the richest resources of his art are concentrated. It is, accordingly, in the number and variety of the opportunities which the action supplies for developing the great qualities of the hero that its excellence mainly consists. This consideration renders it expedient, in the following pages, to combine the analysis of these two fundamental elements of the work: its epic structure, and the character of its protagonist.

The character of Achilles is conceived on the same principle which the sculptors of later ages transferred to their representations of the deity under human form. The hero of the Iliad, like the statues of Phidias, is an ideal personage, of which all the component parts

are human, but in their combination present a whole creature surpassing, in the splendour of his attributes, any living example of humanity; uniting the full measure of those qualities which, in the spirit of his age, constituted the sublime, the beautiful, or the terrible, in mortal nature. Beyond this general outline it is the more difficult to define wherein the grandeur of the portrait consists, owing to the wide difference in the moral impressions which many of its more prominent features are calculated to awaken in the present age, as compared with that for which it was originally designed. His valour, his generosity, the warm affections of his heart, the graces of his person, his elegant accomplishments, are common to him with most other heroes of chivalry. But there is in Achilles alone a power of exciting awe and admiration, which seems to depend on the less obvious associations through which it operates, and which can only be appreciated by identifying ourselves with the feelings or prejudices of the poet's own audience. Among the theories by which it has been attempted to illustrate the sources of our moral judgments, there is one which accounts for those habitually passed on certain passions or affections, not so much by reference to any essential difference in their quality, as to the degree in which they are displayed; or in other words that certain virtues, when carried to excess, become vices. Thus, when liberality exceeds the bounds of prudence, it becomes extravagance; a just regard for personal dignity degenerates into pride; a strong sense of retributive justice into vindictiveness. The right application of this rule depends, however, on the faculty of distinguishing where the transition from moderation to

excess takes place ; a faculty reserved for the more advanced stages of ethic culture, or which is at least very imperfect in the primitive moralist. The estimate which the mind, undisciplined by the restraints of true religion or philosophy, forms of many modes of conduct which excite in more enlightened ages unqualified censure, is regulated chiefly by a previous estimate of the source in which they originate. Such as can be traced to some just or amiable impulse claim sympathy or approval, and the degree in which they are displayed tends less to alter their intrinsic value than to enhance the grandeur of their effect. Of this generous, though defective principle of heroic morality, the character of Achilles embodies the form and pressure. All his affections are in their origin noble or generous. This was indispensable to his heroic excellence. That all should be exhibited in excess was essential to his heroic greatness. His conscious superiority to all other mortals renders him haughty and impatient of control. Just resentment against ingratitude effervesces into implacable wrath, absorbing many of the best affections which at other times predominate in his bosom. The conflict of generous feelings created by the sudden loss of a beloved friend, leads to a bloodthirsty spirit of revenge against his destroyer. But, in order rightly to appreciate these darker traits, they must be contemplated, not in their naked magnitude and terror, but in their contrast to the softer touches by which they are relieved¹ ; to the affectionate heart, the chivalrous sense of courtesy and urbanity, the spirit of mercy to the vanquished, and sympathy with affliction, for which the poet describes him as habitually distin-

¹ 1. 334., xi. 599. sqq., xix. 55—65., xxi. 100., xxiii., xxiv. 157.

guished, and of which his interview with Priam is so touching an example. Those harsher features may thus be likened, adopting the poet's own vein of imagery, to the thunder storm which, passing over the face of a beautiful landscape, imparts new charms to the returning serenity of the scene; or to the inundations of the mountain torrent, which disturb, but cannot permanently corrupt, the purity of its waters. Nor is it the least admirable part of this extraordinary portrait, that in so much boldness of design and intensity of colouring there is no exaggeration. Achilles frets, rages, storms, but he never rants. His most overwhelming paroxysms, which, in the heroes of other epic poems, seldom escape bombast or extravagance, are in him but the natural outbreaks of a noble, but wayward and impetuous spirit. ✓

4. One great excellence of the quarrel scene which forms the foundation of the poem, is the skill with which the poet has managed to put both chiefs in the wrong, yet without any real sacrifice of their heroic dignity. The step taken by Achilles in calling the council, though obviously with the view of publicly arraigning the conduct of his commander, is open to no serious charge of presumption. It was the duty, as well as privilege, of the leading champion of the army to stand forth as its protector against the reckless levity even of a superior, who had subjected it, for the indulgence of his own selfish passions, to the wrath of the terrible deity under whose weapons it was smarting. Achilles is also careful to secure the divine sanction, by placing his cause in the hands of the seer Calchas. His subsequent conduct, however, cannot be so easily justified. His reply to the prophet's demand of support, should his candour

Quarrel of
Achilles
and Aga-
memnon.

embroil him with Agamemnon, is in a strain of sarcasm against that hero altogether unwarranted at this stage of the discussion ; and tends to provoke, if not to palliate, the indecent abuse with which Agamemnon assails the divine minister. In the sequel, the violence of both parties renders it the less easy to discriminate on whose side lies the balance of right or wrong. Agamemnon's offer to restore the damsel, on condition of compensation at the common cost for the loss of his share of the spoil, if not the most generous mode of settlement, was certainly one which he was entitled to propose ; and the taunting reply of Achilles provokes, and in some degree excuses, the declaration of Agamemnon in his retort, to indemnify himself at the sole expense of the Myrmidon chief. The patience of the impetuous hero is now exhausted, and his fury reaches a climax which renders divine interference necessary. The appearance of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, to check the violence of Achilles, is an obvious figure of his own better judgment suggesting, even in the climax of his wrath, that a personal assault would be a far less effective mode of chastising the insolence of his chief, or the apathy of his fellow-warriors, than a secession from the war ; which, by proving their dependance on his valour, would secure to him in the end a more complete triumph, and to them a more humiliating punishment.

The circumstance here noticed of the anger of Achilles being directed, not only against Agamemnon but his companions in arms, supplies an apt illustration of a familiar and just remark of the antient critics, that Homer seldom tells us any thing in his own words which can be appropriately communicated in those of his heroes. Nowhere has the poet himself

given to understand that the wrath of Achilles extended beyond the single person of Agamemnon: but the omission is abundantly made good in the dramatic element of the action. On the departure of Pallas, the hero indirectly, but severely, taunts the Greeks with their slavish acquiescence in the injustice of their commander: "Rapacious king, didst thou not reign over worthless vassals, this outrage had been thy last."¹ In the sequel he accuses them collectively of having wronged him²; and at a later period he chides Patroclus for his sympathy with their distress, suffering, as they were, but the just reward of their guilt.³ This ingredient of the hero's wrath is indeed indispensable, to explain or palliate his implacable bitterness of feeling even towards his own favourite comrades. But although their conduct, in thus passively allowing their champion and preserver to be slighted and despoiled, may have afforded him reasonable ground of offence, it admits of excuse or even justification. There is no moral obligation more distinctly enjoined in the *Iliad* than obedience to the supreme authority. Amid a full liberty of advice and remonstrance, a respectful deference to the sovereign will of Agamemnon is a duty indirectly, but pointedly, inculcated by the poet, and on all occasions scrupulously fulfilled by the other chiefs.⁴ In the quarrel, whatever its intrinsic merits, the respective position of the litigants imposed on Achilles the duty of moderation, or even submission. To his brothers in arms, therefore, he might naturally appear to have forfeited by his violence much of the advantage derived from the

¹ I. 231.² I. 299.³ xvi. 18.⁴ I. 277., II. 203. sq. 346., IV. 401. sqq. 411. sqq.

justice of his cause. Nor here again has the poet, however sparing of his personal explanations, left us dependant on conjecture. Nestor, who represents the sober judgment of the host, incidentally but distinctly intimates that, however Atrides may have been to blame, Achilles, by his insubordination, had shifted a large portion of the fault from his commander to himself.¹

Course of
the action
after the
secession of
Achilles.

5. After his interview with Thetis, Achilles retires, to nurse in solitude his indignation and hopes of speedy triumph. The preparation for this result supplies materials for the seven succeeding cantos. The poet's concern for the honour of his countrymen required that their disgrace should be brought about slowly and gradually, after a long and valiant struggle for their previous ascendancy. Accordingly, as has been observed by a celebrated critic, "the distress thickens as the poem advances, while everything is so contrived as to aggrandise Achilles, and render him, even when absent, the capital figure." The succeeding battles are enlivened by the introduction of new characters, and by episodes illustrative of the history of the leading heroes.

National
partialities
of Homer.

Among the most striking internal evidences of unity of design in the Iliad, is the expedient by which the poet has guarded lest the disasters of his countrymen should involve any compromise of that superiority, moral and martial, which he throughout ascribes to them over their Trojan adversaries. An anxiety to sustain the character of his own country, is a feeling which might be expected to influence every poet. But that several poets, under the self-imposed necessity of recording the defeat and humi-

¹ Conf. locc. sup. citt.

liation of their ancestors, should resort to the same subtle device for preserving the national honour seems next to impossible. This device consists chiefly in veiling his patriotic sympathies under a general tone of impartiality, or even of occasional favour to the Trojans; while, wherever we are left to judge from facts, the advantage is entirely on the Greek side. The *Iliad* abounds in allusions to the noble defence of their country by the besieged, and to the cruel fate which destined so valiant a race to destruction by a vindictive invader. Our feelings are frequently moved by the touching appeals of the orphan, the widow, and the parent, on their successive bereavements. Yet, as if these images of afflicted patriotism, or oppressive ambition, were not effectually dissipated by the notorious reality that all the distress was but the punishment of crime, all the aggression but a righteous attempt to obtain redress, the Trojans, at the very outset, are made parties to a new act of perjury and assassination. The assault of Pandarus on Menelaus, if it can be reconciled, through the common expedient of ascribing the act to divine instigation, with the poet's principle of exempting the heroes of the *Iliad* from the baser vices, is certainly the nearest approach to a violation of that principle in the poem. It tends, consequently, still further to lower the character of the Dardanian warriors as compared with their Hellenic rivals. Other gross examples of Trojan treachery are episodically cited from the earlier transactions between the two nations.¹ Similar art has been employed in the military parallel of the two. While the courage of the Trojan chiefs is frequent subject of warm eulogy, yet, wherever

¹ xi. 138.

brought into fair personal collision with Greeks of equal rank, they are worsted. Despite the assurance that even Achilles had been known to "turn pale on meeting Hector or Æneas face to face," yet the former of these two heroes not only, when actually brought into collision with Pelides, flies panic-struck, but is repeatedly beaten in single combat by both Ajax and Diomed. The superiority indeed of Diomed to Hector, Æneas, and all other Trojans, wherever the gods do not interpose, is maintained in every encounter. Menelaus defeats Paris, Patroclus Sarpedon. Nowhere is any Greek warrior of rank subjected to humiliating discomfiture. The proudest exploit of Hector, his slaughter and spoliation of Patroclus, is so described as to be conspicuous merely for its ferocity. The Greek hero, after being disabled by Apollo, is mortally wounded by another Trojan, when Hector steps in with the finishing blow, as his butcher rather than conqueror. When the same Hector, guaranteed against personal risk by the assurance of divine protection, challenges the best warrior of the Greek host, he is described in a like ironical spirit as spreading terror through its ranks; yet in a few minutes no less than eight champions come forward, and he only escapes death from the one he engages by the interposition of the heralds. To the ultimate defeat of the Greeks it is required that, besides the secession of Achilles and Patroclus, the flower of their remaining warriors, Agamemnon, Diomed, Ulysses, should be disabled by wounds. The Trojan leaders on the other hand, Hector, Æneas, Sarpedon, Paris, are successively, when vanquished, either preserved from harm by their patron deities, or, if wounded, miraculously cured and restored

to the battle. The successes of the Trojans collectively are throughout described as due to the special agency of the gods; those of the Greeks are often the result of their own valour, even in the face of the same divine influence which, in their own case, is required to paralyse their power of resistance before they can be subjected to defeat. The Trojan leaders never venture on hostile collision with adverse deities; the Greek heroes engage them repeatedly and successfully. Nor do the former ever appear great in calamity, stemming by their solitary valour the adverse tide of war. Numerous instances of this highest order of courage are to be found on the side of the Greeks.

The first day's combat terminates with little positive advantage on either side. This, however, is already a serious decline in the fortunes of the Greeks. "While Achilles fought, the Trojans never ventured from beneath the protection of their city walls."¹ The construction of the rampart during the truce is, therefore, a tribute to his glory at the expense of that of the army, and is claimed as such by himself.² The result of the ensuing disastrous combat is the "Supplication" of Atrides for relief. The hero's triumph was now complete, but not the measure of Agamemnon's punishment or his own satisfaction. It was hardly to be expected that repentance, so evidently originating in mere self-interest, should at once obtain grace. Nor was the resentment of Achilles of that vulgar kind which depends on a balance struck between the amount of insult received and apology offered. The ideal grandeur of his

Obduracy
of Achilles.

¹ IV. 512., et locc. cit. in Ch. v. § 1.

² IX. 352.

character required that no inferior order of influence should have power to bend a resolution he had deliberately formed and pronounced. His anger therefore, when the period arrived for its removal, was not to be appeased, but supplanted by some still more powerful affection. This transition introduces the second act of the great moral drama of the Iliad, where Achilles was to be exhibited under a new class of equally powerful emotions, but tempered by softer ingredients.

Relaxation
of his wrath.
Defects and
advantages
of the crisis.

6. In the conference of the ninth book, there betrays itself, under his apparent obduracy, a lurking regret to abandon his prospects of martial glory, and an anxiety that circumstances might occur, without detriment to his honour, to restore him to the field of battle. As the national distress approaches its climax, symptoms appear of a relaxation of his wrath, in a spirit of compassion for one of its innocent victims.¹ That this first object of his sympathy, the physician Machaon, should combine with his military duties the most beneficent art of peace, can hardly be attributed to accident. Patroclus, deeply moved by the distress of his countrymen, avails himself of this opening to ask and obtain permission to lead forth the Myrmidons to their relief, but on condition of his confining his succour to the delivery of the camp. The mode, however, in which this permission is granted shows that it was not merely a concession to friendship, but extorted partly by the danger which threatened the Myrmidon quarters. For, immediately afterwards, observing the flames rising from the ship which Hector had set on fire, Achilles becomes himself urgent with

¹ XI. 599.

his lieutenant to arm without delay, and undertakes in person the office of marshalling his troops. Powerful as is the interest of this crisis, there is perhaps no portion of the action which affords so fair an opening for censure. The moment being now arrived which Achilles had from the first foreseen might render his interference necessary for the safety of his own ships, why, it may be asked, should he throw upon Patroclus alone the burthen of their protection; exposing his beloved friend, for the gratification of his own obstinate pride, to a risk, the magnitude of which was afterwards so fatally proved? If himself so alarmed as to hurry on the arming of his troops, was he not bound to march forth at their head, rather than maintain at the sole peril of Patroclus a mere shadow of adherence to his purpose? The only apology which occurs is, that a sense of danger was what entered least into the thoughts of a hero when going forth himself, or sending his friend to battle. The predominant feeling of Achilles in such a moment would be, not alarm for the welfare of Patroclus, but envy of the achievements in store for him. Reflexion followed afterwards.

The poetical advantage, on the other hand, of this mode of management is obvious. It was essential to the complete working out of the character of Achilles, that, wherever he was called to act a prominent part, he should appear under some powerful stimulus. Had his return to the ranks been voluntary, as a concession to the prayers or peace-offerings of his fellow-chiefs, his first appearance on the field would have been comparatively tame and insipid: had it been forced from him by the assault on his own quarters, he would have gone forth under

humiliating, almost ludicrous, circumstances; he would, in fact, have been burnt out of his tent, and liable to the taunt of having been caught in the snare he had set for others. Or again, had Patroclus fallen fighting by the side of his chief in the ranks, there would have been little to distinguish his fate from that of other unfortunate warriors, nor, consequently, either motive or apology for those subsequent revulsions of feeling,—grief, shame, remorse,—on the part of Achilles, so indispensable to the fulness of his portrait, or for those ebullitions of vindictive fury against Hector, which give the tone to the whole subsequent action. One more important benefit resulting from this mode of management was, the easy and natural opening it afforded for cordial reconciliation with his fellow chiefs, in the debt of gratitude imposed on him by their gallant fulfilment of his own neglected duty, of stemming the adverse tide of war to rescue the body of his friend.

Character
of Patro-
clus. Its
adaptation
to that of
Achilles.

7. Nowhere, perhaps, has the poet more finely displayed his knowledge of human nature than in the adaptation to each other of the characters of his hero and his hero's friend. Between men of ordinary tempers, attachments are perhaps more easily cemented where there is a near similarity of disposition: but with men of high passions or eccentric minds, the risks of collision are too great to admit of that harmony essential to the maintenance of strong personal friendship. A certain contrast is perhaps, in every case, more favourable to a reciprocal estimate of character than close resemblance. There cannot therefore be a happier selection of the opposite, but not uncongenial qualities which were here to be exhibited in such harmonious conjunction.

Among the varieties of heroic character shadowed forth in the *Iliad*, the virtues for which Patroclus was especially distinguished were, benevolence, tenderness of heart, and amiable manners.¹ This is the disposition which experience shows to be alone or chiefly calculated to secure the affections, or influence the mind, of such a being as Achilles. Yet, even under these favourable conditions, the Thessalian hero's impetuosity of temperament scarcely admitted a very cordial bond of union with an equal. It was necessary therefore that the relation between them, without involving any servile subjection, should partake of that between patron and client, or chieftain and vassal. Menœtius the father of Patroclus was a noble stranger, driven with his only son, by adverse destiny, from his own country, to seek an asylum at the court of Peleus. The young refugee had been educated with Achilles, also an only child, on the mixed footing of companion and dependant. He was the elder of the two, and the influence he had obtained over his youthful patron by his amiable qualities was such, that the last act of Menœtius, on sending him forth to the war², was, in the presence and with the sanction of Peleus, to charge him with the duty of moderating the dangerous ardour of the Myrmidon prince's temper. Friendship indeed were but a feeble term to express the feelings entertained by Achilles towards his beloved comrade, whom he "honoured equal to his own soul." In the hero of the *Iliad*, the tender, like the terrible passions, required to be made up of more than ordinary ingredients; and in the fulness of his affection were thus

¹ XVI. 2 sq., XVII. 671., XIX. 282—300.

² XI. 785.

united, personal respect, fraternal love, and reverence for the will of a parent whom he was destined never again to see.

Revulsion
of feeling.
Grief and
remorse of
Achilles.

8. The companion in arms who occupied the next place to Patroclus in his esteem is selected to convey the fatal intelligence. It is abruptly communicated. Artificial breaking of bad news were little in the spirit of the true heroic minstrelsy. The violence of the transition is more judiciously obviated by representing Achilles, before the arrival of Antilochus, as already foreboding the truth, from certain appearances in the battle as viewed from the rampart.¹ The description of the effect produced by its full announcement is of the last degree of splendour. After the first paroxysms of grief, those reflexions on his late conduct, formerly excluded by the excitement of other passions, press on him with terrific force. The full conviction how recklessly he had exposed his friend, deprived of his protecting arm, to the fury of an enemy appointed as the instrument of his own wrath against the whole Hellenic host, now flashes upon his mind. Now was the time to remember, that, so long as he maintained his purpose of absenting himself from the field, the gods had at his own request decreed victory to Hector, rout and slaughter to the Greeks. No exception had been made in favour of Patroclus. Now was the time to curse that blind indulgence of his selfish pride which had blunted all the more generous affections of his nature. The bitterness of his soul, harassed by these tormenting thoughts, at length finds vent in language, which could anything contribute to ennoble, it would be its having been deemed worthy

¹ XVIII. 6. sqq.

of citation among the last words of Socrates, as transmitted by Plato.¹

No less striking is the transition, in his dialogue with his mother, from remorse to the thirst of vengeance, and of what, amid all his mental vicissitudes, is never lost sight of, fresh glory to be acquired in its exaction. The succeeding scenes are so many new illustrations of other traits of grandeur in his character. His simple appearance on the ramparts, uttering his shout of war, spreads rout and panic through the Trojan host. In his frank reconciliation with Agamemnon his native generosity shines forth unsullied. No studied attempt to maintain dignity or exact terms. Apologies unheeded, gifts disregarded; everything at once forgotten and forgiven. The ensuing books at length exhibit the mighty hero on the field of battle, when Jupiter himself pronounces divine interference necessary to balance the contest; and the gods are despatched in a body, to guard lest the impetuosity of his prowess should violate the decrees of fate by the premature sack of the city.

His ferocious treatment of the corpse of Hector cannot but offend, as referred to the modern standard of humanity. The heroic age however must be judged by its own moral laws. Retributive vengeance on the dead, as well as the living, was a duty inculcated by the religion of those barbarous times, which not only taught that evil inflicted on the author of evil was a solace to the injured man, but made the welfare of the soul after death dependant on the fate of the body from which it had separated. Hence a denial of the rites deemed

Ferocity of
Achilles.

¹ XVIII. 98.; conf. Plat. Ap. Soc. p. 28. D.

essential to the soul's admission into the more favoured regions of the lower world, was a cruel punishment to the wanderer on the dreary shores of the infernal river. The pathetic complaint of the ghost of Patroclus to Achilles, of but a brief postponement of his own obsequies¹, shows how efficacious their refusal to the remains of his destroyer must have been in satiating the thirst of revenge, which, even after death, was supposed to torment the dwellers in Hades. Hence, before yielding up the body of Hector to Priam, Achilles asks pardon of Patroclus for even this partial cession of his just rights of retribution.² The corpse of Patroclus had also, it must be remembered, been insulted, stripped, and mutilated, by this very Hector, and was destined, had it remained in his power, to usage similar to that now inflicted on his own.³ Such being the primitive Pagan law of retributive equity, the extent to which the poet has here called it into action was essential to his conception of the character of Achilles, in whom no affection, amiable or the reverse, could exist but in overpowering excess. The same apology extends to his other outbreaks of vindictive fury; to the slaughter of the twelve human victims on the pile of his friend, and the refusal of quarter to his prisoners. This latter suspension of his usual humane rule of conduct is, also, pointedly ascribed by himself to the obligations of vengeance imposed on him by the fate of Patroclus.⁴

Gentler
features of
his charac-
ter. Inter-
view with
Priam.

9. The funeral games usher in an agreeable change. Soothed by the fulfilment of his duties of mourner, he appears, as director of the festivity, adorned by all the gentler graces of courtesy and humanity, as

xxiii. 69.

² xxiv. 592.³ xvii. 125. sqq.⁴ xxi. 100.

displayed more especially in the marked respect, or even reverence, of his manner towards Agamemnon. His interview with Priam elicits traits of a still nobler order. The obligations both of vengeance and friendship had now been amply satisfied. Patroclus might exult among his companions in the shades, in the glory of his passage from the upper world; and a twelve days' interval had relaxed the intensity of his own feelings. At this juncture, the venerable Priam suddenly appears before him as a suppliant for the body of his son; and the occasion is seized by the poet for placing the keystone to this model of heroic perfection. That stern bosom, lately so inflexible by any influence but its own fierce passions, now melts with pity for an aged parent worn down by domestic and public calamity, and with admiration for the heroism which impelled him, alone, through the dangers of a Myrmidon camp, into the presence of an enemy whose hands were still red with the blood of his children. Yet even here, in the performance of the humanest duties, the darker characteristics of the hero's nature are finely preserved. When Priam, emboldened by his unexpected kindness, having obtained so much more than he had reason to hope, ventures to insist on more than was reasonable to demand, to exact the promised boon on his own terms rather than receive it on those of the donor, both he and we are reminded of the former Achilles, by the terrible though momentary change of tone, in which he warns the trembling old man to beware, while profiting by the generosity of the lion, lest he should rouse its fury.¹

And here we part with Achilles, at the moment

¹ xxiv. 559. sqq.

best calculated to exalt and purify our impression of his character. We had accompanied him through the effervescence, undulations, and final subsidence of his stormy passions. We now leave him in repose, and under the full influence of the more amiable affections: while our admiration of his great qualities is chastened by the reflection, that, within a few short days, the mighty being in whom they were united was himself to be suddenly cut off in the full vigour of their exercise,

“et de tam magno restaret Achille,
Nescio quid, parvam quod non bene compleat urnam.”

The frequent and touching allusions, interspersed throughout the Iliad, to the speedy termination of its hero's course, and the moral on the vanity of human life which they inculcate, are among the finest evidences of the spirit of ethic unity by which the whole framework of the poem is animated.

Moral
scope and
tendency of
the Iliad.

10. This indissoluble connexion between the genius of the entire poem and of its protagonist, while constituting the fundamental characteristic of the Iliad, involves also certain collateral peculiarities in its bond of epic unity, as compared with other standard works of its class. The action of all the remaining more celebrated productions of the epic muse may be described as directed *towards* their main point of interest; that of the Iliad is concentrated *around* it. In the Odyssey the restoration of Ulysses to his home and royal authority, in the Æneid the establishment of the Trojan dominion in Latium, in the Jerusalem the reconquest of the Holy Sepulchre, in the Paradise Lost the fall of our first parents, offer each a distinct historical object, on which the action is from the first steadily advancing, by however

tortuous a course. In the *Iliad* no similar object can be discovered. Although the limits of the action are as clearly marked out as in any of the above cases, yet its progress cannot be said to have in view, nor does its conclusion involve, any distinct historical consummation. The fall of Troy, the grand catastrophe of the whole train of events celebrated in the poem, is extraneous to its own narrative. As little does the reconciliation of the chiefs, or the death of Hector, form its definitive scope. The selection, therefore, of this particular series of events was owing obviously to its moral, rather than its historical importance; to the opportunities it afforded for portraying the great qualities of one extraordinary character, with the conception of which the poet's mind was teeming. The genius of the *Iliad*, consequently, is superior to that by which those other heroic poems are animated, in so far as the mind of man, in all the depth and variety of its passions and affections, is a more interesting object of study than the vicissitudes of human destiny or worldly adventure.

The term Moral, which, owing to the poverty of this branch of our ethical vocabulary, has here been used in its wider sense, to distinguish the inner intellectual design from the external or historical facts of the poem, must not be understood to indicate, as it might according to its more familiar import, any of that formal didactic spirit which frequently pervades the epic compositions of civilised ages. There is nothing of this tendency in the "moral" element of the *Iliad*. But although the main scope of the epic muse is rather to entertain by the description of great events or remarkable characters, than to illustrate speculative ethic doctrines, still, as those

descriptions must more or less act on the moral feelings, it is at least desirable that the impression made should be beneficial rather than mischievous. There is, besides, a natural aversion in the human mind to contemplate evil triumphant and virtue degraded, which renders such exhibitions offensive to the taste as well as the understanding, and in so far injurious to the poetical as well as the ethic spirit of works of imagination. In respect to this just amount of didactic propriety, the *Iliad*, both in the general scheme and the details of its action, well sustains its superiority of character. Each of the actors in the ruling transaction of the poem, Achilles and Agamemnon, are in their respective mode and degree in the wrong. Each is reduced, by the disasters consequent on his error, to bitter repentance and humiliation. The treachery of Pandarus is the immediate cause of his own death. He is the first hero of note slain in the engagement which it was the special object of that treachery to bring on. Of the two great nations engaged in the war, the Greeks were the hostile invaders; but their cause is based on justice, and we therefore readily sympathise with the poet's anticipation of their ultimate success. On the other hand, amid our concern for the cruel fate of the amiable Hector, and the grief of his desolate family, the reflexion that they are all more or less accomplices in the outrages of Paris and Pandarus, forces us to acknowledge the hand of retributive justice in the infliction of the scourge. Helen is represented as unhappy in her adulterous state, often brooding mournfully over the past¹, and exposed to mortification and slight even from her paramour's

¹ III. 139. 173., VI. 345. sqq., XXIV. 764.

kinsfolk.¹ Paris himself is exhibited as an object of dislike and contempt, both to his own countrymen and the Greeks; and although he escapes death by the hand of Menelaus, we are warned that his final punishment is at hand.

This excellence of Homer will appear the more remarkable, as contrasted with the striking inferiority of his most distinguished successor in regard to the same important feature, amid the full light of ethic science and philosophy. The hero of the *Æneid* is held up by its author as a model of piety and virtue. But how sadly do we miss that harmony between the dramatic and the descriptive elements of the poem, so beautifully maintained in the *Iliad*! In all the principal transactions in which *Æneas* is engaged, his real character and conduct are in open conflict with Virgil's description. In his connexion with Dido, if he be supposed to have had no ulterior object in view, he must be condemned as a heartless sensualist. If, as the poet implies, that connexion was formed under the faith of a virtual marriage, he becomes a perjured adulterer; while his cold solemn indifference to the misery caused by his cruel and ungrateful treatment of an amiable and confiding female is odious in the last degree. His invasion of Italy is an act of open usurpation and outrage. His arrival on the coast spreads discord and bloodshed among the previously happy tribes of that country. A father forces his daughter to violate her plighted troth, a mother is driven to suicide by the evils accumulated on her family and nation. All our partialities ought to be on the side, not of the hero whose cause we are called on to espouse, and which

Contrast of
the *Æneid*.

¹ XXIV. 768. sqq.

is crowned with success, but on that of his adversary. The only palliation which can be suggested for these moral blemishes of the *Æneid*, the divine authority under which the hero acts, tends, if rightly estimated, but to aggravate the offence, by exhibiting not only weak humanity, but the Deity himself as the patron of injustice and oppression.

Amplification of the subject.

11. Next to these higher features of poetical excellence in the composition of the *Iliad*, the property which demands attention is, the equable perspicuity of its narrative. It is perhaps the only epic poem of great length and variety of adventure, which can be read through without the consciousness of any such breaks or interruptions of the natural course of events, as to require, from time to time, a certain effort to revive impressions of former transactions, requisite to the full understanding of those in which we are engaged. The action pursues one continuous course, unentangled by either side plots, anticipations, or retrospective narratives, involving abrupt transitions from one branch of subject to another. In the *Odyssey*, a work of less dignified order, the poet has followed a different method, and apparently sought to increase its interest by the same multiplicity of events and complexity of arrangement which he avoids in the *Iliad*. The example of the former work has been preferred by his successors, none of whom have aspired to the more simple concentrated unity which distinguishes his great masterpiece. Such scantiness however of fundamental materials, required, in order to secure variety and spirit to the narrative, a proportional richness in that subordinate class of incident or descriptive detail which may be comprehended under the general term of Amplifi-

cation. This subsidiary element of the action may here be considered as of two kinds, the first of which consists in the mere extension of the general narrative of the poem; the second is that peculiar species of accessory matter familiarly termed Episode.

The epic poet of Homer's day was also the popular historian. His duty was to embody the events he celebrated in such a form as should secure them a permanent hold on the national sympathies. One effective mode, therefore, of varying the course of a naturally limited subject would be, to replenish it with collateral notices of men or events of personal interest to the audience. Such is the catalogue of forces, offering a concise summary of Greek geography and family history. Such are the genealogies, and tales of old heroic exploit, interspersed here and there as opportunity occurred. Hence too the number and duration of the battles, securing to so many different heroes a prominent share in the achievements of this great national war.

As a general rule, these excursions tend as much to adorn as to vary the narrative. At times however it must be allowed that the poet on such occasions, according to the familiar proverb, inclines to slumber, and wanders into trivialities of action or dialogue well calculated to produce a similar disposition on the part of his readers. As an example may be adduced the long colloquy of Idomeneus, first with the god Neptune afterwards with his own esquire Meriones¹, explaining the motives which had induced those two Cretan heroes temporarily to quit the field, and describing the quantity and proper disposal of the arms and accoutrements stored up in

¹ XIII. 219. sq.

their quarters. The oratory of Nestor, the poet's favourite mouthpiece of heroic tradition, though always in good keeping with his character, is also perhaps at times unduly discursive.

Episodes.
Definition
of the term.

The foregoing examples belong chiefly to the class of amplification above characterised as the extension of the general course of the narrative. The most important class however is that comprised under the head of Episode. This term in the old critical vocabulary had a wider import than now familiarly attaches to it. Aristotle¹ seems to extend it to every species of circumstantial detail beyond the fundamental facts of the story, in his well known definition of the action of the *Odyssey*: "A man, after having been many years absent from his home, a solitary wanderer and persecuted by Neptune, while his goods are plundered and his family oppressed by his wife's suitors, at length returns, alone and in distressed condition; when discovering himself to a few friends, he succeeds, with their aid, and without personal loss or damage, in destroying his enemies. This forms the proper subject of the poem, the remainder is but episode." According to this definition the phrase would comprehend a large portion of every epic poem, and of the *Iliad* more especially. It will here be taken in the more limited signification which it usually bears in the language of modern criticism, as applicable to such portions of the text as could not only be omitted without a serious breach of continuity in the principal action, but themselves possess such a subordinate degree of integrity, that, if recited alone, they would constitute a more or less distinct body of epic narrative. The

¹ De Art. Poet. xviii.

most important episodes of this class in the *Iliad* are: the visit of Hector to Troy in the sixth book; the Dolonea, or midnight expedition of Ulysses and Diomed, in the tenth; the description of the Shield of Achilles; the Funeral Games; the dialogues between Priam and Helen in the third book, Diomed and Glaucus in the sixth, and Æneas and Achilles in the twenty-first.

12. Episodes, in this narrower sense, admit of a further distinction of character, founded on their greater or less coherence with the principal subject. The Dolonea, for example, and the Funeral Games, though not indispensable, are continuous portions of the main narrative; the address of Glaucus to Diomed, and of Æneas to Achilles, are occupied with matter altogether extraneous to it. The episodes of this latter class in the *Iliad* are comparatively brief. Here we have another proof of the poet's judgment. The fundamental law for the use of all such accessaries is, that they should offer no unseasonable interruption to the main subject. Their length therefore should, as a general rule, be regulated by their degree of connexion with it. Wherever they seriously divert attention from it, they cannot with propriety be so freely prolonged, as when they merely extend and vary its natural course.

Character-
istics of
Homer's
episodes.

The poet's method of introducing his episodes, also illustrates in a curious manner his tact in the dramatic department of his art. Where, for example, one or more heroes are despatched on some commission, to be executed at a certain distance of time or place, the fulfilment of their task is not, as a general rule, immediately described. A certain interval is allowed them for reaching the appointed scene of action,

which interval is dramatised, as it were, either by a temporary continuation of the previous narrative, or by fixing attention for a while on some new transaction, at the close of which the further account of the mission is resumed. The examples of this mode of management, which extends also to other portions of the text besides episodes in the proper sense, offer, in the closeness of their parallel, no unimportant evidence of unity of workmanship. In the heat of the battle called the "Prowess of Diomed," Hector is sent by the seer Helenus with instructions to the Trojan matrons to propitiate the aid of Minerva. He sets out for the city, and the interval necessary for his journey was to be made good. The description of the battle might for this purpose have been continued. In this way however, owing to the sameness of the occurrences, we should have remained comparatively stationary. As a more effectual mode of preventing time from standing still, the hero whose valour was the cause of the mission, is engaged in a new variety of chivalrous adventure, supplying one of the most interesting pieces of family history in the whole cycle of Hellenic tradition.¹ At the conclusion of the tale we rejoin Hector, already arrived at the gate of the city.

On the mission of the heralds for Priam, to ratify the conditions of single combat between Paris and Menelaus, the interval is similarly made good by the dialogue on the city walls, an episode of nearly as distinct character as the dialogue between Diomed and Glaucus.

In the first book Ulysses, having been appointed to restore Chryseïs to her father, prepares his vessel

¹ vi. 119. sqq.

and crew, and sets sail. The poet then leaves him to pursue his voyage, resumes for a while the affairs of the camp, and then, rejoining him already arrived at Chrysa, completes the account of the mission.

In the seventeenth book Antilochus is despatched from the field of battle to the camp, to announce the death of Patroclus to Achilles. The adventures of the battle are then continued to the conclusion of the canto, and at the commencement of the next the messenger is found already at the tent of the Myrmidon chief.

In the eighteenth book, Thetis, after promising to procure from Vulcan a new suit of armour for her son, is dismissed on her journey to Olympus. The poet then reverts to the transactions of the camp, and, after a proper interval, rejoins Thetis at the residence of the god.

The concise simplicity of the terms in which the subject, in each case, is relinquished or resumed, gives additional point to the parallel :

VI. 116. ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ . . .

⁸⁹⁹ Episode of Diomed and Glaucus during 121 lines.

237. Ἑκτωρ δ' ὡς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανε.

III. 116. Ἑκτωρ δὲ προτὶ ἄστυ δῶα κήρυκας ἔπεμπε . . .

⁸⁹⁹ Episode of Priam and Helen during 129 lines.

245. κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν φέρον ὄρκια πιστά.

I. 312. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὕγρα κέλευθα . .

Transactions in the camp during 118 lines.

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς

430. ἐς Χρῦσην ἵκανε ἄγων ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην.

XVII. 700. τὸν μὲν δακρυχέοντα πόδες φέρον ἐκ πολέμοιο . . .

Continuation of combat during 63 lines.

xxviii. 2. Ἀντίλοχος δ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ πόδας ταχὺς ἄγγελος
ἦλθεν.

148. τὴν μὲν ἄρ' Οὐλυμπόνδε πόδες φέρον . . .

Transactions in the camp during 220 lines.

369. Ἡφαιστου δ' ἴκανε δόμον Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα.¹

The Odyssey² contains examples of the same method: but as, in that poem, the principal adventures are more numerous, and the scene more widely shifted in the natural course of the action, the dramatic effect is less remarkable.

Contrast of
Virgil.

13. Of episodes standing in closer connexion with the main subject, the chief requisites are that they should be suggested by the natural train of the narrative, and not rudely interrupt any important crisis of the principal action. With these conditions, they may, without detriment to epic unity, be prolonged to a far greater extent than those of the other more independant class. The longest episodes of this description in the Iliad are the "Dolonea" (expedition of Diomed and Ulysses), and the Funeral Games. The excellence of the Greek poet's art will here best appear from a comparison with parallel cases in the most admired epic poem of after ages. It has been already remarked, how naturally the midnight undertaking of the two Greek warriors suggested itself to the mind of a patriotic bard, to relieve a gloomy interval and cheer the drooping spirits of their countrymen. In the parallel episode of Nisus and Euryalus in the Æneid³, whatever the individual merits of its composition, the servility of the imitation is unrelieved by any such epic pro-

¹ Conf. xv. 405., xvi. 1.

² xvi. 341—452.

³ ix. 167.

priety. It not only forces unexpectedly into primary importance two hitherto unknown personages, but engages them in an adventure as devoid of all influence on the general action as abortive in its own object. Attention has also above been drawn to the poetical propriety, or even necessity, of the funeral honours bestowed by Achilles on Patroclus. The fulfilment of this sacred duty had, ever since the death of his friend, been among the thoughts uppermost in the hero's mind. It had been solemnly promised to the shade of Patroclus in their midnight interview. Here too nothing is interrupted or interfered with. Victory was restored to the Grecian arms. The Trojans were confined trembling within their city walls. The entire action was lodged in gloomy suspense in the hands of Achilles, for the express object of condensing our whole interest on the burning pile of his friend. In the borrowed episode of the *Æneid*¹, the violation of all the rules of propriety is as palpable as their observance in the *Iliad*. *Æneas*, released from the obstacles interposed by Dido to his expedition, sails under divine auspices direct for Italy. But, while we are anxiously looking for his arrival at this all important scene of the main action, a storm is suddenly raised and drives him back to Sicily; and for what purpose? To perform the obsequies of Anchises, who had died there a year before on the previous passage of the fleet. This most important duty had, therefore, been neglected at the proper time by his "pious" son, to whom it would, even now, never have occurred but for the accident of the storm. There could hardly be a more unseasonable interruption of the main stream

¹ Book v.

of the narrative, or a less justifiable addition to the author's stock of plagiarisms from his Hellenic original. These remarks apply, with even greater force, to the other pair of parallel episodes in the two poems, descriptive of the armour presented to the hero of each by their respective mothers. The arms of Achilles, the gift of the gods to his father, had been lost, ignominiously stripped from the corpse of Patroclus by Hector. This was the event which, next to the death of his friend, most deeply affected the hero, while it also deprived him of the power of exacting vengeance till the deficiency was supplied. Thetis therefore most opportunely steps in to procure him another suit; and of this occasion the poet avails himself to introduce a masterpiece of brilliant description. In the *Æneid*¹, the hero has lost no arms. He is still in possession of those with which he had engaged Achilles on the field of Troy, and cut his way through the Greek host on the last fatal night of the city, and which were therefore surely equal to cope with Turnus on the banks of the Tiber. There is consequently no pretext whatever for his mother's officious proposal to procure him a fresh suit. The impropriety and superfluity of this excrescence on the correct and elaborate *Æneid* have been, strange to say, contrasted with the aptness and elegance of the "Shield of Achilles," by the same critics² who are most strenuous in stigmatising that beautiful episode as a spurious supplement, on the ground of its incongruity with the main action of the *Iliad*.

¹ viii. 370.

² Heyn. not. et Excurs. ad loc. ; conf. Observ. ad II. vol. vii. p. 518. sq.

CHAP. VII.

HOMER. CHARACTERS OF THE ILIAD.

1. SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF ACHILLES.—2. HIS ORATORY. DEPUTATION OF AGAMEMNON.—3. CONSISTENCY IN THE DETAILS OF HOMER'S DELINEATION.—4. CHARACTER OF AGAMEMNON.—5. HIS ORATORY. ATÆ.—6. CHARACTER OF DIOMED.—7. HIS ORATORY.—8. CHARACTER OF MENELAUS. PARALLEL OF THE ODYSSEY.—9. CHARACTER OF NESTOR.—10. HIS ORATORY.—11. CHARACTER OF AJAX.—12. HIS ORATORY.—13. DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF GREEK AND TROJAN NATIONAL CHARACTER.—14. CHARACTER OF PRIAM. ITS DEFECTS.—15. ITS VIRTUES.—16. CHARACTER OF HECTOR.—17. HIS ORATORY.—18. CHARACTER OF ÆNEAS.—19. CHARACTER OF HECUBA. FUNERAL DIRGE OF HECTOR.—20. CHARACTERS OF PARIS AND HELEN.

1. CONSISTENTLY with the general plan of this analysis the object of the present chapter is twofold; to illustrate the characters of the Iliad, and, through them, the origin of the work in which they are delineated. It is proposed therefore first to offer a concise sketch of the character of each hero, as exhibited in his general conduct, and then to trace its nicer traits of individuality in the dramatic details by which it is shadowed forth.

Supplementary remarks on the character of Achilles.

The heroes who present themselves as chief objects of attention are, on the side of the Greeks, Achilles, Agamemnon, Diomed, Ulysses, Menelaus, Nestor, Ajax; on that of the Trojans, Priam, Hector, Æneas, Paris, with the three heroines, Hecuba, Andromache, Helen.

The general view of the character of Achilles has, for reasons already explained, been embodied in the previous chapter. Among the finer traits of the

portrait, attention will here be chiefly directed to those specimens of his poetical oratory in which the vicissitudes of his mental emotions are most powerfully and graphically displayed. The difficulty which must always attend the efforts of the literary critic to convey to others his own impressions of the more delicate features of peculiarity in the creations of original genius, is greatly relieved in the case of Homer, by the graphic spirit and precision of the touches by which those features are delineated. The eloquence of Achilles is not a mere general expression of ideal heroism. It identifies itself by certain distinct and tangible marks, as the oratory of the one individual Achilles, placed in his mouth by the one individual Homer. The same generosity, the same haughty pride, impetuous ardour, and wayward excitability, already traced in the vicissitudes of his conduct, find vent in equally wayward, often almost incoherent, bursts of eloquence; in abrupt transitions from calm to storm, from tenderness to wrath, bespeaking the corresponding struggles of resentment, remorse, love, hatred, grief, or compassion, in his bosom. Much also of the effect here, as in the poet's other more striking portraits, depends on his management of that peculiar species of epic mechanism which, for want of a better title, may be comprised under the general head of "Homeric commonplace;" where, often unconsciously, but sometimes with evident design, certain emphatic modes of expression are reproduced, the better to mark, or stereotype as it were, corresponding modes of thought or action. This important element of Homer's art will hereafter be more closely considered in treating of his style. Its general nature and value will, however,

sufficiently appear from the examples about to be adduced.

2. It is in his address to Agamemnon's deputation, in the ninth book, that the genius of the hero's eloquence is most vividly displayed. This whole debate is indeed a wonderful specimen of rhetorical as well as poetical power, perhaps the highest effort of Homer's dramatic art. The order and dignity with which it is conducted, the happy allotment to each speaker of his own characteristic tone and style, and the skill with which their respective resources of natural oratory are brought to bear on the momentous question at issue, are all equally admirable. The harangue of Ulysses is distinguished by the persuasive eloquence of the sage, the courtier, and the practised pleader; that of Phœnix is the touching, but somewhat diffuse appeal of the antient guardian to his beloved pupil; while Ajax steps in at the close, cutting short the fruitless negotiation by a blunt expression of sullen resentment at the stern unforgiving temper of their host. The address of Achilles himself is one continued struggle of a proud spirit, to preserve calmness amid a fierce conflict of passions. So long as the train of his discourse is confined to explanation of his own conduct, it maintains a comparatively equable tenor: but no sooner does it involve any closer allusion to the author of his wrong, than his indignation effervesces into sallies of virulent, almost bewildered invective. It is this mixture of calmness and impetuosity, of haughty self-command and fervid agitation, which gives the tone to the whole speech, subdividing it, by successive bursts of excited feeling, into clauses or paragraphs, which, rising in pathos to a sort of climax, again subside into more placid mood, until a fresh recurrence of the former stimulus.

His oratory.
Deputation
of Agamem-
non.

The deputation is received courteously, even affectionately : but neither friendship for its members, nor the abject submission of Agamemnon, can bend the sternness of the hero's purpose. Ulysses, the chief spokesman of the party, obtains a patient hearing. Achilles then, after a gentle taunt at the studied grace of the Ithacan chief's oratory, declares his own intention to speak his mind bluntly and openly, in two remarkable lines which passed into a proverb against every species of duplicity or artifice : 312.

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀῖδαο πύλῃσιν,
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.

As he passes on to stigmatise the weakness and iniquity of Agamemnon's rule, his language becomes agitated to incoherence : 316.

ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν,
μάρνασθαι δηϊοσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμέδς αἰεὶ·
ἴση μοῖρα μένοντι καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζοι·
ἐν δὲ ἰγ' τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἦδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός·
κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὃ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅτε πολλὰ ἐοργῶς. . .

He next recapitulates, in a more tranquil strain of honest satisfaction, his own disinterested services to the common cause, contrasting them with the eagerness of his laggard commander to appropriate their fruits, under the figure of a parent bird, which fares ill and stints herself in her efforts to provide for her helpless nestlings : 323.

ὥς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῇσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσι
μάστακ' ἐπεὶ κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ,
ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ . . .

This simile offers a fine example of another power-

ful weapon of Homer's poetical rhetoric, the Onomatopœia, or adaptation of the sound of words to their sense. The emphatic expression of scorn in the figure, consists greatly in the succession of low sibilant or lispingsyllables in its more prominent metrical cadences.

As the train of ideas again touches on sorer points, the hero's wrath finds vent in a series of abrupt interrogatories, wound up to an electrifying climax of withering sarcasm: 335.

ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου Ἀχαιῶν
 εἴλετ', ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα· τῇ παριαύων
 τερπέσθω! τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσσι
 Ἀργείους; τί δὲ λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' ἀγείρας
 Ἀτρεΐδης; ἢ οὐχ' Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠϋκόμοιο;
 ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
 Ἀτρεΐδαι;

His injunction to the negotiators faithfully to report his answer to their employer, "who had not dared himself to appear in his presence," brings on another still fiercer sally of broken invective, terminating in a scornful dismissal from his thoughts of so contemptible an object: 372.

αἰὲν ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος!
 οὐδ' ἂν ἔτ' αὖτις
 ἔξαπάφοιτ' ἐπέεσσιν· ἄλιν δέ οἱ! ἀλλὰ ἔκηνος
 ἐρρέτω· ἐκ γὰρ εὖ φρένας εἴλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.

From this point his language, resuming and maintaining to the close a more sober and placid tone, is seasoned with moral reflexions on the vanity of life its duration and pursuits, and with allusions to the special fatality of his own destiny, all marked by a simple and impressive melancholy. His final decla-

ration to abide by his previous resolve is couched in calm and friendly, but peremptory terms.

With the above series of passages may be collated his dialogue with Patroclus in the sixteenth book.¹ The same characteristics of his eloquence are there reproduced, in strikingly parallel forms, in the torrent of broken sentences with which he passes in review the disasters of the army, the circumstances of its defeat, the need of his succour, the speedy change it would produce, the folly and shame of Agamemnon, his own triumph. . . . 67.

οἱ δὲ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης
κεκλίεται, χάρης ὀλίγην ἔτι μοῖραν ἔχοντες,
'Αργεῖοι· Τρώων δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ πᾶσα βέβηκε
θάρσυνος· οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσσοις μέταπον
ἐγγύθι λαμπομένης· τάχα κεν φεύγοντες ἐναύλους
πλήσειαν νεκύων. . . .

Consistency
in the de-
tails of
Homer's
delineation.

3. Leaving the reader to trace for himself, in the other transactions where Achilles takes the lead, the same consistent adaptation of his oratory to his character, we shall close these extracts with a series of parallel passages, evincing in a singularly pointed

¹ Were we disposed to condemn any portion of the Iliad as rhapsodical interpolation, on the mere ground, in most instances so fallacious, of discrepancy of fact, it would probably be vv. 84—86. of this otherwise brilliant passage. They are not only, in their literal sense, inconsistent with the transactions in B. ix., but, in the existing context, quite unmeaning. For what conceivable reason was there why the Greeks should be willing to restore Briseis after the relief of the camp by Patroclus, if they had not been willing to purchase the same relief by the same concession in their previous desperate extremity? Strike out these three lines, and vv. 83. and 87. are in perfect harmony. Here again, it seems probable that some primitive rhapsodist, chiefly conversant with this subdivision of the poem, has thought fit to complete his own idea of the hero's present position, by adding the three senseless lines in question.

manner the systematic, though probably unconscious unity, with which the poet is wont to individualise his portraits. The texts in question are, where the hero, when tempted to enlarge on any sore subject, such as his own injuries, errors, griefs, suddenly breaks off and dismisses it, as if fearful of being betrayed into some exhibition of unmanly or querulous irritation. According to the courtesy of Homeric art already referred to, this abrupt dropping of the subject is expressed by the same or a closely similar form of words, recurring in each case in so easy and spontaneous a manner, that they have never attracted the attention of a single critic, in illustration of the genius either of the hero or of the poem. The first example is from his address to Patroclus, vindicating his conduct against the charge of unreasonable implacability: XVI. 52.

ἀλλὰ τὸδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει· . .
 κούρην, ἣν ἄρα μοι γέρας ἔξελον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, . . .
 τὴν ἂψ ἐκ χειρῶν ἔλετο κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων . . .
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν. . .

The next is from his dialogue with Thetis, when agonised by remorse: XVIII. 107.

ὥς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο,
 καὶ χόλος, ὃς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι, .
 ὥς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐχόλωσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων. . .
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί
 περ,
 θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον δαμάσαντες ἀνάγκη.

A third is in his reconciliation with Agamemnon: XIX. 56.

Ἀτρεΐδην, ἣ ἄρ τι τὸδ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἄρειον
 ἔπλετο, σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτε νῶϊ περ ἀχνυμένω κῆρ

θυμοβόρῳ ἔριδι μενεήναμεν εἵνεκα κούρης. . . .
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμε-
 νοί περ,

θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον δαμάσαντες ἀνάγκη.

A fourth is in his consolatory address to Priam:

XXIV. 519.

πῶς ἔτλης ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθέμεν οἶος
 ἀνδρὸς ἐς ὀφθαλμούς, ὅς τοι πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς
 υἷεας ἐξενάριξα; σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ!
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ κατ' ἄρ' ἔζευ ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης
 ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν, ἀχνύμενοί περ. .

Not only is this expressive formula appropriated, under its several varieties, throughout the twenty-four books of the Iliad, to Achilles alone, but the untranslatable phrase *προτετύχθαι*, in which its value so greatly consists, is limited to the above passages alone, in the poet's works or in the Greek language.

Similar in spirit is the scornful interruption of his invective against Agamemnon in the text already quoted: IX. 376.

ἄλῃς δέ οἱ! ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
 ἐρρέτω· ἐκ γὰρ εὖ φρένας, κ.τ.λ.¹

Attention must also be directed to the consistent propriety of the imagery employed in the embellish-

¹ Further illustration of Homer's deep insight into human nature, and of his fine tact in exhibiting in words the waywardness of a proud but generous temper, may be derived from the parallel of a late illustrious British poet, among whose eccentricities this same haughty petulance was one of the most conspicuous. The works of Byron, where involving allusion to the vicissitudes of his own destiny, offer examples of this abrupt dismissal of sore subjects, so similar, both in spirit and expression, to the passages above cited, as almost to appear paraphrases of the words of Achilles. See Childe Harold, canto iv. stanzas 7. 52. 133. 164.; conf. III. 46.

ment of the hero's portrait. Recourse has here been had alone or chiefly to the higher phenomena of the heavens, and other grand or terrible objects. His sudden appearance, alone and unarmed, on the rampart, routing the Trojans by his simple war shout, is compared, in one of the finest descriptions of the poem, to a column of smoke ascending from a beacon fire, lighted as a signal of distress on a distant island assailed by hostile fleets : XVIII. 205.

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε διὰ θεάων
 χρύσειον, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαΐε φλόγα παμφανόωσαν.
 ὥς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄστεος αἰθέρ' ἵκηται,¹
 τηλόθεν ἐκ νήσου τὴν δῆϊοι ἀμφιμάχονται, . . .
 ὥς ἀπ' Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῆς σέλας αἰθέρ' ἵκανεν.

Similar is the comparison of the terror which his appearance on the field spreads through the Trojan lines, to the smoke of a burning city. The parallel between the two texts is here as remarkable in the expression as in the spirit : XXI. 522.

ὥς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν ἰκάνει
 ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο. . . .

As seen by Priam, hot in pursuit of Hector and the

¹ For this verse Wolf would prefer the reading transmitted by an old commentator, as approved by Aristarchus :

Ὡς δ' ὅτε πῦρ ἐπὶ πόντον ἀριπρεπὲς αἰθέρ' ἵκηται.

The change, even in the face of so high authority, must be pronounced fatal to the value of the passage. It would not only exclude one of the noblest parts of the figure, but destroy the aptness of the simile. Pallas had enveloped the hero's head in a cloud, beautifully figured by the beacon column of smoke, out of which the flame rises. In the reading of Aristarchus the cloud disappears altogether. The metre in the genuine text is also, according to Homer's custom, finely adapted by its sonorous roundness to the grandeur of the object described, a merit to which the hurried succession of dactyls in the proposed alteration has no claim whatever.

routed Trojan host, his destructive ardour and the splendour of his appearance are jointly illustrated, in a passage of singular beauty, by the brilliant but noxious dogstar.¹ On other occasions the lustre of his person, on going forth fully equipped to battle, is likened to that of the rising sun.

Of the circumstances which unite to make up the sublimity of the *Iliad*, one of the most effective is the vicinity of the scene of action to the sea. In no case has the poet turned this advantage to happier account, than in the connexion established between that grandest of natural objects and the grandest of his own creations. Achilles, after his altercation with Atrides, retiring to nurse his indignation in solitude, "sits alone on the beach, looking across the dark blue sea."² The sea-shore is the scene of his touching interview with the shade of his friend³, when, after wandering restless the night long mourning his bereavement, he lies down oppressed with fatigue, and slumbers on the beach. In the ensuing solemn dedication to Patroclus of the locks formerly destined for his native river Spercheüs, he utters his vow, "looking across the dark blue ocean."⁴ Again when, after his revenge is satiated, grief and remorse once more predominate in his breast, starting from his troubled sleep he wanders disconsolate on the shore.⁵ His summons to the winds to hasten across the Thracian sea, and fan the sluggish flame of the funeral pile of his friend, while he watches the midnight progress of the consuming element, is another sublime trait of mythological imagery.⁶

¹ xxii. 26.² i. 349.³ xxiii. 59.⁴ xxiii. 143.⁵ xxiv. 12.⁶ xxiii. 192. sqq.

The illustrations with which he seasons his own eloquence are marked by the same features of dignity and solemnity. Those of the historical class more especially, are derived from objects of deep national interest or of remote mythical antiquity. Such are, in his address to Agamemnon's deputation, the allusions to the power, wealth, and splendour of the Egyptian Thebes, the Pythian sanctuary, or the Minyea Orchomenus; such, on other occasions, his appeals to the dreary but venerable Pelagic shrine of Dodona¹; to the war in heaven, the hundred-handed Briareus², and to the melancholy and mysterious fate of Niobe and her children.³

AGAMEMNON.

4. The character of Agamemnon, inferior as it is both in moral and poetical dignity, affords a no less signal example of the poet's skill in this department of his art than the ideal excellence of Achilles. The chief of the Pelopidæ belongs to that not uncommon class of persons in whom good and evil, strength and weakness, are so curiously blended, that their conduct seems to depend, as much or more on the external influences to which they may be exposed, than on their own judgement. Chief of the most powerful family of Hellenic princes, and commander of the confederate force in a great national enterprise; of royal presence, valiant, and skilled in the art of war, he possessed many of the requisites for the fulfilment of his high duties. A patriotic anxiety for the welfare of his army is also habitually uppermost in his breast. But without firmness of purpose or steady principle, easily elated by good or cast down by

Character
of Agamemnon.

¹ XVI. 233.² I. 396. sqq.³ XXIV. 602. sqq.

adverse fortune, he is misled by the caprice of either state of mind into actions, the folly or wickedness of which, on the first revulsion of feeling, he is himself the foremost to acknowledge and lament.

At the commencement of the poem, the extremity to which Troy was reduced, with the subjection of the surrounding country, placed him in the position of a conqueror at the head of a victorious army. In the transactions of the first book accordingly, he appears a vain-glorious man, deaf to every consideration but his own personal dignity and enjoyment. Hence his outrageous treatment of the venerable priest and afflicted parent, and his unmanly attack on the augur Calchas, each for presuming to interfere with his objects of sensual indulgence. In the subsequent altercation with Achilles, whatever his defects of temper or policy, there is, as has been seen, much to palliate or even justify his conduct. In the sequel, acting under the authority of Jupiter, he convenes his councils, and prepares for the renewal of hostilities, with becoming dignity: but on the unexpected result of his trial of the temper of his troops, he is bewildered and powerless; and to prevent the complete disorganisation of the host required the energy and presence of mind of Ulysses. In the field, down to the disastrous termination of the second great battle, his bearing is that of the brave and experienced general: but with his rapid reverse of fortune despair as rapidly succeeds to confidence. During the afflicting scenes that follow, our sympathy with his patriotic anxiety for the national weal is more than counterbalanced by contempt for his abject humiliation to the lately contemned Myrmidon chief, and for his

dastardly proposal of flight, checked by the spirited remonstrance of Diomed.¹

5. The oratory of Agamemnon is replete, like that of Achilles, with idiomatic touches vividly expressive of his dominant peculiarities. The folly of his first childish ebullition of offended royalty against the prophet Calchas, for simply declaring the cause of the pestilence, stands self-convicted by his own subsequent admission that the augur was right, implied in his offer to deliver up the damsel. Like the pampered patient, he swallows the nauseous drug but vents his rage on the vial that contained it. Nor can there be a livelier picture of the effect of a desperate reverse of fortune on the mind of a vacillating and desponding commander, than his conversation with Nestor on the night after his first defeat: x. 91.

His oratory.
Atē.

πλάζομαι ὧδ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἐπ' ὄμμασι νήδυμος ὕπνος
 ἰζάνει, ἀλλὰ μέλει πόλεμος καὶ κῆδ' Ἀχαιῶν.
 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδεΐδια· οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ
 ἔμπεδον· ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω
 στηθέων ἐκθρώσκει· τρομέει δ' ὕπο φαίδιμα γυῖα.

Here however, as in the case of Achilles, the most striking illustration of unity of poetical conception consists in a series of parallel passages, offering similar evidence of Homer's peculiar mode of employing the mechanical element of his art to individualise the portraits of his heroes. Agamemnon has just been described as a man not devoid of talent or generosity, but of ill-regulated mind, liable to be hurried by the impulse of the moment into actions, to the folly or crime of which he is keenly alive in hours of reflexion and repentance. This joint as-

¹ ix. 27. sqq.

cendancy of the weak and wicked element of our nature is expressed in Homer's vocabulary by the term *Atë*, and personified under that title as a female deity. The phrase denotes, in its narrower sense, Evil or Sin, combined with mental delusion, but admits of a variety of significations, according to the degree in which those fundamental ideas may be modified. Sometimes it indicates calamity produced by crime or folly; sometimes vice or delusion without reference to their consequences. As a member of the poetical Pantheon, *Atë* is the Evil genius, satan, or tempter, by whom men, or even gods, are seduced into actions involving future shame and remorse. She is, in fact, a type of the prominent failing of Agamemnon's character. Accordingly, out of about thirty occasions in which the term occurs in the *Iliad*, it has been used no less than twenty-four with especial reference to his conduct, while of the remaining examples it has been but rarely, and quite incidentally, connected with the name of any other person or object.¹ The greater proportion of cases are in the hero's own appeals to the power of the demon in palliation of his errors, according to the practice, so familiar with Homer's warriors, of fastening the blame of their own misconduct on their objects of ~~superstitious~~ worship.

¹ In connexion with Agamemnon or his affairs, the phrase occurs as a noun, in *L.* 412., *II.* 111., *VIII.* 237., *IX.* 18. 115. 504, 505. 512., *XVI.* 274., *XIX.* 88. 91. 126. 129. 136. 270.: as a verb, in *VIII.* 237., *IX.* 116. 119., *XIX.* 91. 95. 113. 129. 136. In the remaining examples it is used, twice with reference to the rash valour of Patroclus, *XVI.* 685. 805., as the cause of his death; once in each case respectively, to characterise the folly, delusion, or vice, of five other persons: Helen, *VI.* 356.; Paris, *XXIV.* 28.; Phoenix, *IX.* 537.; Dolon, *X.* 391.; Agastrophus, *XI.* 340.; and once in a general sense, *XXIV.* 480.

The first example is in the supplication of Achilles to his mother to intercede with Jove to avenge his cause, in order "that Agamemnon may be made to rue:" I. 412.

ἦν ἄτην ὅτ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισεν.

These lines again occur in the address of Patroclus to the Myrmidons in the sixteenth book.

In his own harangue to the host, immediately after the quarrel, Atrides attributes the delayed fulfilment of his hopes to the combined influence of Jove and Atë: II. 111.

Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτη ἐνέδησε βαρεῖη. . .

In the eighth book he imputes to the same cause the ill success of his arms: VIII. 236.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἥ ῥά τιν' ἦδη ὑπερμενέων βασιλῆων
τῇ δ' ἄτη ἄσασας;

In the council convened after his first defeat, he renews his former complaint in similar terms: and, on Nestor's assigning his late treatment of Achilles as the cause of the national calamity, he exclaims, in a piteous tone of querulous dejection: IX. 115.

ὦ γέρον, οὗ τι ψεῦδος ἐμὰς ἄτας κατέλεξας·
ἄσάμην, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνομαι. . . .
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἄσάμην, φρεσὶ λευγαλήησι πιθήσας,
ἄψ' ἐθέλω ἄρῃσαι. . .

Phoenix, in his intercession for him with Achilles, palliates his errors and reproves the obduracy of the Myrmidon chief, in a beautiful allegory, worthy even of the pure genius of Christian philosophy. The power of Sin on the human mind is figured by "the swift and impetuous Atë, outstripping her attendant

goddesses of Atonement, who, though feeble, decrepid, and squalid, are yet able and ready, when invoked, to heal the wounds inflicted by their terrible precursor : " IX. 502.

καὶ γάρ τε Λιταὶ εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγαλοιοι,
χωλαί τε, ῥυσαί τε, παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῶ·
αἶ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιῶσαι.
ἣ δ' Ἄτη σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτίπος. . . .

But the most curious passage of the series is in Agamemnon's apologetic address to Achilles, on their final reconciliation. His only excuse for his conduct is an appeal to the irresistible power of Atë, as exercised on the destinies of Jove himself, and to the parallel between his own case and that of the king of Olympus : XIX. 134.

ὦς καὶ ἐγὼν,
οὐ δυνάμην λελαθέσθ' ἄτης ἥ πρῶτον ἀάσθην.
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην, καὶ μευ φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς,
ἀψ' ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι¹

Nor can there be a more spirited contrast than the contemptuous, though courteous brevity of the Myrmidon hero's reply to this long-winded harangue of his crest-fallen commander. In the sequel, however, Achilles admits the reasonableness of Agamemnon's proposal to place the whole blame to the joint account of Jupiter and Atë : XIX. 270.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ μέγας ἄτας ἀνδρεσσι διδοισθα !

Here, as in regard to the προτετύχθαι εἰάσομεν of Achilles, the question occurs : whether such consistent unity in the delineation, by so very delicate a

¹ The parallel in IX. 119. sq. above cited is here worthy of notice.

process, of so very peculiar a character, can reasonably be ascribed to more than a single artist ?

From the epoch when Achilles reappears on the stage, Agamemnon falls back among the secondary actors of the poem. Of the more amiable features of his character the most prominent is his warm brotherly affection for Menelaus, to which attention will be directed in our notice of that hero.

DIOMED.

6. Among the warriors of the Iliad, Diomed is the one who in general excellence ranks nearest to Achilles, or even in some respects may be said to surpass him. The character of Tydides is not indeed marked by the grander features, moral or physical, which distinguish the Thessalian chief: but if there is less to awaken admiration or awe, there is more to conciliate esteem. As Achilles is the type of ideal heroism, Diomed is that of military virtue. He may, indeed, be pronounced a blameless specimen of the Greek warrior; and, hence a singular merit in the delineation of his portrait, is the tact of the poet in imparting to it such traits of individuality, as to exclude the insipidity commonly attaching to irreproachable excellence in heroes of chivalry. Diomed is the youngest of the seven leading chiefs; and his most prominent feature, next to the energy of his bearing, is its modesty. With a habitual deference to the maturer judgement of his colleagues, he is yet always ready, with manly frankness, to assert his opinion where duty requires. Hence he is usually put forward when any alarming crisis calls for prompt and bold decision. During the absence of Achilles he is the soul of every martial achievement,

Character
of Diomed.

until forced by wounds to retire from the field. Conjointly with Ulysses, he is the special favourite of Minerva. They are the two heroes who unite, in the amplest degree, the qualities of which she was the patroness, valour, discretion, and enterprise. In every encounter, whether against men or gods, Diomed under her auspices is successful. He discomfits not only Hector and Æneas, the former on two occasions, but Mars himself, and is never worsted or repulsed but by divine interference. When causelessly rebuked by Agamemnon for an apparent want of martial zeal, he listens in respectful silence; and reprimands his esquire for presuming to retort on the commander in chief.¹ His justification is better secured by the brilliant lead taken by him in the ensuing combat. In the sequel, as the critical turns of fortune demand prowess in the field or vigour in the council, the services of Diomed seldom fail to be called into request. In the seventh book², when the prolonged silence of the elder chiefs implies an acquiescence in the dishonourable terms of peace proposed by Priam, Diomed, by a single pithy remonstrance, insures their immediate rejection. In the disastrous flight of the Greeks in the following battle³, when a "divine panic" spreads through the lines, extending even to Ajax, Ulysses, and the Atridæ, Diomed, alone exempt from its influence, remains to succour the aged Nestor, nor can his efforts to stem the torrent of the victorious enemy be restrained but by the irresistible arms of Jupiter. When, after the fatal issue of the same battle, Agamemnon's proposal to abandon the war appears to meet with the tacit approval of his fellow-chiefs⁴, Diomed, after again vainly

¹ iv. 401. sqq.² 398.³ viii. 78. sqq.⁴ ix. 29.

waiting till some more aged councillor should have risen, respectfully but resolutely condemns the dastardly suggestion. On hearing the result of the mission to Achilles, again a gloomy despondency paralyses the assembly; again Diomed, after the customary pause, denounces their pusillanimous dependance on the arm of a single warrior instead of their own valour. When Nestor proposes the mid-night expedition to the Trojan camp, the young hero as usual modestly holds back, to give place to some more experienced warrior, before devoting himself to the hazardous enterprise.

7. The language of Diomed is in strict keeping His oratory. with his character, brief, simple, and decided. He never takes part in the debate but when the judgement of his elders is at fault. He then speaks concisely and to the point. Among the heroes of the Iliad there is none, not even Ajax, who does so much and says so little. His qualities therefore, as an orator, are shadowed forth as much in the circumstances by which he is induced to speak, as in his own eloquence. Even here however the poet has managed, through his favourite epic mechanism, strikingly to individualise the style of that eloquence, by certain characteristic turns of expression, slightly varied for the occasion, but limited to Diomed alone. The first example occurs after the humiliating proposal of peace by the Trojan herald: VII. 398.

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.
ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·

μήτ' ἄρ' τις νῦν κτήματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεχέσθω, . . .

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπὶ ἅχον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο.

The next is after Agamemnon's suggestion of flight :
IX. 29 — 50.

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,
δὴν δ' ἀνέω ἦσαν τετιηότες υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
ὄψ' ἐδὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
Ἄτρεϊδῃ, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχήσομαι ἀφραδέοντι, . . .
ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο.

A third is after the failure of the mission to Achilles :
IX. 693 — 710.

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,
δὴν δ' ἀνέω ἦσαν τετιηότες υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
ὄψ' ἐδὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
Ἄτρεϊδῃ, κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,
μὴ ὄφελος λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα, . . .
ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν βασιλῆες,
μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο.

A fourth is after Nestor's proposal of the midnight expedition to the Trojan camp: x. 218.

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ,
τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
Νέστορ, ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ . . .
ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἔβελον Διομήδῃ πολλοὶ ἔπεισθαι.

In each case a dilemma, a pause, a silence ; Diomed steps forward, by a few concise remarks restores confidence, and his views are applauded and adopted.¹

The δὴν δ' ἀνέω ἦσαν, and the ὄψ' ἐδὲ δὴ μετέειπε, under their occasional varieties, are here as exclusively characteristic of Diomed, as the ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν is of Achilles, or the Ἄτῃ of Agamemnon.

¹ Conf. xiv. 103. sqq.

On the reappearance of Achilles, Diomed, with every other hero put forward in the absence of the protagonist, falls into the background. In the games however he maintains, under the auspices of his patroness Minerva, his superiority over every competitor in gymnastic achievement.

Any remarks on the character of Ulysses, the hero who next in point of importance would demand attention, will be reserved for the analysis of the *Odyssey*. In that poem he acts the part of Protagonist. To it consequently we must look for his entire portrait, of which his appearances in the *Iliad* are but supplementary touches. In the following case it will be proper to reverse this order, and complete the picture presented in the *Iliad*, by the additional traits derived from the *Odyssey*.

MENELAUS.

8. Menelaus unites, but on a smaller scale, the valour, modesty, and discretion of Diomed, with the milder virtues of Patroclus, and with a quickness of temper and warmth of feeling peculiar to himself. Although described as inferior in the aggregate of his warlike accomplishments to the other leading chiefs¹, he yields to none in courage or adventurous spirit. But the animating principle of his conduct, which gives the tone to his whole character, is gratitude to his fellow-countrymen for their exertions in his cause, with a painful sense of the calamities which they were doomed to suffer for his sake. Towards Agamemnon these sentiments, combined with fraternal love and veneration for his high rank and office, produce a devoted attachment to his person,

Character
of Mene-
laus.

¹ VIL 104. sq., x. 237. sqq.

and unqualified deference to his will. Nor is Agamemnon less conspicuous for brotherly affection. This reciprocal feeling forms one of the most agreeable features in the character of each, and has furnished the poet with many lively and pathetic scenes.

The first appearance of Menelaus is in his duel with Paris. His joyful eagerness for the combat is here ascribed by himself, rather to the prospect it offers of terminating the privations of his friends, than even to his desire of avenging his injuries or asserting his rights: III. 97.

μάλιστα γὰρ ἄλγος ἰκάνει
θυμὸν ἐμὸν· φρονέω δὲ διακρινθήμεναι ἤδη
'Αργείους καὶ Τρῶας· ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέποσθε
εἶνεν' ἐμῆς ἔριδος. . . .

In the disastrous night of the Dolonea the welfare of those friends is still uppermost in his thoughts: X. 25.

ὥς δ' αὖτως Μενέλαον ἔχε τρόμος· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶ
ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανε, μή τι πάθοιεν
'Αργεῖοι, τοὶ δὲ ἔθεν εἵνεκα πουλὺν ἐφ' ὕγρην

The brotherly affection of Agamemnon is touchingly displayed in the adventure of the fourth book, when, supposing his brother's life in danger from the wound of Pandarus, with his characteristic despondency and self-reproach he blames himself as the cause of the fatality: IV. 155—169.

φίλε κασίγνητε, θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκι' ἔταμνον,
οἷον προστήσας πρὸ 'Αχαιῶν Τρῶσι μάχεσθαι. . . .
ἀλλὰ μοι αἰνὸν ἄχος σέθεν ἔσσεται, ὦ Μενέλαε,
αἶ κε θάνῃς,
καὶ κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολυδίψιον 'Αργος ἰκοίμην. . .

The fraternal tenderness of Agamemnon is also

beautifully expressed in his anxiety lest, in compliment to his own royal dignity, Menelaus, though inferior in martial accomplishment to many other chiefs, should be selected by Diomed as the comrade of his midnight adventure.¹

The dauntless valour of Menelaus, and his sensitive keenness of temper, are jointly displayed in his forwardness to accept the challenge of Hector; his modesty and good sense are no less conspicuous in his ready submission to Agamemnon, who, anxious as well for his brother's safety as the credit of the Greek arms, urges him to resign the dangerous honour into abler hands.² On the gloomy night after the second day's battle, the Spartan chief, roused from his sleep by sympathy with his brother's disquietude, and anxiety to share his labours and distresses, rises and hastens to his side.³ When Nestor, therefore, taxes Menelaus with a slackness to support Agamemnon⁴ in his arduous duties, the latter warmly defends him from the groundless charge, attributing even his errors to over-regard for his own imperial person and authority.

After the death of Patroclus, Menelaus takes the lead in the field, stimulated by a powerful combination of influences, grief for the loss and gratitude for the services of so generous a supporter of his cause, and a sense of the peculiar shame that would attach to himself should the body of his benefactor remain in the hands of the enemy.⁵ Inspired by these feelings, he signalises himself so much beyond his apparent powers, as to have obtained for this portion of the poem the title of Prowess of Menelaus.

¹ x. 240.; conf. 408. sqq., III. 213., XVII. 587.

² VII. 94—120.

³ x. 25.

⁴ x. 114—120. sqq.

⁵ XVII. 1. sqq. 92. 564. 671.

The brilliancy of his conduct secures him the patronage of Minerva, and the spirit with which she animates him is illustrated by a figure singularly adapted to his character and person. He is compared to a fly, the emblem of boldness and activity apart from physical strength, which, when repeatedly driven off by superior force, still nimbly returns nothing daunted to the attack: xvii. 571.

ἦτε καὶ ἐργομένη μάλα περ χροὸς ἀνδρομέοιο
ἰσχανάα δακέειν. . . .

In the chariot race with Antilochus, his generous sense of gratitude again appears, in his reasons for the frank concession of his acknowledged prize to his young comrade: xxiii. 606.

οὐ γάρ κέν με τάχ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ παρέπεισεν Ἀχαιῶν·
ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πόλλ' ἤπαθες καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησας,
σός τε πατὴρ ἀγαθός, καὶ ἀδελφεός, εἶνεκ' ἐμεῖο. . .

Parallel of
the Ody-
sey.

In the Odyssey these characteristics are sustained with a simple unstudied consistency, which speaks powerfully in favour of the common authorship of the two poems. The same lively gratitude towards his companions in arms maintains its ascendant in his declining years, tempered by melancholy reflexions on the many that had perished, and on the disasters still endured by others for his sake. His warm affection for Agamemnon is now chastened by grief for his death, which his own capricious fortune had deprived him of the power either to avert or avenge; a grief embittered by the thought, that the day of their parting had witnessed the only recorded dissension between them.¹ Hence the surprise expressed by

¹ Od. iv. 538., iii. 136.

Telemachus to Nestor, on hearing of the fate of Agamemnon, that Menelaus should not have appeared either as his defender or avenger: Od. III. 249.

ποῦ Μενέλαος ἔην ; . . .

ἣ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαικοῦ ; ἀλλά πη ἄλλη

πλάζετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ;

In the sequel when the same Telemachus, as the guest of Menelaus, admires the splendour of the Spartan palace, its proprietor offers the following simple but eloquent tribute to the memory of his departed friends and brother: Od. IV. 90.

ἔως ἐγὼ περὶ κεῖνα πολὺν βίον συναγείρων

ἡλώμην, τείως μοι ἀδελφεὸν ἄλλος ἔπεφνεν . . .

ὣς οὔτι χαίρων τοῖσδε κτεάτεσσιν ἀνάσσω . . .

ὦν ὄφελον, τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δώμασι μοῖραν

ναλαιν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σόοι ἔμμεναι, οἱ τότ' ὄλοντο

Τροίη ἐν εὐρείῃ.

With this may be compared the description of the grief which overwhelms him (538.) when his brother's murder is predicted to him by Proteus. The announcement of his Ithacan guest's name elicits another characteristic burst of generous feeling towards an old and dear companion in arms: 169.

ὦ πόποι ! ἦ μάλα δὴ φίλου ἀνέρος υἱὸς ἐμὸν δῶ

ἵκεθ', ὅς εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο πολέας ἐμόγησεν ἀέθλους.

καί μιν ἔφην ἐλθόντα φιλησέμεν ἔξοχον ἄλλων . . .

καί κέ οἱ Ἄργεϊ νάσσα πόλιν καὶ δάματ' ἔτευξα . . .

The contrast between the unity and simplicity of the poet's delineation of this beautiful character, and the odious and incongruous features by which it is disfigured in the works of the other representatives of the "common epic genius," will be noticed elsewhere.¹

¹ *Infra*, vol. II. p. 128. 309.

NESTOR.

Character
of Nestor.

9. The character of the Pylian hero, while from its broader features a more popular specimen perhaps of Homer's art than those hitherto considered, is no less remarkable for delicacy of traits and colouring.

(Nestor is the self-satisfied old veteran, dwelling with garrulous complacency on the glories of the past and the degeneracy of the present race of heroes; assuming, as a matter of course, the superiority of his own wisdom and experience to that of the existing generation; omitting no opportunity of fighting his battles over again; and swelling his harangues on these favourite topics with diffuse historical illustrations derived chiefly from his personal achievements. Yet these failings are more than compensated by his good qualities. His pretensions to youthful prowess are well supported by the valour which adorns his old age. He is as fearless, if not as active in the field, as the youngest of his comrades. While inculcating on all occasions his prior claims to deference in council, he arrogates no title to dictate or domineer, and readily appreciates good advice from whatever quarter it may proceed. Indefatigable in his labours for the public good, he is throughout cheerful and good humoured, as free from undue elation as from despondency. Hence, during the whole series of national reverses, the unvarying placidity of the hearty old veteran acts as a sort of counterpoise to the abject humiliation of the commander in chief, and sheds a friendly ray of comfort over the general gloom of the camp.

That his real wisdom did not derogate from his high pretensions is vouched for by the poet's own

testimony to the substantial value of many of his suggestions, as expressed in the following recurring formula :

Νέστωρ οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή. . . .

Nestor is in fact, throughout, the presiding genius of the Greek councils. Hence the vision which exhorts Agamemnon to resume martial operations assumes the form of Nestor. The council held for considering the import of that vision is convened at his quarters. In the ensuing assembly he prescribes a mode of marshalling the troops, adopted by Agamemnon. In the duel between Ajax and Hector he is intrusted with the arrangement of the ceremony on the Greek side. In the sequel he proposes the fortification of the camp, and gives the plan for its execution. He urgently inculcates on the troops certain points of military discipline, as valuable in theory as they were little observed in practice.¹ He is the first who ventures to press on Agamemnon the necessity of appeasing Achilles, and selects the commissioners for the management of that delicate affair. On the same anxious night he enjoins the posting of the guard around the camp. The midnight expedition of Diomed and Ulysses also originates in Nestor's suggestion, as does the permission obtained by Patroclus from Achilles to lead forth the Myrmidon troops, on which hinges the whole subsequent fortune of the war.

10. The more characteristic peculiarities of the His oratory.
 Pylian chief supply some of the liveliest specimens

¹ That they should not break the order of the phalanx, in their ardour to single out objects of personal encounter ; nor attend to the plunder of the slain, until victory was secured over the survivors. IV. 303., VI. 67.

of the sly satirical humour with which the poet seasons even the graver portions of his narrative. The orations of the old hero frequently commence with that common figure of senile rhetoric, an apostrophe to what might be said or thought by others whose opinions were likely to weigh with his audience; as in the following parallel passages:

- I. 254. ὦ πόποι! ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν ἰκάνει·
 ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πριάμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες,
 ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροῖατο θυμῷ,
 εἰ σφῶϊν τάδε πάντα πυθοῖατο μαρναμένοισιν.
- VII. 124. ὦ πόποι! ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιῖδα γαῖαν ἰκάνει·
 ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς, . .
 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὕφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας
 αἰκούσαι.
- XV. 661. ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε, καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. . . .

Next follows, if the case be one of distress or difficulty, a lamentation over his own decay of vigour, but for which, it is implied, a very different turn might be given to affairs. The justice of these regrets is then enforced by a reference to some heroic adventure, the fortunes of which had hinged on his youthful prowess. This passage usually commences with the following expressive poetical formula:

εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.

These excursions, it is true, may occasionally provoke by their diffuseness: but such is the general spirit of their narrative, and of the sketches they contain of the men and manners of former times, that the reader of the present day is as little disposed as

the poet's own audience to grudge the lively old warrior the full indulgence of his egotistic eloquence.

His first speech¹, in which he attempts to smooth matters between the two angry chiefs, embodies in more concise limits than usual the prominent points of his oratory. He begins by bidding them reflect on what their enemies the Trojans, or their own friends at home, will think; reminds them how much older he is than either of them, and of the deference he deserves at their hands; that his youth had been associated with far better men than they, or than the world had since beheld; by whom he had been specially invited to take part in their glorious exploits, and who had always revered his counsels. Yet after asserting these lofty pretensions, he delivers his opinions with a gentle persuasiveness which, combined with their own propriety, usually secures a ready acquiescence.

Among the more satirical touches of the portrait, may be adduced the busy importance with which he tutors the deputation to Achilles at the moment of their departure, as to the proper mode of conducting their negotiation, "especially Ulysses," whose own unassisted discretion in any such case might be presumed at least equal to that of his Pylian Mentor: IX. 180.

δενδύλλων ἐς ἕκαστον, Ὀδυσσῆϊ δὲ μάλιστα,
πειρᾶν ὥς πεπίθοιεν ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα.

The expressive word at the commencement here vividly reflects the bustling activity with which the self-satisfied old sage puts forth to the last moment his prolific stores of advice, nodding and whispering in turn to the members of the commission the suggestions best suited to their respective capacities.

¹ I. 254.

Equally characteristic is the melancholy grandiloquence with which, after some long detail of his youthful exploits, he sums up his reminiscences of the admiration and renown they had procured him :

XI. 759.

ἐνθ' ἄνδρα κτείνας πύματον λίπον·
πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ, Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν.
ὥς ἔον, εἴ ποτ' ἔον γε, μετ' ἀνδράσιν !

and again : XXIII. 632. sq.

ἐνθ' οὐτις μοι ὁμοῖος ἀνὴρ γένητ',
ὥς ποτ' ἔον ! νῦν αὖτε νεώτεροι ἀντιοίωντων¹
ἔργων τοιούτων· ἐμὲ δὲ χρὴ γήραϊ λυγρῷ
πεῖθεσθαι, τότε δ' αὖτε μετέπρεπον ἡρώεσσι !

He consoles himself with the reflexion that he remains at least superior in council to all his contemporaries : IX. 104.

οὐ γάρ τις νόον ἄλλος ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοίσει,
οἷον ἐγὼ νοέω, ἡμὲν πάλαι ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν.²

A few additional remarks suggested by the reproduction of the Pylian hero's character in the *Odyssey* will be reserved for the analysis of that poem.

The character of Phœnix, though but a slight sketch, offers, in its correspondence and its contrast, an interesting parallel to that of Nestor. Phœnix is also an aged Mentor, with similar credit in his own sphere for wisdom and persuasive oratory. No less diffuse in his discourse, he is equally fond of seasoning it with the experience of his early days. But the same features are presented under different colours. In Phœnix a grave, even sad composure is substituted for the hearty self-sufficiency of the Pylian chief. His appeals are directed rather to the

¹ Conf. iv. 324.

² Conf. ii. 337.

heart than the judgement. The scope of his episo-
dical illustrations is warning rather than example;
they are selected not from the merits, but the errors
of his past conduct, and their pernicious consequences.
The whole of his expostulatory address to Achilles
in the deputation scene, is marked by a mild melan-
choly suavity of tone and sentiment, finely contrasted
with the complacency and good-humoured censorious-
ness of Nestor's harangues on similar occasions.

AJAX.

11. Ajax is the model of a sturdy man of war, and
little or nothing more. With colossal stature and
Herculean strength he combines experience of the
mechanical part of a soldier's duty, and a large share
of that species of courage which consists in a natural
insensibility to danger and confidence in his own
prowess. His services consist, accordingly, less in
brilliant achievement than in stemming the adverse
tide of war by his physical force. Hence, although
described in general terms¹ as both in personal ap-
pearance and valour the champion next in rank to
Achilles, and as the warrior on whose exertions the
soldiery at large chiefly relied in disastrous emergen-
cies, he is greatly surpassed in the more excellent
points of military virtue by other heroes, especially
by Diomed. In the games, when successively pitted
against that hero, Ulysses, and Polypætes, in the
broadsword, wrestling, and the disk, the efforts of
his ponderous strength are in each case baffled by
the activity and tact of his antagonists. He is also
as susceptible as the meanest soldier, of that super-
stitious panic² which any supposed evil omen is apt

Character
of Ajax.

¹ xvii. 279. alibi.

² xi. 544. alibi.

to spread through the ranks. Achilles and Diomed are indeed the only heroes entirely exempt from this weakness. It is hence with some consistency that to Ajax is assigned no separate "Aristea," or "Prowess." While frequently described and put forward as the "rampart" or "bulwark"¹ of the host, his services, as indicated by these figures, are of the passive rather than active kind. Here again it is not probably accidental, that while, in order to bring about the Trojan triumph with least possible detriment to the national honour, all the other first rate warriors, Agamemnon, Diomed, and Ulysses, are disabled in the early part of the battle in which Patroclus fell, Ajax is preserved unhurt to stem the advance of the enemy.

Even this, on first view, rude and ordinary character, is tempered with fine shades of moral peculiarity. The innate generosity of the heroic genius, in place of the ardent enthusiasm of Achilles, the energy of Diomed, or the sensitive quickness of Menelaus, is combined in Ajax with a morbid sensibility to personal honour. This feature is observable even in the Iliad, where comparatively little opportunity exists for its display; but is brought out more prominently in the Odyssey, and constitutes the groundwork of his character as reproduced in the tragic drama. Intellectually considered Ajax is the dullest of the heroes. Hence, while his rank and services secure him a seat in the select council of Agamemnon, he is with much propriety excluded from all part in its debates. He owes his appointment as one of the mission to Achilles, less, evidently, to any personal fitness for so delicate an

¹ ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, *passim*.

office, than to his character as representative of the sentiments and claims of the mass, or common soldiery of the host.

12. One of the happiest similes in the Iliad is that His oratory. where Ajax, slowly and sullenly retreating as he attempts alone to stem the advance of the Trojans, is compared to an ass driven from a corn-field by the cudgels of a troop of urchins, and leisurely finishing his meal as he retires amid the blows of his puny assailants.¹ His own character and that of his oratory are jointly shadowed forth in the epithets *βουγαίος* and *ἀμαρτοεπής* ², applied to him by Hector, and to him alone throughout the poem. The first jointly expresses his gigantic strength, and the boasting self-confidence in that attribute to which he frequently gives utterance: for Ajax, consistently with the mixture of coarseness and sincerity in his character, was, like various other warriors of better judgment, somewhat of a braggart. Here again may be remarked how nicely the poet has adapted to the genius of his heroes, the language through which each indulges in this propensity. Nothing can be more different than the garrulous complacency of Nestor's self-commendatory harangues, the blustering vain-glory of Hector, and the turgid "who's afraid" simplicity of the few big words in which Ajax expresses his sense of his own prowess. His address to Hector before their single combat may be taken as an example: VII. 196.³

ἐπεὶ οὔτινα δεῖδιμεν ἔμψης·
οὐ γάρ τις με βίη γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίηται,
οὐδὲ μὲν ἰδρσίῃ· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νῆϊδά γ' οὕτως
ἔλπομαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε!

¹ XI. 558.² XIII. 824.³ Conf. VII. 226., XIII. 76. 810. alibi.

His style of oratory also justifies the other epithet of *ἀμαρτοσπής*, or "blunderer," ironically bestowed on him by the Trojan chief. His speeches, while brief and blunt, are often deficient both in argument and consistency. In his address to Achilles¹, for example, as a member of Agamemnon's deputation, he commences, with an apparent intention of abruptly closing the debate, by denouncing the heartless obduracy of their host and the fruitlessness of further remonstrance: yet, after laying some stress on the unreasonableness of the hero, who "while deprived of but one mistress refuses a compensation of seven," he winds up in the very tone of supplication which he had just before condemned in his companions. The shorter specimens of his oratory are chiefly exhortations to his men, or prayers for divine aid in critical moments of the combat. The longest concludes with his celebrated supplication to Jupiter to remove the preternatural darkness which shrouded the battle, "that, if doomed to destruction, they might at least have the satisfaction of perishing by daylight."² Longinus has overrated this figure, in classing it with the sublimer passages of Homer. It partakes of the character of what, in modern criticism, is called a conceit; though a noble one, no doubt, and marked by that simple species of dignity to be expected in the poetical conceptions of Ajax.

Parallel of
the Odys-
sey.

In order to appreciate the consistent maintenance of this hero's character as reproduced in the *Odyssey*, we must bear in mind the altered circumstances under which he appears. His presence in the infernal region was the result of his own act of wounded pride, consequent on his defeat by Ulysses in the

¹ IX. 624.

² XVII. 645.

competition for the arms of Achilles. Suddenly the repose he had sought in this dismal retreat is disturbed by the appearance of his successful opponent in the same human form as at their last fatal parting. In the gloomy sullenness with which he keeps aloof, while the other spirits flock round the adventurous stranger ; in the stern silence with which, rejecting his generous rival's conciliatory advances, he stalks away into the darkest recesses of Erebus ; the poet has shadowed forth, with singular truth, the mode in which pride, sorrow, and resentment would display themselves in such a character upon such an occasion.¹

TROJAN CHARACTERS.

13. Before entering on the separate characters of the Trojan heroes, attention must be directed to the broader features of national distinction in the genius of the rival races. In the delineation of these the poet's deep knowledge of mankind is seen extending, from the narrow circle of personal peculiarity, to those more comprehensive varieties of human nature which originate in an equally comprehensive range of physical or historical causes.

Distinctive characteristics of the Greek and Trojan national characters.

Allusion has already been made to certain defects in the character of the Trojans incidentally stigmatised in the Iliad, either by Homer himself or his heroes ; to their want of moral principle, to the levity and treachery of their international dealings, to the palpable injustice of their cause, to their obstinacy in upholding it, and to the profligacy of their domestic manners. How far these defects, as compared with the rightful motives, fair dealing, and primitive habits of their adversaries, may be laid to account of Homer's

¹ Od. xi. 543. sqq.

national partialities, how far they may rest on a historical basis, are questions on which it were little profitable to enlarge. The contrast itself may, at least, be considered as shadowing forth certain fundamental features of distinction, which have always been more or less observable between the European and Asiatic races. The state of society in Troy resembles, it is true, in the main, that of Greece at the same period. In each, the patriarchal simplicity on which the social edifice was based is modified, without being altogether superseded, by the refinements of an earlier Eastern civilisation. Among the Trojans, however, the levity and corruption of Asiatic life had encroached on the primitive manners to a greater extent than in Greece; and this excess it is which, in the poet's description, forms the chief moral difference between Greek and Trojan. 91

The character of the latter nation is graphically portrayed in that of its royal family, as sketched out in the episodic notices occurring in the *Iliad*, and which prove those distinctive peculiarities to be of no recent date. The Dardanian line of princes is the oldest recorded in Homeric tradition. The order of succession is given in a speech addressed to Achilles by Æneas¹, himself a prince of the blood. As his account is little more than a bare pedigree, it may be presumed that any particulars he furnishes of the adventures of his kinsmen were such as formed their chief title to celebrity. These details accordingly, with those incidentally supplied in other parts of the poem, relate, not to the warlike achievements or bold enterprise of the race, but to their wealth, luxury, gallantry, and the magnificence of their courtly state,

¹ xx. 213. sqq.

or to the calamities consequent on their treachery and impiety. Their moral defects are exhibited, at the same time, in appropriate conjunction with the personal graces which contribute both to the excitement and gratification of sensual appetite. Dardanus, the founder of the dynasty, was son of Jupiter. Erichthonius, son of Dardanus, was the richest monarch of his time, possessing the finest breed of horses, the noblest species of royal wealth in those days. The surpassing beauty of his grandchild Ganymede attracted the notice of Jupiter, who transported the youth to Olympus, to act as his page and cupbearer. Tros the Father of Ganymede, and third sovereign of the line, was, in compensation for the loss of his son, enriched by Jupiter with a still nobler breed of horses than that possessed by Erichthonius.¹ Laomedon nephew of Ganymede, and fifth occupant of the Dardanian throne, surrounded Troy with walls so magnificent as to have been fabled the joint work of Neptune and Apollo. In the same fable, his subsequent impiety towards these deities involved him in a series of calamities, which terminated in the destruction of his city, taken and sacked by Hercules.² His elder son Tithonus, distinguished like Ganymede for his beauty, engaged the affections of Aurora, who carried him off and espoused him. Anchises, cousin of Tithonus, was indebted to the same personal charms for the honour of sharing the bed of Venus. Priam, the younger son and successor of Laomedon, if less favoured than some of his kinsmen by the amorous

¹ Il. v. 265.; conf. xxiii. 348.

² Il. vii. 452., xxi. 446., v. 640. sqq., xx. 146. Schol. Ven. ad loc. Apollod. ii. 5. sqq.

attentions of the goddesses, makes ample amends by the number of mortal concubines who enjoy, in common with the reigning sultana, the honour of his embraces. The paramount authority of his race in the court of love and beauty is further vouched for by the Judgement of Paris, whose subsequent achievement forms an appropriate and fatal conclusion to the catalogue of family crimes and gallantries.

Character
of Priam.
Its defects.

14. Priam's court and domestic establishment, where the produce of his amours, amounting to fifty sons and twelve daughters, reside with their respective consorts in separate domiciles¹, offer an interesting combination of patriarchal simplicity with Oriental licentiousness. The old king's character is itself a fair type both of the good and evil in that of his nation. With much that is generous in conduct and feeling, and a certain tact in the arts of government, he is signally deficient in that honest principle which alone can secure the welfare of a state. His affectionate heart and domestic virtues are fatally counterbalanced by an over-indulgent temper; and his indifference to, or even sympathy with, the ruling vices of his family involves the ruin of his country. Nor does the political morality of his councillors appear in a better light than his own. The Greeks are described as having, before commencing hostilities, used every effort by negotiation to obtain redress. Upon one of these occasions² it was gravely suggested, by a member of the Trojan senate, to murder the ambassadors; and the proposal, though not carried into effect, seems to have been complacently received. How little congenial measures of reparation were to the mass is further implied in the current tradition of later times,

¹ VI. 242.

² XI. 139.

where Antenor and Æneas, the only Dardanian chiefs who had the merit of disapproving the pernicious policy of their countrymen, are represented as secret partisans of the Greeks.

The poet has, as usual, availed himself almost exclusively of the dramatic mode of portraying this spirit of national levity. In the remarks which the appearance of Helen elicits from the assembled elders on the city ramparts, those venerable personages take pride, rather than shame, in the circumstance of their handsome prince having seduced and transferred to their own city the fairest princess in Europe. The poetical value of this passage, so justly extolled by illustrious critics, does not here immediately concern us: its ethic spirit alone is now in question. These grave representatives of the national wisdom are seated on a tower, looking towards the plain, where the fate of their country was staked on the issue of a single engagement. Suddenly Helen, the guilty cause of their calamities, is seen approaching. What are the reflexions that might be expected to suggest themselves on such an occasion in such quarters? Ought it not to have occurred to these sage councillors the more forcibly, what an iniquitous thing it was, that so many brave men should bite the dust, and whole nations be involved in destruction, for the mere gratification of a pair of frivolous adulterers? But, instead of this they complacently remark, that "it is no wonder the Greeks and Trojans should wage long and bloody wars for the possession of so divine a woman."¹ Equally characteristic is Priam's own language in the immediate sequel, when, calling Helen affectionately to his

¹ III. 155.

side he assures her that "she is no way in fault; that the gods alone are to blame, as the cause of their common affliction."

Another example of the skill with which Homer imposes on his light-headed Dardanian heroes the duty of exposing their own defects, is in the meeting of council¹, where Antenor proposes putting an end to the war by the restoration of Helen and her goods to her rightful husband. He enforces this suggestion by a reference to the fresh crime of treachery and assassination of which the Trojans had been guilty, and to the hopelessness of success in so bad a cause. No one seconds this motion. Paris then, with characteristic effrontery, tells the venerable sage, that "if he is serious in what he says he talks like an idiot;" and declares that he will not part with Helen on any terms, but that, as to the property brought with her from Sparta, they may dispose of it as had been suggested. Priam here interposes, and, without any notice of the advice of Antenor, commends the offer of Paris as fair and conciliatory, and advises a mission to the Greek camp on the subject; which proposal is approved and adopted.

Its virtues.

15. Such, however, are the amiable qualities by which the weaker points of the old king's conduct are relieved, that while we condemn his vices, it is difficult not to admire his general character. It is, in fact, partly in the excess of his more engaging attributes that his defects consist, in that over-sensibility of heart and warmth of the social affections which are so often combined with blind indulgence to their favourite objects. Inexcusable as such indulgence may be, yet the mixture of paternal

¹ VII. 347. sqq.

affection and courtly gallantry which Priam displays towards the fair adulteress, when once received on the footing of a daughter-in-law, is worthy of all admiration. She herself bears grateful testimony to his kindness, under the mortifications to which she was habitually exposed from her other Trojan connexions. The most touching acknowledgement of this nature is contained in a single parenthetical sentence of her lamentation over Hector, the only one of her new husband's near relatives whose behaviour to her resembled that of her father-in-law. During the long years that had elapsed since her arrival in Troy, never, she exclaims, had a single harsh word been addressed to her by Hector : XXIV. 768.

ἀλλ' εἴ τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐνίπτοι,
δαέρων ἢ γαλόων ἢ εἰνατέρων εὐπέπλων,
ἢ ἐκυρή, ἐκυρὸς δὲ πατὴρ ὥς ἡπίος αἰεΐ,
ἀλλὰ σὺ τόν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιφάμενος κατέρυκες.

Pages of studied panegyric could hardly equal the effect which this half line produces, partly by its very brevity, partly by the force of the contrast it presents. Another trait of the old sovereign's paternal sensibility equally illustrates the poet's power of conveying the liveliest impressions in the fewest words. When the conversation on the walls is interrupted by the intelligence that Paris is about to engage Menelaus, and that Priam's presence is required to arrange the forms of the duel, we are told simply¹, that after receiving the message "the old man shuddered, and ordered his chariot to be prepared." No elaborate description of parental anxiety could express half as much as this short sentence.

¹ III. 259. ; conf. 305. sqq.

X It is, however, in the closing scenes of the *Iliad* that the brighter side of Priam's character is most prominently brought forward. All sense of his vices or follies is here absorbed by compassion for the calamities in which they have involved him, and admiration for his heroism in braving the dangers of a hostile camp and the wrath of Achilles, to rescue the remains of a beloved son from mutilation and disgrace. But even here the poet, still true to nature, never loses sight of the less favourable traits of the portrait, which, as now reproduced under a change of fortune, impart a new variety to the whole composition. Hitherto Priam had been contemplated in a comparative state of prosperity, and distinguished, even in his displays of weakness, by a decorum and placidity of deportment becoming his royal state. Now, at the moment when his energies are intent on the fulfilment of the noblest duties, his temper, under the accumulated excitement of the crisis, breaks through all the restraints of courtly dignity into ebullitions of senile petulance and irritation, as characteristic of the genius of the man as inconsistent with the greatness of his conduct. The scene in the palace previous to his journey is one of the finest in the *Iliad*.¹ Priam, his family, and the entire city are plunged in the deepest affliction; their favourite prince and bravest champion slain; his body daily insulted in their sight by his ferocious conqueror. The mode in which the national grief finds vent exhibits a fine combination of Oriental and patriarchal manners. The old king, enveloped in his mantle, is seated in the centre of the palace court in a state of gloomy stupor, indifferent to all that is passing.

¹ *xxiv.* 159. *sqq.*

His sons are weeping and his daughters wailing around him; the halls and porches thronged with citizens, flocking with sympathetic curiosity to the centre of the common woe. At this moment Iris, invisible to all but Priam himself, breathes her message from Jove in his ear. The first symptom of response to the divine intimation is a tremor pervading his frame. On a sudden, morbid despair gives place to unwonted vigour; he rises and declares his resolution forthwith to visit in person the Myrmidon camp, and ransom the body of his son. He is assailed by the remonstrances of his wife against the madness of his project, but in vain. On turning to give the requisite orders for his journey, he finds everything in confusion¹; his palace is crowded with importunate idlers; his sons are bewildered by this sudden change from listlessness to temerity, and the promptness of their obedience falls short of the eagerness of his commands. His temper then gives way, and he breaks forth into invectives, first against the busybodies who encumber his hall, and whom he drives with his sceptre into the street; next against the sluggish apathy of his sons, tauntingly contrasting it with the devoted zeal of their deceased brother. The petulance of these sallies is tempered by the most touching expressions of grief and patriotism. Every word and act is admirably suited to the character and the occasion.

The sequel of this adventure supplies the more delicate finish to the portrait both of Priam and Achilles. The ardent zeal, senile importunity, and pious resignation of the venerable suppliant, are beautifully contrasted with the generous sympathy

¹ XXIV. 237. sqq.

and haughty impetuosity of the terrible Myrmidon. The old king returns to the city with his precious freight, greeted by crowds of admiring citizens, and the ensuing rites in honour of the slain champion afford an impressive conclusion to the great drama. Upon the whole perhaps the character of Priam is, next to that of Achilles, the most delicately conceived and finely drawn in the poem. The parallel which it offers to that of Shakspeare's Lear cannot fail to suggest itself to the critical student.

HECTOR.

Character
of Hector.

16. In the character of this hero, as in that of his father, good and evil are so curiously blended, that it is hard to say which element predominates. Homer, partly it would seem in order to maintain a fair show of impartiality, partly to enhance the glory of the Greek warriors by whom the Trojan champion is successively worsted, magnifies his prowess in general terms, as of the most transcendant order. But these eulogies are confined alone or chiefly to words. In actual achievement Hector is greatly surpassed by the leading Greek heroes. He rarely enters the lists on equal terms with an enemy of equal rank, but he is beaten; and his whole series of triumphs is artfully so described as to appear owing less to his own valour than to supernatural interference. The moral courage of Hector, on the other hand, is worthy of all praise. Though easily over-elated by success, he is not, like the Greek commander, apt to be cast down by discomfiture. The vaunting bravadoes with which he pursues the tide of victory in the absence of Achilles are, it is true, singularly unbecoming in a leader who, before the secession of

that hero, never ventured to quit the protection of the city walls. This timid policy, however, he himself pointedly describes as having been imposed on him by the Trojan elders¹; nor on the reappearance of his formidable adversary is he disheartened, but endeavours, like a brave soldier rather than a prudent tactician, to maintain his newly acquired superiority. Towards the close of his career, although he flies before Achilles when first brought face to face with him on the field, yet, having once made up his mind to the combat, he acquits himself manfully, and submits to his fate with calmness and dignity.

Among the heroes of the *Iliad*, Hector is the one whose social virtues are exhibited in the most engaging colours, less perhaps from any actual superiority to various other chiefs, to Ulysses for example or Menelaus, in those qualities, than from the greater opportunities for their display. His chaste affection for one virtuous spouse appears the more admirable as contrasted with the licentious habits of his race. Helen, also, bears lively testimony to that unvarying courtesy and fraternal kindness which supported her under the mortifications to which she was exposed from the rest of her paramour's family², so well deserved on her part, so heartlessly inflicted on theirs. The deep distress which his death spreads over the city is a testimony to his worth, both as a benefactor and a warrior; and the interview with Andromache, where his virtues as a husband, a parent, and a patriot, are so beautifully portrayed, is too familiar to every student of the poet to require comment. These finer ingredients of his character also shine forth in a singularly amiable light in his first personal en-

¹ *Il.* xv. 721.² *xxiv.* 768.

counter with Achilles, where his habitual terror for the invincible hero suddenly gives way on seeing his youthful brother Polydorus pierced before his eyes by the Myrmidon lance. The electric effect on his energies is described in one of the poet's most brilliant sketches: XX. 419.

ὡς ἐνόησε κασίγνητον Πολύδωρον,
 εντερα χερσὶν ἔχοντα, λιαζόμενον προτὶ γαίῃ,
 κάρ ῥά οἱ ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλὺς· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἔτλη
 δηρὸν ἐκὰς στρωφᾶσθ', ἀλλ' ἀντίος ἦλθ' Ἀχιλλῆος,
 ὁξὺ δόρυ κραδάων, φλογὶ εἵκελος.

With a clearer insight into the difference between right and wrong than was common among his fellow-councillors, Hector was sufficiently alive to the crime of Paris, and the consequent iniquity of the Trojan cause. Yet the national spirit of indifference extends even to him. In stigmatising, as he frequently does, his brother's guilt, no account is taken of his own, as accomplice or abettor. His share in the prevailing levity is also painfully exemplified in his conduct regarding the duel of Paris and Menelaus. It was his imperative duty, as Trojan commander, and original proposer of the truce, to have enforced, at whatever cost, the fulfilment of its terms, so solemnly ratified by his father in his own presence; but so far is he from showing even a desire to preserve faith, that the base mode of its violation meets with his virtual sanction and approval.

His oratory.

17. But the characteristic defect of Hector, of which Homer chiefly avails himself to individualise his portrait, is his turn for vainglorious boasting. The success which has here attended the poet's

efforts cannot be better illustrated than by the fact, that the name Hector is familiar to this day in our own tongue, as a popular synonyme of our vernacular phrases "bluster" and "swagger." In Hector the infirmity assumes a more offensive form than in the Greek heroes who indulge in it, owing to the magnitude of his deeds being, as a general rule, so little in keeping with that of his words. During the brilliant career of Diomed in the fifth book the Trojan chief, it is indirectly implied, was either bewildered or intimidated; for the first notice of his presence on the field is a reproof levelled at his backwardness by his Lycian ally Sarpedon. The justice of the taunt is proved by the mode of its reception: "Hector makes no reply, though cut to the heart."¹ It rouses him, however, to exertion, but his valour is still directed only against the secondary Greek warriors; nor does he venture to face Diomed until reinforced by Mars in person. After the discomfiture of the god by Diomed, no more is heard of Hector, until, quitting the field, he proceeds to the city to propitiate divine aid against the formidable Greek.² On his return, guaranteed on divine authority³ against all personal risk, he challenges the best champion of the enemy to single combat, in an address full of vainglorious pomp; but, on Ajax entering the lists, Hector is described as trembling, and ready to evade the contest could he have done so with a good grace.⁴ In a subsequent battle, when Diomed is actually forced off the field by the thunderbolts of Jupiter, after struggling, with a heroism altogether unknown to the Trojan chief,

¹ V. 472—493.² VI. 102.³ VII. 52.⁴ VII. 216.

against his irresistible adversary, the assertion by Hector of the whole credit of a victory in which he had no share, and his exulting taunts against the Greek hero, form a climax of bullying rhodomontade: VIII. 164., cf. 532.

ἔρρε κακὴ γλήνη! ἐπεὶ οὐκ, εἴξαντος ἐμεῖο,
πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσαιοι. . . .

The same tone is maintained in the ensuing address to his troops; and here may be observed another characteristic of his vaunting rhetoric, that his allusions to the past, present, or anticipated successes of the Trojans are habitually, if not invariably, couched in the first person. By *his* single arm the whole Greek army was to be cut to pieces, their fleet to be destroyed: VIII. 178.

τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἀμὸν ἐρύξει. . . .
ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσι γένωμαι, . . .
ὡς πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσω, κτείνω δὲ καὶ αὐτούς.¹ . .

In the sequel his scorn for "the girlish caitiff" Diomed, is somewhat damped by his defeat in single combat by that hero, from whom he escapes his death-blow by a timely flight.² The blunt simplicity of the Greek hero's style of asserting his real superiority is here finely contrasted with Hector's inflated tone of exultation, often called forth by victories in which he had no share. His contempt for Achilles while absent, is equal to that for Diomed, and is amusingly displayed in his present by anticipation of the Myrmidon chief's horses to Dolon, in reward of his proffered services as spy.³

¹ Conf. 498. 526., XI. 288., XVI. 835., XVIII. 293. These and other similar passages seem too pointed to be the result of anything but specific design.

² XI. 359. sqq.; conf. XI. 542., XIV. 408.

³ X. 329.

Another favourite form in which his vainglorious spirit displays itself, is his prospective enjoyment of the eulogies to be passed by posterity on his exploits.¹ This weakest point in his character is also illustrated by one of the happiest similes in the Iliad. When charging with impetuous valour, and threatening, in his usual tone of menace and bluster so long as he meets with no resistance, to annihilate Greeks, ships, and ramparts, but suddenly halting and retreating before a body of resolute opponents, he is compared to a fragment of rock rolling furiously down a precipitous declivity, but brought to an immediate standstill on reaching the level plain.²

It is, however, in the last scene of the life of Patroclus, that this unfavourable side of Hector's character is most broadly exhibited. On the panic produced by the sudden appearance of the friend of Achilles on the field, Hector is the first to fly, strenuously exhorting his troops to follow him.³ No sooner however had the death-blow of Patroclus been inflicted by another hand, than Hector steps in, and, putting the finishing stroke to his sufferings, forthwith arrogates to himself the whole credit of the conquest.⁴ The dying words of Patroclus are a spirited reproof of the meanness and ferocity of this conduct. In the ensuing struggle for the body, the risk of a meeting with Ajax upon equal terms is avoided by a speedy retreat into the ranks. This pusillanimity calls forth two successive reproofs from the Lycian prince Glaucus⁵, similar to the one formerly administered by that hero's brother Sar-

¹ VII. 37. 300., VI. 477.

² XIII. 136. sqq.

³ XVI. 367. sqq. 656.

⁴ XVI. 818—843.

⁵ XVI. 538., XVII. 129—141.

pedon. The same afternoon Hector flies terror-struck before the mere voice of Achilles, standing naked in the distance. Yet, in the evening council of war, he affects to disdain the notion of any superiority in the mighty Hellene, on whom he even pledges himself¹, scorning the wise caution of Polydamas, to inflict summary chastisement on the following day. It need scarcely be added, that this bravado was as completely falsified by the issue of the ensuing combat as it was fatally expiated.

ÆNEAS,

Character
of Æneas.

18. The commander next in rank to Hector is one of that respectable and blameless class of heroes, who, without salient features either of singularity or defect, have been often promoted by popular epic poets to the dignity of protagonist. In this capacity, as the experience of most readers can testify, they seldom fail to acquit themselves with much propriety perhaps, but with a proportional degree of dulness.² In the *Iliad* however the commonplace attributes of Æneas,

¹ XVIII. 285. sq.

² Among the great poets of antient or modern times, there is none more deficient in that highest attribute of his art, the portraiture of human character, than the elegant and popular bard of Rome. It is therefore both a curious and a fortunate coincidence, that precisely the one among Homer's heroes whom the nature of Virgil's subject led him to select as the protagonist of his own poem, should be the one whose equality of disposition came more immediately within the sphere of its author's talent. Hector or Diomed would in his hands infallibly have forfeited their genuine Homeric spirit. An elaborate effort to maintain their distinctive features would have resulted but in servile imitation; an attempt at novelty would have invested them with the ranting ferocity of Turnus, or the solemn dignity of Æneas himself. Even the slight variations in the character of the Dardanian chief are not successful. While they fail to enliven its tameness, they divest it of that moral worth which in the *Iliad* forms its most agreeable attribute.

unshackled as he is with any such higher responsibility, are not without their value. They add at least a pleasing variety to the other livelier traits of human nature, and a seasonable relief to the levity which forms the general characteristic of the hero's countrymen. The valour of Æneas, if less impetuous, is more steady than that of Hector. His undertakings are always equal to his professions, and often superior to his means of performance. He engages manfully both Diomed and Achilles, and on each occasion acquits himself with credit.¹

It was not to be expected that the portrait of such a character would be marked by any broad dramatic touches; yet Homer has managed to shed a warmer ray of interest over it, by allusions to certain peculiarities in the political destiny of the hero, of some importance in their connexion with the mythic cycle of which the *Iliad* forms the nucleus. During the early part of the assault on the Greek lines Æneas is described as standing aloof, from resentment at some indignity lately put on him by Priam, and which is implied to have been but one of a series of similar slights proceeding from the same quarter.² Neither the time, place, nor manner of the offence are mentioned, as being probably matters familiar to the poet's public, and embodied, like other legends to which he incidentally alludes, by other popular organs of mythical lore. Some light, however, is thrown on the mystery by the circumstance that Æneas, in spite of his royal blood and personal merit, is never represented as taking part in the deliberations of the Trojan council. One of the most important meetings of that body, in which the proposal

¹ v. 217. sq., xx. 160. sq.

² xiii. 459.; conf. xii. 99.

of Antenor to accommodate matters by restoring Helen was discussed and rejected, was held immediately before the action where Æneas is described as offended at Priam.¹ All this must be taken in connexion with the cyclic legend, that Antenor and Æneas alone among the Trojans had from the first advocated conciliatory measures. Such conduct could hardly fail to be personally offensive to Priam, as the abettor of his son's iniquities. Hence it may be supposed that the insult resented by Æneas was connected with the late suggestion of Antenor; and the intimacy between the two heroes is confirmed by the circumstance, that the sons of Antenor are described as lieutenants of the troops of Æneas.² In the sequel, the patriotism of the Dardanian chief gets the better of his wrath³, and the next allusion to his personal history is on occasion of his encounter with Achilles. His safety is here described as an object of interest even to the deities most hostile to Troy, and Neptune, in delivering him when defeated, proclaims the decree of destiny, that on the destruction of Ilium and extinction of the race of Priam, "Æneas and his descendants shall continue to reign over the Trojans."⁴ From this text it has been not unreasonably inferred that in Homer's time there existed a state, probably in the Troad or its neighbourhood, which traced its origin to a remnant of the Trojan people, and the reigning family of which claimed a descent from Æneas.

Character
of Hecuba.
Funeral
dirge of
Hector.

19. The spirited individuality imparted to the other leading Trojan characters, Hecuba, Andromache, Paris and Helen, is the more remarkable in proportion to the limited nature of the parts which

¹ VII. 347.

² II. 822.

³ XIII. 489.

⁴ XX. 307.; conf. Hymn. Ven. 197., Heyn. Exc. XVII. ad Æn. II.

they respectively perform. The portrait of each appears to be worked up with the same distinct traces and lively colours as those of Achilles or Hector; yet, on examining the machinery by which so much effect is produced, we find it amounts to but a few incidental speeches or turns of dramatic action.

Hecuba's most prominent appearance on the scene is during the climax of national and domestic calamity consequent on the death of her son. Her character, as there exhibited under the influence of sore affliction and excited passions, is a mixture of the fond mother, the devoted wife, and the high-tempered vindictive virago. While feelingly alive to the cruelty of the Hellenic invaders, she entirely overlooks the provocation they had received, or the folly and iniquity of its authors. In her reply¹ to Priam's announcement of his purpose to visit the quarters of Achilles, her affectionate solicitude for her husband's welfare displays itself, not in the calm persuasive remonstrance suited to such an occasion, but in an impetuous burst of reproof on the madness of his enterprise. Her invectives against Achilles in the sequel of the same address, bespeak the ferocity of the bereaved tigress, rather than the grief of the human mother. In her imputation to him of those very vices of treachery and falsehood which especially attached to her own family, but with which he of all men was least chargeable; and in her broad misstatement of the merits of the cause in which Hector fell, and of his conduct as its champion, the loose morality of her race appears in graphic conjunction with her own ardent temper and revengeful spirit: XXIV. 205.

¹ XXIV. 200.

αἰμηστῆς καὶ ἄπιστος ἀνὴρ ὅδε, οὐ σ' ἐλεήσει,
 οὐδὲ τί σ' αἰδέσεται· . . .
 τοῦ ἐγὼ μέσον ἦπαρ ἔχοιμι
 ἐσθήμεναι προσφῦσα· τότε ἄντιτα ἔργα γένοιτο
 παῖδός ἐμοῦ! ἐπεὶ οὐ ἐκακίζόμενόν γε κατέκτα, . . .
 . . . οὔτε φόβου μεμνημένον οὔτ' ἀλεωρῆς.

Another natural, though far from pleasing, trait of Hecuba, is her harsh treatment of Helen. That heroine herself keenly contrasts the unkindness of her mother-in-law with the unvarying gentleness and courtesy of the generous Priam.

The funeral lamentation¹ uttered alternately by Hecuba, Andromache, and Helen, over the corpse of Hector, is another example, to be classed with the debate in the tent of Achilles, of Homer's talent of adapting to different speakers their proper vein of oratory. The tone of Hecuba is here comparatively subdued, as befitted the occasion. Yet, in the midst of her fond ebullition of maternal grief, her vindictive spirit against Achilles still breaks forth, in her expressions of sarcastic triumph over the previous death of his friend by the hand of Hector.

In Andromache, all spirit of anger, so little congenial at any time to her gentle nature, is absorbed in excess of woe. She dwells on her own widowed state, on her infant bereaved of such a father, her country of such a protector. Her mind, wandering with mournful pride over his former glories, anticipates with prophetic horror the approaching fall of the city, and the cruel fate reserved by the Greeks for those nearest and dearest to the author of so much disaster to themselves. Any general remarks on the character of this most interesting heroine will

¹ xxiv. 728. sqq.

be reserved for the *Odyssey*, where the parallel between her and Penelope will aid in illustrating the common genius of the two poems.

Helen's affectionate testimony to the social virtues of her slain brother-in-law, though replete with tender feeling, and expressed with all the suavity and grace which became her, is alloyed by something of the querulous captious spirit which also appears in her whole demeanour throughout the poem. She mourns his death, less as a national calamity, than for the loss it entailed on herself of a friend and supporter under the humiliations to which she was exposed from her other relatives, to whose conduct she cannot withhold a taunting allusion.

20. The best answer perhaps, to the charge of incapacity in a "a poet of so rude an age" to conceive so elaborate a composition as the *Iliad*, is to be found in the characters of Paris and Helen, the hero and heroine on whose destinies the action of the poem fundamentally hinges. Their joint portrait also illustrates a former remark, that the intermediate stage of manners, equally removed from barbarism and refinement, which supplied such materials for the epic art, is precisely that best adapted to secure its perfection. Paris and Helen are the beau and the belle, the man of fashion and the woman of pleasure, of the heroic age. Such characters are essentially unpoetical in more civilised periods. No two can here be more in harmony with the genius of the poem or with each other. Both are unprincipled votaries of sensual enjoyment; both self-willed and petulant, but not devoid of amiable and generous feeling. Both are distinguished for personal graces and accomplishments, and the consequent importance they attach

Characters
of Paris and
Helen.

to elegance of attire, and other means of turning those advantages to account. In both, this combination of attributes has been shadowed forth with a graphic precision, the more remarkable considering the limited appearance of each on the scene.

The general conduct of Paris exhibits that mixture of conflicting qualities, of bravery and effeminacy, petulance and good-humour, self-conceit and submissive respect for the superior worth of others, so common, as the experience of every man of the world can testify, in persons of similar tastes and habits. It is obviously not the effect of accident, that in the opening scene of the first battle¹, this gallant adventurer, the primary cause of the whole mischief, appears as the prominent figure, strutting with all the airs of a national champion in front of the Trojan lines. No sooner however does he observe Menelaus advancing to engage him, than conscience-smitten and crest-fallen he retreats into the ranks: but the moment after, stung by the reproof of Hector, he proposes and manfully sustains a single combat with his rival. The ensuing altercation in the chamber of Helen, and the mode in which by mutual consent it is brought to a close, are equally characteristic. After lounging the greater part of the day in her apartments, he is found by Hector² engaged in burnishing his armour; and when again roused to activity by his brother's reproof, he issues to the battle with an ostentatious gaiety illustrated by one of the finest similes in the *Iliad*, that of the horse emancipated from the stall and prancing across the plain to the river.³ The more rational side of his

¹ III. 16. sqq.

² VI. 313.

³ VI. 506.

character is exhibited chiefly in his interviews with Hector, whose martial superiority commands his profound respect. He submits in silence to the most cutting reproofs of his noble brother, and cheerfully obeys all his suggestions. It is true, on the other hand, that Hector's remonstrances are directed solely at his want of energy in the field. They never touch on his amorous indulgence, or the duty of reparation for his crime. The proposal of Antenor to the latter effect is received in a very different spirit, with the petulant effrontery of the spoiled child and pampered man of pleasure.

Helen is the female counterpart of Paris. Daughter of an illustrious royal house, the most beautiful princess of her age, she is wedded in extreme youth to a husband who, however worthy of her choice, seems not to have engaged her affections. She becomes, consequently, an easy victim of the fascinating adventurer destined by the goddess of love as her future partner. Helen, as frequently happens with frail women, a natural result perhaps of the same susceptibility in which their failings originate, is distinguished by tenderness of heart and kindly disposition. Traces of better principle seem also to lurk under the general levity of her habits. Though a faithful consort to Paris, who on his part is no way deficient in the duties of husband or lover, she still entertains a fond remembrance of her days of youthful innocence. She looks back at times with remorse and regret, almost with longing desire, to her native land, her deserted child, and the home of her fathers; and is as ready to acknowledge and condemn her own faults, as to appreciate the opposite

virtues of others.¹ The finer touches with which her portrait is worked up are all of the more delicate dramatic description. In the emotion she displays at the invitation of Æneas to go forth to the ramparts and witness the preparation for the duel between her past and present husband; in her dignified advance to the admiring old senators; in her grief and self-reproach at the distant view of her countrymen and former friends; in her petulant argument with her patron goddess after the defeat of Paris; in the taunts thrown out against his cowardice, coupled with returning fondness for his person; in her frank acknowledgment to Hector of the common failings of herself and lover; and in her affectionate lamentation for the fate of her noble brother-in-law, mingled with selfish tears for her own distresses, are exhibited to the life all the finer features of that mixed female character, which, while we pity and condemn, we are constrained to love and admire.

If the facts in the foregoing analysis be correctly stated, and the citations admit of being verified, it seems difficult to understand how any impartial reader, who has carefully weighed those facts and citations, can believe it possible that a series of such singularly delicate portraits, individualised by so subtle a unity of mechanism, not only in their broader features of peculiarity, but in the nicest turns of sentiment and phraseology, can be the produce of the medley of artists to which the Wolfian school assigns them. It were about as probable that some ten or twenty sculptors of the age of Pericles, undertaking, without previous concert, each a different

¹ III. 139. 173., VI. 344., XXIV. 764. sqq.

part or limb of a statue of Jupiter, should have produced the Olympian Jove of Phidias, as that a number of ballad-singers of the ante-Olympic era should have combined, by a similar process of patch-work, in producing the Achilles, or Agamemnon, the Priam, the Hector, or the Helen of Homer.

CHAP. VIII.

HOMER. ODYSSEY. CONCORDANCE OF THE TEXT.

1. EPITOME OF THE ACTION. — 2. PLAN OF THE POEM CONTRASTED WITH THAT OF THE ILIAD. — 3. APOLOGUE OF ALCINOÛS. — 4. VOYAGE OF TELEMACHUS. NOËMON. PIRÆUS CLYTIDES. — 5. MELANTHIUS AND MELANTHO. THE SEER THEOCLYMENUS. — 6. PERVADING INFLUENCE OF APOLLO.

1. A SIMILAR course of analysis will here be pursued in regard to the plan and composition of the *Odyssey* as in the previous case of the *Iliad*. Attention will first be directed to the mechanical structure, and next to the poetical design, of the work.

I.

Epitome of
the action.

After all the other heroes of the Trojan war had either perished or resettled in their homes¹, Ulysses, bereaved of his fleet and companions, victims of their own impiety in slaughtering the oxen of the Sun², is detained in exile by the sea goddess Calypso in her island of Ogygia.³ The origin of his disasters is traced to the vengeance of Neptune, who, indignant at the blinding of his son Polyphemus, had vowed unrelenting persecution, to any extent short of death, against the hero, up to the moment when he should set foot on his native island.⁴ The rest of the gods, friendly to Ulysses, take council concerning him in Olympus, during the absence of Neptune in Æthiopia.⁵ Pallas entreats Jove to send Mercury to Calypso with an order for his release.⁶ She then proceeds to Ithaca, to instigate Telemachus, after protesting in public assembly against the oppression of his mother's suitors, to undertake a voyage to Pylos and Sparta⁷, and inquire of Nestor and Menelaus, the most recently returned among the heroes of

¹ 11. 286.; conf. III. 181. 188. sqq. ² 8.; conf. XII. 353., XI. 108.

³ 14. 51. 84.; conf. IV. 557., V. 30., VII. 244., XVII. 140. ⁴ 21. 75.; conf. VI. 331., IX. 532. sqq., XI. 102., XIII. 125. 341. ⁵ 22.; conf. V. 282.

⁶ 84.; conf. V. 28., X. 277.

⁷ 279. sqq.; conf. II. 262.

the war¹, concerning his father's fate. In the disguise of Mentes, a neighbouring chief, she is hospitably received by the young prince. Phemius, the court bard of Ithaca, attends unwillingly at the banquet² of the suitors. In the course of the various dialogues mention is made of the distressed condition of old Laertes in his country retirement³, and of the vengeance recently inflicted at Mycenæ, in the eighth year after the fall of Troy, by Orestes, on Ægisthus the murderer of his father Agamemnon.⁴

II.

The next morning the Ithacan assembly is held. The debate is opened by Ægyptius, father of Antiphus, one of the mariners of Ulysses devoured by Polyphemus. Antinoüs and Eurymachus, the ringleaders of the suitors, justify their own conduct and blame Penelope, who, after authorising their courtship by a promise to select a husband from among them on completion of her pretended web⁵, had treacherously failed of performance. They make light of the projected voyage of Telemachus, not expecting he will have the spirit to carry it into effect.⁶ After the council, Telemachus offers up a prayer to Pallas, reminding her of her promises and advice of the day before.⁷ She appears to him in the form of Mentor an old friend of his father. With her assistance he takes his measures the same night; collects his crew, borrows a vessel of Noëmon⁸ another friend, and sets sail, communicating his intention to no one in the palace but his father's nurse Euryclea, on whom he enjoins secrecy.⁹

III.

In the morning he arrives with Mentor at Pylos. Nestor describes the fate of the heroes of Troy, all of whom, with the single exception of Ulysses, had either perished or resettled in their native seats.¹⁰ Nestor also mentions the recent death of Ægisthus by the hand of Orestes, eight years after the murder of Agamemnon.¹¹ He advises his guest to visit Sparta, where Menelaus, being lately returned from his own eight years of wandering¹²,

¹ 286.; conf. III. 306., IV. 82. ² 154.; conf. XXII. 351. ³ 189.; conf. IV. 735., et locc. citt. ⁴ 300.; conf. 30. 40., III. 198. 257. 306. sqq., IV. 82. 91. 546., XI. 409., XIII. 382.

⁵ 87. sqq.; conf. XIX. 138. ⁶ 301.; conf. IV. 638. sq. ⁷ 262.; conf. I. 279. ⁸ 386.; conf. IV. 630. ⁹ 348. 373.; conf. IV. 742.

¹⁰ 181.; conf. I. 11. et locc. citt. ¹¹ 198.; conf. I. 300., et locc. citt. ¹² 306.; conf. I. 286., IV. 82.

will be more competent to afford the desired information. Next morning Telemachus sets out in a chariot with Pisistratus son of Nestor, and on the second night is hospitably received at Sparta by Menelaus.

IV.

On the morrow Menelaus relates his travels, and informs his guests of what he had heard of the detention of Ulysses in the island of Calypso, from Proteus the prophetic sea god of Egypt¹, who had also predicted his own return in the eighth year, just after the death of Ægisthus by the hand of Orestes², as since fulfilled. During the absence of Telemachus, the suitors are apprised of his expedition by Noëmen³, who, in want of his vessel, inquires of them the probable period of his return. They are astonished at the prince's boldness, supposing him to be only absent at his farm.⁴ By advice of Antinoüs they determine to waylay and murder him on his voyage home. Antinoüs fits out a vessel for that purpose, and takes his station at the island of Asteris.⁵ Penelope, informed by Medon⁶ the herald of the suitors' plot, extracts the particulars of her son's expedition from Euryclea⁷, and sends for the chief gardener Dolius from the farm, in order that he may convey the intelligence to the old king Laertes.⁸

V.

In the council of Olympus Pallas again complains of the fate of her favourite Ulysses, and Jupiter assures her that both the hero and his son will safely return and baffle the designs of the suitors. He then dispatches Hermes⁹ to procure the release of Ulysses, and his passage from Ogygia¹⁰ to Scheria; whence the Phæacians will transport him, laden with rich presents¹¹, to Ithaca. On the fifth day afterwards the hero sets sail on a raft. After an eighteen days' voyage¹² he arrives within sight of Scheria, where Neptune, on his journey from Æthiopia¹³, descries him, raises a

¹ 557.; conf. i. 14., et locc. citt. ² 82. 91. 546.; conf. i. 286., et locc. citt., 300., et locc. citt. ³ 630.; conf. ii. 386. ⁴ 638. 663.; conf. ii. 301. ⁵ 669.; conf. 846., xiii. 425., xv. 28. 300., xvi. 352. ⁶ 696.; conf. xvi. 412, xxiii. 371. ⁷ 742.; conf. ii. 348. ⁸ 735. sqq.; conf. xxiv. 205. 387., i. 189., xi. 187., xv. 353.

⁹ 28.; conf. i. 84., x. 277. ¹⁰ 30. sq.; conf. i. 14., et locc. citt.

¹¹ 37.; conf. xiii. 119. 135. 10. sq., viii. 389. 438. ¹² 278.; conf. vii. 268. ¹³ 282. sqq.; conf. i. 22.

storm, and dashes the raft to pieces. Ulysses, under the joint protection of Pallas and the sea goddess Leucothea, after swimming during two days on a plank, reaches the shore of Scheria in safety, but cold and naked, near the mouth of a river¹; and, nestling in the bushes falls asleep.

VI.

Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinoüs king of the Phæacians, warned by Minerva in a dream, descends in the morning with her damsels to the river², to wash the family clothes. Ulysses, roused by their voices, awakes and implores her protection. She supplies him with food and raiment³, and instructs him to follow her into the city at a later hour, and, on arrival at the palace, to appeal to the good offices of her mother Arete⁴, who will procure him a safe convoy home from her father. Pallas continues to befriend the hero, though secretly for fear of her uncle Neptune, whose wrath against him was to remain unrelaxed until his arrival in Ithaca.⁵

VII.

After sunset the hero enters the city, guided by Minerva in the disguise of a Phæacian maiden. Through the intercession of Arete⁶ he is hospitably received by Alcinoüs, and promised a passage home. The queen recognises the clothes⁷ given him by Nausicaa, as part of her family wardrobe. On being questioned on the subject, he relates his eighteen days' voyage from Ogygia⁸ and shipwreck on their coast.

VIII.

On the following day he is honourably entertained by the Phæacians, and presented with valuable gifts, which queen Arete packs in a precious box.⁹ During the banquet Alcinoüs mentions an antient prophecy, that one of his vessels would be destroyed on its return from friendly convoy of some wandering stranger to his home, and that their city would be overwhelmed with an earthquake by their patron and progenitor Neptune, from jealousy¹⁰

¹ 441.; conf. vi. 85.

² 85.; conf. v. 441. ³ 214.; conf. vii. 238. ⁴ 310.; conf. vii. 145., xi. 338. ⁵ 331.; conf. i. 21., et locc. citt.

⁶ 145.; conf. vi. 310., xi. 338. ⁷ 238.; conf. vi. 214. ⁸ 268. 244.; conf. v. 278., i. 14., et locc. citt.

⁹ 389. 438.; conf. v. 37., et locc. citt. ¹⁰ 565. sqq.; conf. xiii. 149. sqq. 172.

of their skill and activity in naval affairs. He then requests Ulysses to relate his history.

IX.

The hero complies; and, commencing with his departure from Troy, describes his attack on the Ciconians, his visit to the Loto-phagi, and his adventures in the cave of Polyphemus. He relates how that giant, furious at the loss of his eye, offers up a successful prayer to his father Neptune¹ for vengeance on his mutilator: "that, if ever destined to revisit his native land, the hero might return a solitary wanderer, after the entire destruction of his fleet and comrades; and that on his arrival in Ithaca he might be welcomed by fresh troubles and calamities."

X.

Ulysses next describes his arrival at the island of Æolia, and hospitable reception by the lord of the winds, who at parting gives him the adverse gales secured in a bag, Zephyrus being left out to guide his course. The good intentions of the god are defeated by the folly of the mariners, who open the bag and the fleet is driven back to the island. They then sail to the port of the Læstrygonians, by whom the whole armada is destroyed, with the exception of the hero's own vessel and crew. He next arrives at the island of the goddess Circe, where, after baffling her magic arts by aid of Hermes, and checking an attempt at mutiny by his lieutenant Eurylochus², he is entertained by the goddess during a year. At its expiry he sails by her instructions to the infernal regions, to consult Tiresias³ regarding his future destinies. In the hurry of departure Elpenor⁴, one of his mariners, heavy with sleep falls down the stair and breaks his neck.

XI.

On arrival in the Shades Ulysses conjures up the ghosts in the mode enjoined by Circe. The first to appear is that of Elpenor⁵, who complains of his neglected obsequies, and is promised satisfaction on the hero's return to the upper world. Tiresias⁶ predicts

¹ 532. sqq.; conf. i. 21., et locc. citt.

² 429.; conf. xii. 278. sqq. ³ 492.; conf. xi. 90. sqq., xxiii. 251. 323. ⁴ 552.; conf. xi. 51., xii. 10.

⁵ 51.; conf. x. 552., xii. 10. ⁶ 90. sqq.; conf. x. 492., et locc. citt.

the future calamities of Ulysses, consequent on Neptune's anger¹ at the blinding of his Cyclop son, also how the impiety of the hero's crew, in slaughtering the oxen of the Sun² in the isle of Thrinacia, will involve their destruction and that of the hero's remaining vessel; but that he himself will be spared, and return home in a foreign ship to exterminate the suitors. A mysterious prophecy is added concerning his subsequent destiny.³ His mother, Anticlea, next appears, and acquaints him with the state of his family at the epoch of her own death from grief for his supposed loss; Penelope is described as a mourning widow, and Laertes as wasting his life in solitude at his farm.⁴ After relating his interview with the shades of other celebrated females, the hero pauses, and Arete congratulates the audience on the genius of the guest she has been the means of introducing to them.⁵ In the sequel he relates his dialogue with the ghost of Agamemnon, who describes his own murder⁶ by Ægisthus and Clytemnestra. While praising the superior virtue of Penelope, he warns Ulysses against over-reliance even on her fidelity, advising him, on his return, first to ascertain, in disguise⁷, the state of his domestic affairs. After interviews with Achilles, Ajax, and other heroes, Ulysses sails back to the island of Circe.

XII.

He performs the promised rites to Elpenor⁸, and commences his voyage homewards, with directions from Circe how to escape the perils of the Sirens, Scylla, and Charybdis. She charges him more especially not to meddle with the oxen of the Sun on the shore of Thrinacia. On approaching the dangerous passes he encourages his crew by the remembrance of their former escape from the jaws of Polyphemus. With the loss of two men, devoured by Scylla, he reaches the Thrinacian coast. His crew, instigated by the mutinous Eurylochus⁹, land, in spite of his remonstrances, and slaughter the sacred cattle.¹⁰ On again setting sail the vessel is destroyed by a tempest. Ulysses alone escaping is carried to Ogygia, the isle of Calypso. Here he ends his

¹ 102.; conf. I. 21., et locc. citt.² 108.; conf. XII. 353., I. 8.³ 119. sqq.; conf. x. 492., et locc. citt. ⁴ 202. 180. sqq.; conf. xv. 358., IV. 735., et locc. citt. ⁵ 338.; conf. vi. 310., et locc. citt. ⁶ 409.; conf.I. 300., et locc. citt. ⁷ 454.; conf. XIII. 397., et locc. citt.⁸ 10.; conf. XI. 51., x. 552. ⁹ 278.; conf. x. 429. ¹⁰ 353.; conf. I. 8., IX. 108.

narrative, having previously described his passage from Ogygia to Scheria.

XIII.

The Phæacian nobles load the hero with presents, in addition to those in the box of Arete.¹ The next evening he embarks in a Phæacian galley, and on the ensuing morning is set ashore in Ithaca fast asleep, together with his valuables.² Neptune complains to Jupiter of the hero's convoy home with so rich a cargo, as an interference, on the part of the Phæacians, with the decree "that he should reach his native land in forlorn condition³;" with Jupiter's sanction, therefore, the god inflicts on them a part of the punishment decreed against their officiousness, by changing their vessel into a rock.⁴ Ulysses awaking, is accosted by Minerva, who informs him of his son's absence in Sparta, and of the ambush of the suitors.⁵ She promises greater efforts in his cause, being now no longer exposed to collision with her uncle, Neptune⁶; and he supplicates her to guard him against the fate of Agamemnon.⁷ She then transforms his outward appearance into that of an aged beggar⁸, gives him a staff⁹, and, bidding him proceed to the hut of his swineherd Eumæus, departs for Lacedæmon¹⁰ to attend to the affairs of Telemachus.

XIV.

Ulysses, on approaching the farm of Eumæus, is attacked by the dogs, and loses his staff.¹¹ He is protected and hospitably entertained by the swineherd, to whom he relates a series of fictitious adventures.

XV.

Pallas, on arriving at Sparta¹², warns Telemachus in a vision to return home, avoiding in his voyage the ambush of the suitors¹³; and on reaching Ithaca to visit the swineherd. The prince ac-

¹ 10. sqq.; conf. viii. 438., v. 37., et locc. citt. ² 119, 120.; conf. v. 37., et locc. citt. ³ 125.; conf. i. 21., et locc. citt. ⁴ 149. 172.; conf. viii. 565. ⁵ 425.; conf. iv. 669., et locc. citt. ⁶ 341.; conf. i. 21., et locc. citt. ⁷ 382.; conf. i. 300., et locc. citt. ⁸ 397. 430.; conf. xi. 454., xvi. 172. 455. ⁹ 437.; conf. xiv. 31., xvii. 195. ¹⁰ 440.; conf. iv. 620., xv. 1.

¹¹ 31.; conf. xiii. 437., xvii. 195.

¹² 1.; conf. xiii. 440., iv. 620. ¹³ 28. 300.; conf. iv. 669., et locc. citt.

cordingly, retracing with Pisistratus his former route, arrives at Pylos. When about to embark for Ithaca he is accosted by the seer Theoclymenus¹, a fugitive from Argos on account of homicide, to whom he affords a passage to Ithaca. The vessel escapes the ambush of Antinoüs by a circuitous course. The same evening Eumæus describes the death of Anticlea, mother of Ulysses, from grief for the supposed loss of her son², with the low condition of Laertes.³ Telemachus, on reaching the nearest shore of Ithaca, lands, and, committing Theoclymenus to the care of Piræus⁴, one of his crew, until his own arrival in the city, sends the vessel on to port⁵, and proceeds direct to the swineherd's dwelling. Theoclymenus, before parting, prophesies⁶ the speedy restoration of the affairs of Ulysses.

XVI.

Telemachus finds Ulysses at breakfast with Eumæus, whom he sends to apprise Penelope of his return. Ulysses, restored by Pallas to his natural form⁷, reveals himself to his son. They concert measures for the destruction of the suitors, by removing the arms from the palace hall⁸, and assaulting the gang unawares. In the meantime the vessel of Telemachus enters the port of Ithaca.⁹ The valuables he had collected in his travels are deposited in the house of Clytius.¹⁰ Soon after, the suitors' galley, disappointed of its object, returns.¹¹ Antinoüs proposes a fresh attempt on the life of Telemachus, but is dissuaded from it by the less depraved Amphinomus.¹² Penelope, apprised by Eumæus of the arrival of Telemachus, reproaches the suitors with their late designs against her son's life, communicated to her by Medon the herald.¹³ Eumæus, in the course of the evening, rejoins Telemachus and Ulysses, now retransformed by Minerva into a mendicant.¹⁴

XVII.

In the morning Telemachus walks into the town. He again

¹ 223. sqq.; conf. 529. 540., xvii. 72., xx. 372. ² 358.; conf. xi.

202. ³ 353.; conf. iv. 735., et locc. citt. ⁴ 540.; conf. 223., et locc.

citt. ⁵ 503.; conf. xvi. 322. ⁶ 530.; conf. xvii. 160.

⁷ 172.; conf. 455., xiii. 397., et locc. citt. ⁸ 284.; conf. xix. 4.,

xxii. 109. ⁹ 322.; conf. xv. 503. ¹⁰ 327.; conf. xvii. 75., et locc.

citt. ¹¹ 352.; conf. iv. 669., et locc. citt. ¹² 394.; conf. xviii. 124.

153., xx. 244., xxii. 92. ¹³ 412.; conf. iv. 696., xxii. 371. ¹⁴ 455.;

conf. xiii. 397., et locc. citt.

receives Theoclymenus under his protection from Piræus¹, to whose care he consigns the goods brought from Peloponnesus, in order to save them from the suitors' rapacity.² He repeats to his mother what he had heard from Menelaus on the authority of Proteus, concerning his father's detention by Calypso³, and Theoclymenus renews his prophecy of the hero's speedy reappearance.⁴ Eumæus, and Ulysses in his character of beggar, provided with a new staff⁵ by the swineherd, set out later in the day for the town. On the way the hero is insulted by Melanthius one of his own goatherds, son of Dolius and a favourite of Eurymachus.⁶ Ulysses, on arriving at the palace, is contumeliously treated by Antinoüs. Eumæus, in answer to Penelope's inquiries concerning the mendicant guest, informs her of his own three days' entertainment of him at the farm, and of the tidings he professed to have brought of her husband. The queen appoints an interview with the stranger for that evening, in order to make her inquiries in person.⁷

XVIII.

Ulysses chastises the insolence of the beggar Irus, a habitual frequenter of the suitors' banquet. Antinoüs and Eurymachus continue to take the lead in levity and riot. Amphinomus, with better feelings, has gloomy forebodings of evil, which, however, are not sufficient to induce him to flee from the wrath to come, destined as he was to fall by the hand of Telemachus.⁸ Ulysses is insulted by Melantho, daughter of Dolius, one of the faithless maidens of Penelope, and paramour of Eurymachus.⁹ The revellers soon after retire to repose.

XIX.

Ulysses and Telemachus, when left alone, in accordance with

¹ 72.; conf. xv. 223. 540., xx. 372. ² 75. sqq.; conf. xvi. 327., xv. 540. ³ 140.; conf. iv. 557., et locc. citt., i. 14., et locc. citt. ⁴ 160.; conf. xv. 530. ⁵ 195.; conf. xiv. 31., xiii. 437. This passage of book xvii. has been adduced by B. Thiersch, among other equally forcible arguments, in favour of the doctrine of a patchwork Odyssey. The gift of Eumæus is, he asserts, incompatible with xiii. 437., where Ulysses was already provided with a staff by Minerva. The ingenious critic has overlooked xiv. 31., where the hero loses his divine walking-stick in his encounter with the dogs. ⁶ 212. 257.; conf. xviii. 321., xix. 65. sqq., xx. 6. 173. ⁷ 508.; conf. xix. 53. sq.

⁸ 124—153.; conf. xvi. 394., et locc. citt. ⁹ 321. sqq.; conf. xvii. 212., et locc. citt.

their previous plan, remove the arms from the palace hall.¹ Penelope holds her interview with her disguised husband², who is again exposed to the insolence of Melantho.³ The queen explains her stratagem of the web, by which she had deceived the suitors.⁴ Euryclea, while washing the hero's feet, recognises him by a scar received in his youth from the tusk of a boar, when hunting in Parnassus⁵; but, warned by Ulysses, she conceals her discovery. Penelope resolves to entertain the suitors on the morrow with a contest of archery, in shooting through a row of axe-heads⁶ with the bow of Ulysses, the winner to have a prior claim to her hand.

XX.

Ulysses reposes in the outer court of the palace, where his slumbers are disturbed by the wanton maidens going forth to join their paramours among the suitors.⁷ The next morning being the feast of Apollo, the revels of the suitors are renewed at an early hour.⁸ Melanthius⁹ the rebel goatherd, and Philœtius¹⁰, a loyal oxherd, arrive with cattle for the daily banquet. The murder of Telemachus is again proposed in the council of suitors, and the project again dropped at the instance of Amphinomus.¹¹ Ctesippus throws an ox-heel at the head of the disguised king.¹² Theoclymenus warns them of their approaching fate, but is ridiculed by Eurymachus, and retires to the lodging of Piræus.¹³

XXI.

Penelope, as had been arranged, proposes to the suitors the trial of archery with the bow of Ulysses¹⁴, which not one of them is able to string. The hero reveals himself to Eumæus and Philœtius¹⁵ the oxherd, by means of the same boar-tusk wound observed by Euryclea.¹⁶ He begs for a trial of the bow, but is refused by the suitors. Penelope, after urging them to grant his

¹ 4. sqq.; conf. xvi. 284., xxii. 109.² 53. sqq.; conf. xvii. 508.³ 65. sqq.; conf. xvii. 212. ⁴ 138.; conf. ii. 87. ⁵ 393.; conf. xxi. 221., xxiii. 74. ⁶ 572. sqq.; conf. xxi. 1.⁷ 6. sqq.; conf. xvii. 212., et locc. citt. ⁸ 155.; see infra, § 6. of this chapter. ⁹ 173.; conf. xvii. 212., et locc. citt. ¹⁰ 185.; conf. xxi. 189., xxii. 104. 285. ¹¹ 244.; conf. xvii. 394., et locc. citt. ¹² 299.; conf. xxii. 290. ¹³ 372.; conf. xvii. 72., et locc. citt.¹⁴ 1. sqq.; conf. xix. 572. ¹⁵ 189.; conf. xx. 185., xxii. 104. 285.¹⁶ 221.; conf. xix. 393., xxiii. 74.

request, retires to her apartments. He then obtains possession of the bow, bends it, and shoots the arrow through the axe-heads.

XXII.

Supported by Telemachus, Eumæus, Philæti¹, and Pallas, Ulysses assaults the suitors. Antinoüs and Eurymachus are slain by Ulysses, Amphinomus by Telemachus², who supplies his party with fresh weapons from the armoury above stairs.³ Melanthius, detected in a similar attempt, is bound and placed in durance. Philæti⁴ kills Ctesippus, telling him ironically that his death-wound is in return for the cow-heel aimed at the head of Ulysses.⁴ In the end the whole suitor crew are destroyed, except Phemius the bard⁵ and Medon the herald⁶, both having been secretly faithful to the interests of the family, amid an apparent adherence to the suitors. Melanthius and the traitorous females are hanged in the court.

XXIII.

Euryclea informs the queen of the return of Ulysses, of the death of the suitors, and of her recognition of the hero by the scar on his leg.⁷ Penelope, at first incredulous, is convinced by other proofs of his identity. Ulysses anticipating a tumult among the relatives of the suitors, resolves to withdraw in the morning to the farm of Laertes, and take further measures for the reestablishment of his authority. On retiring to rest he recapitulates his past adventures to Penelope, with the mysterious prophecy of Tiresias relative to his future destiny.⁸

XXIV.

Hermes conducts the souls of the suitors to Hades. Ulysses, on arrival at the farm of Laertes, finds him working in his garden⁹, and reveals himself. The friends of the suitors, instigated by Eupithes father of Antinoüs, march to avenge the death of their patrons. Ulysses and Laertes, with Dolius and his sons, attack and defeat the rebels; and, through the interposition of Minerva, peace and the royal authority are restored.

¹ 104. 285.; conf. xx. 185., xxi. 189. ² 92.; conf. xvi. 394., et locc. citt. ³ 109.; conf. xvi. 284., xix. 4. ⁴ 290.; conf. xx. 299.

⁵ 351.; conf. i. 154. ⁶ 371.; conf. xvi. 412., iv. 696.

⁷ 74.; conf. xix. 393., xxi. 221. ⁸ 251. sqq. 323.; conf. x. 492., et locc. citt.

⁹ 205. 387.; conf. iv. 735., et locc. citt.

2. In pointing out, on a former occasion, the simplicity of design and continuity of action in the *Iliad*, as important elements of its characteristic dignity and grandeur, the plan of the *Odyssey* was appealed to in the way of contrast. In proportion as the adventures of the latter poem are more lively and varied, ranging over a longer period of time and wider extent of space, they naturally involve a greater complication of plot and a more heterogeneous body of actors. This variety of materials the poet, in consistently following out the genius of his subject, has embodied with a corresponding variety of arrangement. In spite however of that chequering and interlacing of the narrative, and those frequent transitions from one to another part of the widely extended scene of action, the dramatic interest of the poem is no less united in itself, and no less firmly concentrated around its one main object, the destinies of Ulysses, than the graver and more solid plot of the *Iliad* around those of Achilles.

Plan of the poem contrasted with that of the *Iliad*.

It is further evident, that although this complexity, as producing a greater apparent disconnexion of the parts of the poem, may seem at first view to favour the theory of their independent origin, yet, if the corresponding nicety of the mode in which they are interwoven be taken into account, the result is even less compatible with any such theory than the more simple arrangement of the *Iliad*. Hence, while with some more zealous but less critical followers of Wolf, the comparatively disjointed action of the *Odyssey* has supplied ground for still more determined attacks than have been directed against the *Iliad*, the more sagacious commentators of the same school have admitted the difficulties interposed by

this intricacy of mechanical structure to be most formidable or even insuperable. This might be made the more apparent, by submitting the integral portions of the poem to the same specific test of analysis formerly applied to the corresponding subdivisions of the *Iliad*. In the present case however, leaving the reader who may be so disposed, to follow out such narrower scrutiny for himself by aid of the foregoing compendium, we shall be content with a few general remarks on some of the more delicate or more characteristic links in the general chain of connexion.

"Apologue
of Alcinoüs,"

3. The "Apologue of Alcinoüs"¹ is perhaps, upon the whole, the subdivision of the *Odyssey* combining the greatest amount of those requisites which, by the aid of a certain degree of alteration, addition, or curtailment, might constitute it an independent poem; and as such, accordingly, it has been classed by modern authorities.² It would however be impossible, by such expedients, to reduce it to any other form than that of a personal or autobiographical narrative. But it may safely be pronounced altogether foreign to the genius of the primitive epic muse that such a narrative should stand alone. In modern times the hero of a romance may, with, or even possibly without, the ceremony of a prefatory notice in the title-page, be introduced relating his history to an imaginary audience: but in an age to which scarcely an alphabetic letter, still less a written volume, is conceded, the supposition of a poet or rhapsodist, not content with telling his story in his own person, actually presenting himself to his audience in that of

¹ B. ix—xii.

² Wolf. Prol. p. 121.; W. Müll. Hom. Vorsch. ed. 1836, p. 101.

his hero, cannot for a moment be entertained. This series of adventures must, therefore, from the first have belonged to the body of narrative with which it is now connected. The rule obviously extends with still greater force to the subordinate cantos of the series. They may possibly be interpolations. But the notion of three or four such original independent specimens of personal narrative were still less admissible than that of a single one.

In the *Odyssey* however, as in the *Iliad*, it is even less perhaps in these bulkier heads of adventure, embodying standard points of national legend, that the mechanical unity of parts is displayed, than in a class of minor transactions which could hardly by any possibility be other than the personal invention of the poet. Attention may here again be directed to the easy artless manner in which the secondary actors are brought forward, dismissed, and reproduced, from time to time, often in widely separate portions of the drama. The names, for example, of three or four leading suitors, with the principal traits of their character, may have been matters of common tradition; but no such indulgence can be extended to the heralds, waiting-maids, goatherds, bards, beggars, and other petty performers, who all fulfil their respective functions with the same consistent unity as the protagonist himself. The following examples have been selected, among many perhaps still more to the purpose, as illustrating at the same time other features in the mechanism of the poet's art.

4. In the second book *Telemachus*, when about to sail for *Pylos*, after the refusal of the suitors to lend him a ship, procures one from a friend called *Noëmon*¹,

Voyage of
Telemachus. Noëmon.

¹ II. 386.

otherwise unknown to fame, but who, in the fourth book, is again introduced as in want of his vessel, and anxiously inquiring¹ as to the period of its return. This circumstance is in itself somewhat strange. The wealth of the Ithacan royal family must have comprised ships, and it is nowhere implied that this particular portion of that wealth had been confiscated by the suitors, while the existing heir was left in possession of his lands, cattle, and other goods. To whatever cause the anomaly be due, it is not likely to have been consistently followed up by more than one poet. The borrowed ship is manned with volunteers selected by Mentor from the youth of the city. On reaching Ithaca, on his return from the voyage, the prince lands at his farm, and sends on his vessel to the port, commissioning Piræus², a confidential comrade, to take charge of his property, and protect during his absence a stranger of distinction, to whom he had afforded a passage from Pylos. We then leave the ship, and accompany Telemachus across the country to the cottage of Eumæus. After a long interval, in the latter part of the next canto, we rejoin the ship already in port, and are somewhat surprised to find the goods of Telemachus lodged, not in the house of Piræus to whose care they had been committed, but of another person called Clytius³, of whom nothing had yet been heard. At the commencement of the seventeenth book, however, Telemachus on arriving in the town finds Piræus in the marketplace, who accosts him, and begs he will send servants from the palace to his (Piræus's) house, to receive the property lately lodged in it. Here then, on first view, there is a manifest discrepancy. In

Piræus
Clytides.

¹ IV. 630.

² XV. 540.

³ XVI. 327.

one place Piræus, in another Clytius, is made to take charge of the goods. The matter, however, is explained by reference to the passage where Piræus is first mentioned, and where the patronymic Clytides is added to his name. He was therefore, like Telemachus, a youth as yet unsettled in life, and resident with his father; his friend's goods are carried consequently, as a matter of course, to his father's house, which is afterwards familiarly described as his own. This artless chain of mutual connexion supplies evidence, both of original unity in the parts of the poem, and of an audience familiar with many minor details of the subject, the suppression of which might give trouble to a reader of an age some three thousand years removed. Had Homer, in the first address of Telemachus to Piræus, happened to omit his patronymic, as he might very naturally have done, this series of passages, which now so clearly evinces the unity of composition, would have been adduced as conclusive argument of patchwork.

5. The male representative of the rebellious vas-salage of Ulysses is the goatherd Melanthius. The female ringleader of the same faction is Melantho¹, waiting-maid of Penelope. The correspondence of name and disposition naturally leads to suspect some blood relationship between the two. Nowhere however is there any notice to that effect on the part of Homer. It is only by collation of incidental passages, at widely distant intervals, that we are led to infer they are brother and sister. Melantho is described, in xviii. 321., as the daughter of Dolius, head gardener and favourite servant of Laertes, and as having been educated by Penelope with great tenderness

Melanthius
and Melan-
tho.

¹ xvii. 212., et locc. supr. citt. in § 1.

for her own service, but now lost to all sense of shame or duty, and the mistress of Eurymachus. Melanthius is also styled son of Dolius ; and, although it is nowhere said that this Dolius was the same person as the father of Melanthe, the fact may be inferred from the circumstance of her paramour Eurymachus being also described as the patron of Melanthius, who accordingly occupies a place by his side when admitted to the table of the suitors.¹ The intimacy with the sister sufficiently explains the favour shown to the brother.

Theocly-
menus the
seer.

Piræus, the friend of Telemachus already noticed, has another bond of connexion with the body of the poem, through the medium of an important, though in some sense superfluous episode, that concerning the seer Theoclymenus², towards whom, in the absence of the prince, Piræus fulfils the duties of hospitality. Neither the first introduction of this stranger, the detailed genealogy of his race, nor his presence in the sequel, has the smallest necessary relation to the historical substance of the action. While it is not therefore very apparent, on first view, what may have induced even a single Homer to admit him at all, it is next to impossible that any number of independent authors or interpolators should have conspired in carrying his interference so systematically through the subsequent stages of the history. There suggests itself however, on closer consideration, a somewhat deeper motive than mere caprice, in the mind of the poet, for the prominence assigned to the mysterious refugee. Among the most valuable expedients for imparting supernatural effect to any great catastrophe was that of

¹ xvii. 257.

² xv. 223., et locc. citt. in § 1.

prophetic agency. In the *Iliad* are several distinguished organs of the divine will; Calchas, Helenus, Polydamas. In *Ithaca* no such character is mentioned, with the exception indeed of Leodes, himself one of the suitors, and as such virtually disqualified for the office of warning his companions of their impending fate. Homer, therefore, has thought fit to introduce one from abroad; nor could a more appropriate selection have been made than that of Theoclymenus, who, as lineal descendant of the Argive Melampus, represents the most distinguished line of Hellenic soothsayers. He is ushered on the stage under circumstances replete with mystery and terror, fleeing the vindictive wrath attendant on one of those crimes from which even the noblest natures in unguarded moments are not exempt; and his presence and interposition become essential to the moral conduct of the plot. The contempt with which his warnings are received, and his brutal treatment by the suitors, while adding to the measure of their enormities, supply, as will be seen hereafter, material for one of the finest scenes of preternatural horror in the whole volume of descriptive poetry.

6. A still more important illustration of the delicacy and depth of the poet's divine mechanism is contained in a series of allusions to certain mysterious peculiarities in the period and circumstances of the catastrophe of the poem. These allusions, taken separately, may appear little more than unimportant commonplaces or puzzling enigmas; but, in the true spirit of their epic connexion, they reflect in a new and brilliant light both the unity and the grandeur of the poet's genius.

Pervading
influence of
Apollo.

Ulysses, soon after his return to his native island,

on two successive occasions, and in terms too solemn to be misunderstood, places the epoch of that return, and of the vengeance to be inflicted by him on the suitors, about the new moon; or, literally, "at the expiry of one month and commencement of another."¹ In the Greek religious calendar, the first days of the month were sacred to Apollo from the remotest period; and the Neomenia, or feast of the New Moon, celebrated in honour of that deity, continued to be one of the most popular festivals in every age of classical antiquity.² On the morning of the day destined for the destruction of the suitors, the fourth after the arrival of Ulysses, they appear earlier than usual in the palace hall. The reason assigned is, "that it is a great public festival,"³ the feast of Apollo in fact, as stated a few lines afterwards, where the heralds are described as leading the victims in procession through the city, and the people as assembled in the Grove of Phœbus. Now it will be remembered that Apollo was, in the primitive mythology, and in that of Homer in particular, the god of sudden death⁴; and the bow, his favourite weapon, was the emblem of his destructive attributes. The bow was also the weapon with which Ulysses was to consummate his vengeance on the suitors. Hence the competition of archery with the hero's bow, appointed by Penelope the day before as a test of their prowess, is selected with ominous propriety as the gymnastic entertainment of the feast of the god. Mark then how impressive the combination.

¹ XIV. 162., XIX. 307.

² Hesiod, W. and D. 770.; Herod. VI. 57.; Philoch. ap. Scholl. min. et Scholl. Buttm. ad Od. XX. 155., XXI. 258.

³ XX. 156. 276.

⁴ See *infra*, Ch. xi. § 5.

The light-hearted traitors, like moths playing round the flame of a candle, were destined, while in the act of honouring the god of the bow and of sudden destruction, on his own feast day and with his own weapon, to be suddenly destroyed by the bow of their injured sovereign. How fearful the self-irony of their unconscious appeals to the patronage of the very deity at whose altar they were about to be sacrificed! In order, however, rightly to apprehend the spirit of these mysterious forewarnings of the impending fatality, it will be proper to trace them as they occur dispersed throughout the latter half of the poem, and for the most part in the mouths of persons who seem to have no distinct consciousness of their import.

The disembarkation of Telemachus on the shore of Ithaca, with his inspired guest Theoclymenus, is greeted by the appearance of a hawk, designated "the swift messenger of Apollo,"¹ tearing a dove to pieces, and strewing the feathers on the earth around the hero. This omen the seer emphatically pronounces to be significant of prosperity and power to the royal house of Ithaca. The allusion to the strewing of the bodies of its enemies by the weapons of the god, as the feathers of the victim had been scattered by his winged messenger, is abundantly obvious.

After the insult offered by the treacherous Melanthius to the disguised Ulysses on his walk to the city, Eumæus puts forth a prayer for the speedy return of his master, to curb and punish such brutal conduct. The goatherd scornfully retorts² with a wish, "that Telemachus were as sure of being smitten that day by Apollo in the palace hall, or of falling

¹ xv. 526. sqq.

² xvii. 251. sqq.

by the hands of the suitors, as he is sure that Ulysses will never return to Ithaca." Now when it is remembered, that not only was Ulysses to return, the minister of his own wrath and that of the god whom the base peasant invokes, but that Melanthius himself was to be involved in the same speedy destruction as his licentious patrons, these few lines, which the careless reader passes over as mere matter of epic routine, will appear replete with ominous allusion to the impending catastrophe.

Penelope, in the course of the same day, hearing that Antinoüs had violated the rights of hospitality in her hall by striking her disguised husband, expresses a wish, in the warmth of her indignation, "that he himself might be stricken by the bowman Apollo:" XVII. 494.

αἶψ' οὕτως αὐτόν σε βάλοι κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων·

and the mode in which the old nurse emphatically follows up the invocation shows that it is pregnant with more than common import: 496

εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρῆσιν τέλος ἡμετέρησι γένοιτο,
οὐκ ἂν τις τούτων γε εὐθρονον ἦϊ ἴκοιτο.

The queen wishes that "the archer Apollo" would destroy Antinoüs; Euryclea rejoins, that, "if *her* desire were fulfilled, not one of the suitors would see the morrow." Now the morrow was Apollo's day; and on it the suitors were destined to be slain by the bow. The nurse's answer therefore, while in its familiar sense merely expressing a wish for their speediest possible destruction, indirectly defines the period appointed for its accomplishment.

On the fatal day itself, Antinoüs, having vainly

attempted to string the bow of Ulysses, proposes to put off the contest until the close of the festival, and after prayer to the god for better success. Here, again, observe the portentous self-irony of some of his reasons : XXI. 258.

*νῦν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἑορτὴ τοῦ θεοῦ
ἀγνή· τίς δέ κε τόξα τιταίνοιτ' ;*

“Who would pollute so pure a festival by feats of archery?” The disguised king commends this proposal, adding sarcastically, that doubtless on the next morning the god, if it be his good pleasure, will inspire them with fresh vigour for the undertaking ; but in the meantime begs to be allowed a trial. In this request he is supported by Penelope, who promises that, should Apollo grant him success, his prowess shall not go unrewarded.¹ His petition is, however, scornfully refused by the suitors ; and when Eumæus, in compliance with the queen’s wish, is about to hand the weapon to the hero, Eurymachus, in his customary tone of scurrility, tells the faithful peasant that “he will make him food for his own swine.” At length when Ulysses, bending the bow and shooting the arrow through the axe-heads, strips himself of his tattered disguise, and mounts the pavement of his palace hall ready to commence the bloody work, he utters the terrible sentence, that “he is now about to aim at a mark which no man yet hath hit, but which he hopes to pierce by the favour of Apollo :” XXII. 6.

*νῦν αὖτε σκοπὸν ἄλλον δν οὔπω τις βάλεν ἀνὴρ,
εἴσομαι αἶ κε τύχωμι, πόρῃ δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων !*

¹ XXI. 281. ; conf. 338.

This whole train of allusions therefore, in a great measure pointless if taken separately, assumes collectively an awful significance as concentrated around the fatality, that Ulysses was suddenly to destroy the suitors with the bow, on the sacred day of Apollo, the god of archery and of sudden destruction. The catastrophe was to take place at the moment when they were assembled to celebrate, with their characteristic levity of demeanour, the festival of the god, and while engaged in a trial of skill with the weapon which, sacred to him, was to deal death to themselves; with the very weapon too, of the man they were outraging, and whose wife and plundered goods were the promised reward of the victor.

What however it may be asked, has induced the genius who conceived this grand poetical moral, to shroud it under so enigmatical a veil?¹ A sufficient answer to such questions might perhaps be, that we have no right to ask them. The following however suggests itself as a natural explanation of the mystery. The special patroness of Ulysses was Pallas. She had been his guardian angel during the Trojan war, and had conducted him safe through the dangers of his late adventurous course. To her therefore the first, and ostensibly the sole credit was to remain of completing the work she had begun.

¹ The fact of a coincidence between the catastrophe of the poem and the feast of Apollo has been observed by O. Müller (Einl. zu ein. Wiss. Myth. p. 360.): but, overlooking the whole train of delicate allusions to that coincidence, he has arrived at the strange opinion that Homer himself was unconscious of their spirit and value; that he is merely the mechanical organ of some obscure tradition, which he neither understood nor appreciated. The equally strange argument by which this view is supported, that the poet nowhere specially directs attention to the fact of Apollo being an agent in the destruction of the suitors, is sufficiently disposed of by the series of passages above cited.

Had the agency of Apollo been brought forward in the prominent form to which its importance might otherwise seem to entitle it, Minerva would have been eclipsed, or a multiplicity of divine interference have resulted, injurious to the harmony of the action. The influence therefore of the god of the bow, with its train of portentous contingencies, has been very properly kept in the background of the picture. The few incidental touches by which it has been shadowed forth speak home, through their very obscurity, with the greater force to the minds of those who appreciate the true spirit of the poem, but must remain a dead letter to such as read it on the principles of Hermann, Wolf, or Heyne.

CHAP. IX.

HOMER. ODYSSEY. UNITY OF THE ACTION.
CHARACTERS.

1. COMPARATIVE GENIUS OF THE TWO POEMS. TRIPARTITE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ACTION OF THE ODYSSEY.—2. CHARACTER OF ULYSSES.—3. ITS DEGRADATION BY THE LATER ORGANS OF EPIC TRADITION. ITS COMIC INGREDIENT.—4. VOYAGE OF ULYSSES. THE CICONIANS. CHARACTER OF THE HERO'S COMRADES. THE LOTOPHAGI.—5. THE CYCLOPS. ÆOLUS. THE LÆSTRYMONIANS. CIRCE. THE NECROMANCY. THE SIRENS.—6. SCHERIA AND THE PHEACIANS. NAUSICAA.—7. ALCINOÛS AND HIS COURT.—8. ULYSSES IN ITHACA.—9. CHARACTER OF TELEMACHUS.—10. HIS ORATORY.—11. CHARACTER OF THE SUITORS. ANTINOÛS. EURYMACHUS. AMPHINOMUS. LEODES.—12. ORATORY OF THE SUITORS.—13. THEOCLYMENEUS THE SEER. IMPRESSIVE SCENE. THE CATASTROPHE.—14. PARALLEL CHARACTERS OF PENELOPE AND ANDROMACHE.—15. EUMÆUS THE SWINEHERD. MELANTHIUS THE GOATHERD. EURYCLEA. MELANTHO. IRUS THE BEGGAR. EURYLOCHUS. MENELAUS. NESTOR. HELEN.

Comparative genius of the two poems.

1. THE fundamental difference in the genius of the two poems has been accurately pointed out by Aristotle.¹ The *Iliad* he defines as pathetic and simple; the *Odyssey* as ethic and complex. Our previous analysis of the plot of the *Iliad*, in conjunction with the character of its hero, has been accordingly little more than a commentary on the philosopher's concise and pithy definition. The whole machinery of that poem revolves around the single object of exemplifying, in the person of one great ideal being, the effects of those passions which, in poetry or real life, chiefly excite admiration or terror. The *Odyssey* is no less truly described, by the same critic, as a varied picture of character and manners. We must, however, guard against too rigid an interpretation of

¹ De Poet. xxv. ed. Bip.

the letter of this distinction. While the characters of the *Iliad*, from the comparatively limited nature of its subject, are confined to a limited class, they are perhaps on that account the more wonderful in the variety and delicacy of their conception. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, although the ethic element predominates, yet the individual displays of passion and feeling fall no way short, either in liveliness or truth, of those of the *Iliad*.

While therefore the *Iliad*, from the greater solidity and simplicity of its design, and the superior dignity of its subject and style, ranks as the nobler poem of the two, the *Odyssey* must be admitted to display a greater extent and fertility of inventive genius. Nowhere can a work of art be found combining so great a multiplicity of parts in so harmonious a unity of whole, or exhibiting in the treatment of so rich a variety of materials such masterly design or vivid colouring. In the raging of the storm, in the tumult of war foreign or domestic, it displays all the grandeur of the *Iliad*. In the terror of the giant or cannibal, the fascination of the siren, or the delusive arts of the sorceress, the bold fancy of Oriental romance is combined with the genial simplicity of Hellenic fable. In the spacious halls of the imperial palace, or the still seclusion of the landward farm, the reader feels equally at home; and partakes with equal zest of the cheerful frugality of the rustic board, and the gorgeous munificence of royal hospitality. He listens, as if present, alike to the fierce altercation and the familiar dialogue, to the song of the bard, the traveller's tale, and the scurrilous jest of the licentious brawler. He imagines himself as busily engaged in the daily routine of in-

door life, as in the bustle of the market, or the stormy debate of the council hall. In the passage of the vessel from coast to coast or island to island, we hear the flapping of the sail, the dash of the oar, and the cry of the mariner. We rejoice with the good ship as she glides over the waves before a prosperous breeze, and shudder for the fate of her gallant crew amid the tumult of warring elements. In the characters are exhibited, with the same unvarying truth and nature, the patient but dignified demeanour of rank and worth under grinding oppression; the heroic constancy of the devoted wife, amid endless trials and temptations; the unshaken fidelity of the affectionate husband; the modest simplicity of the ingenuous youth; the bold enterprise, cunning artifice, and stern endurance of the daring adventurer; the mixture of insolence and servility, squalid misery and rapacity, in the professional beggar and vagabond. The gravity of the sage, and the dry humour of the satirist, are contrasted with the levity of the frivolous courtier, the abandoned rake, or the giddy populace; the base treachery and ingratitude of the rebellious vassal, with the devotion of the faithful subject; the sportive coquetry of virgin innocence, with the wanton pertness of the courtesan; the deliberate villany of the heartless reprobate, with the vacillation of the half-repentant sinner. The Odyssey is, in fact, a rich picture gallery of human life as it existed in that age and country, embracing every subject, from the sublime to the ludicrous, from the terrible to the burlesque, with so close an adherence to nature, yet so careful a softening down of its more offensive features, as to charm as much by the purity as the truth and brilliancy of the representation.

This difference in the genius of the two poems involves a corresponding variety of their poetical structure. The *Iliad* hinges on a single all-absorbing interest, the excited passions of Achilles. In the *Odyssey*, besides the main scope of the narrative, the restoration of Ulysses to his kingdom, numerous separate interests present a proportional complication of underplot. Such are the private schemes of the suitors, and their persecution of Telemachus; the wrath of Neptune against Ulysses for his treatment of Polyphemus; and the love of Calypso for the same hero. Hence, while the fate of Ulysses, like that of Achilles, equally forms the centre of the action, the subordinate adventures acquire a far greater degree of separate integrity, and the persons who figure in them a more independent range of activity, than in the *Iliad*. While Ulysses is the hero of the whole poem, Telemachus is the protagonist of its first four cantos. Ulysses himself in his Apologue to Alcinoüs appears as the hero of a distinct action. Even the suitors assume, towards the close of the poem, a prominence which never belongs to any secondary performer of the *Iliad*. This difference in the composition of the *Odyssey*, while precluding any such concurrent analysis of the genius of the protagonist and of the whole work as in the case of the *Iliad*, renders it expedient here to follow out the same principle in detail, by examining each of the subdivisions above alluded to conjointly with the characters of their more immediate heroes. The whole action of the *Odyssey* may thus be ranged under three comprehensive heads: 1. The adventures of Telemachus alone; 2. The adventures of Ulysses alone; 3. The adventures of the two together, after their return

Tripartite distribution of the action of the *Odyssey*.

from their travels. The first claim on attention belongs to Ulysses, whose character, though graphically portrayed throughout his appearance on the stage, will be best considered in connexion with his exclusive occupation of it from the fifth to the twelfth books. The same series of narrative comprises also the court and people of the Phæacians, an episode offering one of the most spirited satires ever conceived on some of the more amusing weaknesses of human nature. The character of Telemachus connects itself in a similar manner with the opening books, where he figures as principal performer; while the suitors, Penelope, and other personages of inferior note, assume importance in the latter part of the poem.

Character
of Ulysses.

2. The hero of the Odyssey also acts a leading part in the Iliad; but the remarks suggested by his share in that poem have been reserved for the present occasion, his character, in justice both to its own merits and the unity of the poet's conception of it, requiring to be considered as one consistent whole. It will also be proper to keep in view the relation in which Ulysses stands to the protagonist of the Iliad, as illustrative of the poet's tact in adapting the ingredients of each work to the spirit of its composition.

Achilles represents the grandeur of the heroic character, as reflected in the very excess of its noblest attributes. Ulysses represents its virtue, possessing, as he does in greater number and higher degree than any other chief, the qualities which in that age constituted the accomplished king and citizen. In him the impetuous valour of the invincible paladin gives place to the cool intrepidity of the discreet veteran. Instead of that intuitive horror of so much as the semblance of deceit which animates the

haughty Myrmidon, Ulysses combines with a just regard for the real principles of equity, a more rational estimate of the talents he had received from nature for promoting the legitimate objects of his ambition. To a ready turn for dissimulation and a never failing self-command, he unites a patient endurance of suffering, and even of insult, when essential to the attainment of his ends. In the *Iliad*, where his attributes of warrior and politician are alone exemplified, he is constantly put forward in those emergencies where a combination of courage and diplomatic tact is required. He is intrusted by Agamemnon with the delicate office of restoring Chryseïs to her home, and propitiating the wrath of the terrible deity to whom her father ministered. On the bad success of Agamemnon's experiment on the temper of his troops, and the bewilderment of that commander, Ulysses, with the aid of his guardian genius Minerva, restores order and discipline to the disorganised host. He takes the chief conduct of the negotiation with Achilles, and in the sequel, as representing the more intellectual element of military enterprise, he executes, in appropriate conjunction with Diomed's combative prowess, the midnight reconnoitre of the Trojan camp. He is also, conjointly with Diomed, an energetic opponent of Agamemnon's dastardly plans of desertion or flight.¹ In the games, baffling brute strength by dexterous art, he bears away from the mighty Ajax the prize of wrestling. This victory was but a prelude to that afterwards obtained in a more glorious competition with the same rival, when the voice of his fellow-warriors pronounced him the hero who, by his various talents,

¹ *Il.* xiv. 82.

had, next to Achilles, promoted the triumph of the national arms. The justice of this verdict was soon after tested, by his undertaking and successfully managing the stratagem of the wooden horse¹, the most dangerous, as it was the most decisive, measure of the war. On a former occasion² he had performed a little less hazardous exploit, that of entering Troy in disguise, for the purpose of obtaining cooperation among the inmates of the city in any attempt to take it by surprise.

Skilled however as he is in the arts of intrigue, he never turns them to unworthy account. The stratagems above referred to, with other parallel displays of political tact or patient endurance in the sequel of his career, are traits which, foreign as they would have been to the genius of Achilles, are appropriate and honourable in the hero of the *Odyssey*. His habitual prudence was indeed modified, or even at times overcome, by his thirst for glory, and by an eager pursuit of the marvellous which led him into perilous adventures. Proof against the temptation to sensual indulgence where to yield were discreditable, he displays no stoical contempt for the sweets with which fortune, in the worst of times, occasionally tempered the bitterness of his cup; and a ready vein of comic humour enlivens the gloom, while it seasons the description, of his most disastrous vicissitudes. But even the brilliancy of his intellectual qualities is obscured by his social excellences. He is not only the brave soldier, astute politician, and bold navigator, but the affectionate husband and parent, the just and paternal ruler, and the kind and benevolent master. Throughout his career of ad-

¹ *Od.* viii. 494., xi. 524.

² *Od.* iv. 242. sqq.

venture, the ruling objects of his thoughts or desires are still his wife, his son, and native fireside¹, in his own little sea-girt island, lowly and insignificant as he himself describes it², and as it would to this day have remained, but for the glory which his own and his poet's genius have shed on its rugged cliffs.

3. There is perhaps no hero whose character, as conceived by Homer, contrasts more broadly with the form it assumes in the fable of the Cyclic poets and the Attic dramatists. The valiant soldier is there transformed into the skulking poltroon, the sagacious politician into the plotting traitor, the man of honour into the low-minded villain. The critical reflexions suggested by this metamorphosis belong to another place; it will here suffice to observe, that there is nothing in the part played by Ulysses in either poem, which affords the slightest reasonable pretext for such imputations. He is not, it is true, exempt from the occasional weakness to which Homer, with a just regard for the laws of human nature, subjects even his most perfect characters. Yet his courage fails him but once³, under all the trials to which it is exposed by land or by sea, and that before the arm of God rather than man, when not only Agamemnon and Menelaus, but Ajax and, with the single exception of Diomed, the whole Greek army, were infected with the same panic. There are however varieties of courage as of other human virtues. If Ulysses might, in such company, fly before Hector backed by the thunderbolts of Jupiter, Diomed, or even Achilles, might have displayed less composure in the cave of Polyphemus or the Shades

Its degradation by the later organs of epic tradition.

¹ Od. passim; Il. II. 260., IV. 354.

² Od. IX. 25. sq.

³ Il. VIII. 78. sqq.

of Erebus, or have offered a less determined resistance to the temptations of hunger in the island of Thrinacia. Still less countenance is afforded by the Odyssey to the charges of the later fable against its hero's honesty. While the vicissitudes of his destiny render a succession of intrigues indispensable, yet on no occasion is an untruth uttered or a manœuvre practised for a base object, or where a man of strict honour and integrity, in any age or country, need have felt shame in turning his abilities to similar account.

Its comic
ingredient.

With respect to the comic ingredient in the genius of Ulysses or of the Odyssey, the inquiry may suggest itself, how far, in a poem where the leading incidents are grave and serious, and the catastrophe deeply tragical, any such infusion of the burlesque be consistent with poetical propriety? The best general answer to this question is, that the operations of great original genius are scarcely compatible with an observance of those restraints to which the professional masters of the art, in later ages, have been subjected. A certain blending of the two ingredients seems also indispensable, on the principle of contrast, to the full effect of either the ethic or pathetic in such compositions. Even in the sublimely dignified Iliad many traits of humour are discernible. Such are the episodes of Thersites, and the scenes of domestic life in Olympus, to which, as of more questionable propriety, attention will be turned in treating of the theological mechanism of the poems.

In this respect the parallel is obvious between Homer and the two greatest poets of modern times, Dante and Shakspeare. The Hellenic minstrel

however as a general rule, excels his rivals, if not in the broader point of his comedy, in the propriety at least of its management, by making it season rather than rudely clash with more serious matters : and in one respect he stands nobly superior to them, that all obscenity is banished from his jest, or, if a vestige of such levity can be discerned, it is only through the veil of cautious and delicate enigma.

Judged by a more fastidious standard, the boxing match with the beggar Irus has objectionable features ; yet, if the poet was justified in disguising his hero as a mendicant, he was bound to carry him through his part with spirit. Ulysses certainly appears as the prince of beggars ; nor probably was his royal dignity tarnished, in the spirit of heroic manners, by the righteous chastisement inflicted on the base profaner of his palace hall. The transformation by Circe of the hero's navigators into hogs has also moved the spleen of critics of high authority.¹ But the fault may here lie in their too narrow estimate of the moral of the poet's romance. Such treatment, degrading as it may be to heroes of the Trojan war, is essential to the ethic spirit of the adventure. Lions or bears might have furnished a more dignified metamorphosis than hogs ; but then the real point of the satire would have been lost. Their punishment is evidently adapted to their offence, the swinish eagerness with which they swallowed the intoxicating draught of the sorceress.²

The above general description of the hero's character will now be illustrated by the details of his

¹ Longin. ix. 14.

² x. 237. ; conf. 232.

history subsequent to his departure from Troy, as embodied in the action of the poem.

Voyage of
Ulysses.
Ciconians.

4. The "Apologue of Alcinoüs," whether in the variety or curiosity of its adventures, or in the brilliancy of their description, stands to this day unrivalled as a tale of supernatural wonder, the model on which succeeding romancers have planned their fairest structures, and the source to which they have been indebted for their choicest materials.

The superiority of native inspiration to imitative art may here be appreciated, by comparing the course of Homer's hero with the closely parallel episode of Virgil, the Voyage of Æneas to Latium. In the spirit that guides the Trojan chief no spark can be discovered of that electric fire which ought to animate the bosom of a chivalrous adventurer. Like an escaped prisoner who has yet but half shaken off his fetters, moaning over his cruel fate, he wends his melancholy way, shunning not merely every opportunity of valorous exploit, but even the remotest appearance of danger; trembling, above all, at the very thought of again falling in with those terrible Greeks! Compare more especially the outset of the two expeditions. Æneas lands on the coast of Thrace with the intention of founding a colony.¹ The limits of the new city were marked out, and its buildings in rapid progress, when he is apprised, through an omen, of the ferocious character of a neighbouring potentate, once an ally of Priam, but who had murdered a son of that monarch confided to his protection. What was to be done? In the spirit of Homer's fable he would at all risks have made

¹ Æneid. iii. 13. sqq.

good his settlement, were it only to avenge the death of his kinsman on the perfidious assassin :

ἤτοι κεν πόλιν ἔπραθεν ὤλισσε δ' αὐτούς !

But no: terrified by the thought of so dangerous a neighbour, he at once abandons his half-built town, hurries on board, and takes to flight. How different is the first adventure of Ulysses on the same coast! As a whet to the courage of his handful of heroes at the commencement of their voyage, and a passing compliment to an old national enemy, he assaults, sacks, and plunders the city of these same Thracian allies of Priam.¹ The adventure would have been crowned with complete success but for the folly of his men. Deaf to his orders to reembark with the spoil, they remain carousing on the field, until swarms of kindred barbarians from the surrounding region collect and attack them; and it is only after a long and desperate conflict against overwhelming numbers that he succeeds in effecting his retreat. After this every thing is life, activity, and energy. When driven off his homeward course by the adverse elements, every new or strange country is visited, every wonder explored, every enterprise courted which held out a prospect of glory, or where conduct could insure success.

It will be observed, as a pervading rule of this whole train of adventures, supplying in its moral application a tribute to the virtue of the chief at the expense of the inferior order of intellect vouchsafed to his men, that while all the more brilliant and successful enterprises are undertaken at his instance, often against their will, every disastrous

Character
of the hero's
comrades.

¹ Od. ix. 39. sqq.

catastrophe is brought about by their folly, sensuality, or mutinous disobedience of his orders. The arm of retributive destiny is no less signally displayed in the issue of their respective careers. While the hero, in spite of infinite obstacles, reaches home in safety, not one of his unfortunate comrades escapes destruction; and for the reason concisely assigned by the poet :

αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο !

The Loto-
phagi.

On arriving at the country of the Lotophagi, two men with a herald are sent to explore. Partaking of the delicious diet of that hospitable race, they forget their friends and home, and resolve to pass the rest of their lives amid the delights of the "Land of the Lotus." Ulysses at once seizes and binds the delinquents, drags them to the beach, hurries them on board¹ with the rest of his crew, lest they too should taste of the intoxicating fruit, and hastens from the dangerous shore.

The
Cyclops.

5. On reaching the coast of the Cyclops, the case is altered. The mariners, after plundering the well-stocked dairy of Polyphemus, horror-struck at the distant view of the giant, are eager to return with their booty to the ships. But the hero's thirst of glory is now inflamed, and must be gratified. He achieves accordingly the honour, reserved for him by the decree of Fate, of punishing a blood-thirsty cannibal, and disabling him from prosecuting in future his brutal practices. This adventure is still the best extant specimen of poetical gigantophonia, and the prototype of all or most of those which have since acquired celebrity. It exhibits that happy

¹ ix. 98.

mixture of the serious and burlesque, the terrible and risible, which constitutes perfection in popular romance. The more delicate of its humorous ingredients is the combination, in the character of Polyphemus, with his flocks, milk, butter, and cheese, of the primitive simplicity of pastoral life with the ferocity of the giant and cannibal.

The arrival of the fleet at the island of Æolus introduces a fable of more elegant cast and refined moral application. The Lord of the Winds, feasting with his twelve sons and daughters in the palace hall of his brass-bound islet, receives and honourably entertains the distinguished stranger; and, on his departure, deposes to him such control over the elements as would secure his direct and speedy voyage home. The mode in which these kind intentions are fulfilled is described with much drollery. The adverse gales are sewed up in the hide of one of their master's oxen, slaughtered and skinned on the spot for the purpose¹; and so securely is their leathern prison bound with silver cords, that not a breath of unfavourable air could escape. Here again, the sordid sensuality of the mariners and its fatal results appear in the usual contrast with the virtue of their chief. During ten days he watches the progress of the vessel, the sleepless guardian of its airy cargo. On the tenth, overcome with fatigue, he slumbers, and their folly and avarice prevail. The moment selected for the opening of the bag is most appropriate; just as the culprits were within sight of the curling smoke of their native hearths, and anticipating the speedy enjoyment of the treasure which they supposed the mysterious wallet to contain. The winds, on their

Æolus.

¹ x. 19.

escape, as a seasonable reprisal on the author of their late durance, blow him straight back to their master's island. The account of his foolish appearance, on presenting himself again at the court of Æolus, has much dry comic humour. After inquiring the reason of so speedy a return, and listening quietly to the hero's explanation, his flatulent majesty sends him summarily about his business, as one whose inveterate ill luck, according to the familiar superstition of every primitive age, renders him an unfit object of countenance or sympathy.¹

The Læstrygonians.

On reaching the port of the Læstrygonians, the rest of the squadron, attracted by its beauty and tranquillity, enter and take up their moorings. Ulysses alone remains with his vessel in the open roadstead, till better informed of the nature of the country by the messengers whom he sends to explore it. The description even of this most tragical adventure is seasoned with the customary touches of the burlesque, by the combination of domestic and civilised habits in the Læstrygonian character (as of pastoral simplicity in that of the Cyclops) with the ferocity of the giant and man-eater. The maiden whom the ambassadors accost on her way to the fountain, and who proves to be the king's daughter, with ready politeness conducts them to her father's city and palace, and introduces them to the queen her mother, whose "mountain-stature" and hideous aspect freeze their breasts with terror. The queen, as becomes a prudent housewife, takes no step without consulting her husband, whom she summons from the forum, where he was engaged in public business. On his arrival, without saying a word, he seizes one of his

¹ x. 72.

guests, kills him on the spot, and orders him to be dressed for supper. The two others save themselves by flight. But the alarm is given, and the adventure ends in the total destruction of the fleet in the haven. Ulysses alone, with his vessel and crew, escapes. The catastrophe is painted with the poet's usual power. He brings before our very eyes the collected population of ogres hurling the masses of rock from the surrounding cliffs; and we hear the crush of the vessels and the cries of the mariners, harpooned like tunnies for the evening meal of their cannibal destroyers.¹

The hero's next resting-place is the island of Circe. Circe. Here he divides his men into two bodies, who cast lots for the service of exploring the country. The lot falls on the party headed by his lieutenant Eurylochus. Its members, with the exception of their leader, who here emulates the caution of his chief, yielding to the allurements of the enchantress are changed by her into hogs. They are delivered by Ulysses who, aided by Mercury, here a plain figure of the hero's intellectual superiority, baffles Circe at her own arts, after checking with energetic severity a first attempt at mutiny on the part of the same Eurylochus.

After a year's residence on the island he achieves The Necromancy. his voyage to Hades. From the narrative of this expedition every trait of the burlesque is judiciously excluded. The gaiety with which the royal adventurer had so lately recounted even his most calamitous vicissitudes gives place to a solemnity often rising to the sublime, in his description of the dismal

¹ x. 121.

terrors of the mansions of the dead. The consideration of the poet's doctrine of a future state, as embodied in this episode, belongs to the chapter on his mythology. Nowhere, perhaps, does the contrast between the Ulysses of Homer and the Ulysses of the later fable, between the high-minded fearless adventurer and the mean-spirited insidious manœvrer, appear in a more prominent light than in the "Necromancy." The shade of Achilles himself expresses astonishment at the composure with which a solitary mortal wanders, without divine escort, among scenes of preternatural terror, at which even a living Achilles might have shuddered.

The Sirens.

The adventure with the Sirens inculcates, in a beautiful allegory, the duty incumbent even on the most vigorous minds, not only to resist but to avoid temptation. The sage who exposes himself to its influence is here exhibited overcome by its power, and only escapes through the intervention of the same vulgar agents whom his own wise precautions had placed beyond its reach. But in his encounter with Scylla, his martial ardour overcomes his habitual forbearance; and the cruel destruction of two of his comrades, described by him as the most heart-rending of all his calamities, is admitted to be a judgment for his neglect of the divine injunction, to trust in this emergency not to his own valour, but to the protection of the gods, for deliverance. In the immediate sequel the insubordination and impiety of the crew, instigated as before by the mutinous Eurylochus¹, bring their own wanderings to a lamentable close, while the hero himself alone

¹ XII. 352.

escapes, at the expense of eight long years of banishment and captivity.

6. On his delivery from the thralldom of Calypso, another course of maritime disaster brings him to Scheria, the land of the Phæacians. This episode is, perhaps, the most brilliant specimen of the poet's combined talent for the delineation of character and for satirical humour. While there is no portion of his works a right understanding of which is so indispensable to a full estimate of his genius, there is none perhaps which has been so little understood. Appeal may be made to the tenor of the most esteemed commentaries, still more perhaps to the text of the most popular translations, where the gay sarcastic tone of description and dialogue which seasons the whole adventure, is replaced by the tragic solemnity of the gravest scenes of the *Iliad*.

Scheria and
the Phæ-
acians.

Whether Scheria is meant to represent a real or a fictitious country is a question which does not now immediately concern us. There can, however, be little doubt, from the distinctive peculiarities with which the poet has invested its inhabitants, and the precision and force of the sarcasm displayed in his portrait of their character, that the episode is intended as a satire on the habits of some real people with whom he was familiar.¹ The Phæacians are described as combining certain magical or supernatural attributes with a large share of human weakness. They were a maritime colony² which had migrated to Scheria from another distant shore, and are still, from taste and habit, rather than commercial zeal, extensively engaged in nautical enterprise. They are represented as wealthy and luxurious, devoted to

¹ See Append. E.

² VI. 4.

pleasure and diversion ; careless of all but the present moment and its enjoyments ; vain, garrulous, and ostentatious ; liars and boasters ; yet, withal, kind-hearted, good-humoured, and generous. But even their good qualities are subservient to their vanity. One chief inducement to their munificent treatment of strangers was, by their own avowal, the prospect of glory that would accrue to themselves on their praises being sounded by the wanderer on his return home.¹ Nor does the marked urbanity of the royal family, or of the graver members of society, afford a sufficient security to their guest from the roguish tricks of the populace, or the impertinence of the young nobles of the court.²

Nausicaa.

The scene in which the hero is first introduced to his new friends is singularly pleasing and characteristic.³ The dream of Nausicaa, the most charming of her nation and her sex, her conversation with her father, descent with her maidens to wash the family vestments at the river mouth, the nymphish sports with which they enliven their task, and their encounter with Ulysses, offer a beautiful picture of the antient simplicity of domestic manners, and of virgin innocence, vivacity, and tenderness. The hero's address to his benefactress, correctly characterised by the poet as "gentle and cunning," is precisely that mixture of delicate flattery and winning supplication best calculated to produce its effect on female sympathies. The portrait of Nausicaa, as sketched here and in the sequel with a few masterly touches, is the most excellent of its kind in either poem. It combines, in the most attractive form, and under such modifications as became her sex, the more favourable charac-

¹ VIII. 101. 241. 251.

² VII. 15., VIII. 158.

³ VI. 24. sqq.

teristics of her native race, frankness, courtesy, and benevolence, with a due share of egotistic loquacity and innocent coquetry.

7. Minerva finds it necessary to escort the hero through the streets of the town to the royal residence, enveloped in a cloud to protect him from the impertinence of the populace. He is welcomed with a profusion of courtesies by the king, queen, and nobles assembled in the royal banqueting-hall. The harangues of king Alcinoüs, the type, like Priam, of his people, are made by the poet, in this and the following scenes, and with his usual dramatic skill, the instrument for developing the common genius of the race over whom the orator holds sway. The characteristics of his eloquence are egotism and self-laudatory bombast, balanced by an equal share of hyperbolical compliment to his guest, good-humour, diffuseness, and incoherent wandering from subject to subject, as vanity prompts the one, or levity dismisses the other. His first short speech, on recovering from the bewilderment into which the sudden appearance of a stranger of so dignified a presence had thrown himself and his company, displays at once the genius of the orator and of the society over which he presided. "If," says he¹, "our guest be a man, our business is, first by handsome treatment of him while among us, to banish care from his breast, and then to help him home to his native country. There let him take his chance of the lot the Fates have decreed him. But if he be a god come down from heaven to visit us, let the gods themselves look to the matter. For the gods as you know are our frequent companions, not only sitting in visible forms at our

Alcinoüs
and his
court.

¹ VII. 186.

tables, but familiarly joining us in our journeys and occasional walks ; for we are, in fact, like the Cyclopes and Giants, their neighbours and cousins." The effect of this effusion is much enhanced by the caustic dryness of the hero's answer. Nor can there be a better proof how completely the spirit of this portion of the poem has been misapprehended, than the pompous solemnity by which the whole humour of the dialogue is supplanted in the popular modern paraphrases.¹

In the sequel queen Arete, who during the harangue of her husband had been scrutinising the outward man of the stranger, for the women engross the chief share of the small stock of common sense allotted to the community, seasons the general levity of the discourse by asking him who and what

¹ VII. 208. The subjoined version of this address, with however little pretension to poetical elegance, may claim at least to embody, nearly to the letter, the ethic spirit and point of the passage, which disappear in the popular translations :

" Alcinoüs, judge better of my case ;
 No god am I, nor like the heaven-born race ;
 Nor outward form in me nor inward mind
 Betoken aught surpassing human kind.
 But if thou e'er hast known a mortal wight
 Harassed, pursued, by Fortune's cruel spite,
 Worn out in body, and perplexed in heart,
 Of him in me behold the counterpart.
 More I could tell of my disastrous fate,
 And all I've suffered through celestial hate ;
 But let me sup, I prithee, though distressed,
 By Belly's importunity hard pressed,
 That ruthless despot of the inner man,
 Whose stern behest dispute no mortal can.
 Vexed though I be, borne down by many a grief,
 Yet eat and drink I must for his relief ;
 All cares forego, and check the gushing tear,
 Whilst I replenish him with wholesome cheer."

he was, and how he came by the clothes on his back, which she recognised as part of her family wardrobe. His answer to this question calls forth from Alcinoüs a severe reflection on his daughter's defective hospitality. The hero vindicates his fair benefactress by a gallant but glaring misstatement of fact.¹ Soon after, Alcinoüs, in the course of another turgid oration², incidentally makes offer to his still unknown guest of his daughter's hand in marriage, together with a handsome establishment, if he will consent to remain among them; but is careful to assume in the same breath, that the stranger's patriotism will never admit of his acceding to such an arrangement. He then congratulates Ulysses on his approaching passage home, vaunting the marvels of his own navy and the enterprise of his seamen, to whom the helm was useless, as his vessels knew their own way from port to port.

The next morning the Senate assembles to deliberate on the best mode of honouring the stranger. In the ensuing banquet, Alcinoüs gives an agreeable proof how much real politeness he combined with his levity, in the ready tact with which he checks his bard's song of the Trojan war, on observing how painfully it affected his guest.³ This he does by a proposal to pass on to the gymnastic games, "in order," as he adds, "that the stranger, on his return, may inform his friends how greatly superior the Phæacians are to all other men in boxing, wrestling, and the like martial exercises." After some display by the young nobles Ulysses is invited to make a trial. He declines, on the triple plea of fatigue of body, anxiety of mind, and the privilege of a stranger.

¹ VII. 303.; see *infra*, p. 454.

² 313.

³ VIII. 94.

His refusal exposes him to some impertinence from the young princes, one of whom taunts him with fear of the superior prowess of himself and comrades. Provoked to compliance, the hero sends a quoit far beyond the mark of their best men, and with a force which made the Phæacians "quail beneath its whirl." He then challenges them to produce a champion to match him in any other feat of strength or dexterity. Alcinoüs no way abashed evades the proposal, giving, with ready effrontery, the lie direct to his own just uttered vaunt, and a new turn to the whole affair. He now requests Ulysses to inform his friends on his return home¹, "that the Phæacians are a peaceful race, who make little account of boxing, wrestling, and the like martial exercises, but that they excel all other men in the arts of good living, and are the most skilful navigators, the swiftest runners, and the best singers and dancers in the universe." A show of the latter accomplishments then takes place. The song of the bard, the only approach to licentious description in the poem, is here so completely in character, and so essential to the spirit of the whole scene, as to supply strong argument against the otherwise plausible opinion of its being a later addition to the original text. On Ulysses complimenting his host on the performance of his sons, Alcinoüs turns with delight to his courtiers, and commending the hero as a man of sense and judgement, requests each of them to make him a handsome present. At the same time he orders the youth who had insulted him to apologise², and all obey with great good-humour and alacrity.

Among the richer specimens of the Scherian

¹ viii. 251

² 387. sqq.

monarch's meandering eloquence is the harangue in which he requests Ulysses to relate his adventures, and explain more particularly "why he always appeared so much affected by any allusion to the Trojan war;" an event, he gravely adds, which, with the destruction of the human race it involved, "was ordained in order to supply the festive board with agreeable subjects of minstrelsy." Equally characteristic is his comment on his father's prophecy of the destruction that overhung his own city, from the divine jealousy of their maritime exploits: "so spake the old man, and the gods may fulfil his words or not, as they think fit:" VIII. 570.

ἌΩς ἀγόρευ' ὁ γέρων· τὰ δέ κεν θεὸς ἦ τελέσειεν,
ἦ κ' ἀτέλειστ' εἶη, ὥς οἱ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ.

The names given by the poet to his Phæacian heroes, with the notices of their origin or previous history, are all, directly or ironically, allusive to their favourite pursuits or their flighty ostentatious character.¹ Nausithoüs, the "swift navigator," founder of the state, was son of Neptune, by Peribœa, the "widely celebrated," daughter of Eurymedon, the "wide-ruling," king of the giants. This connexion of the good-humoured effeminate race with giants and Cyclops, the poetical types of barbarism and ferocity, is conceived in the finest spirit of irony. Nausithoüs had two sons, Rhexenor, "Crusher of men," and Alcinoüs, "Strong of intellect." The satirical allusion in the latter title to the levity and frivolity of its owner is sufficiently obvious. "Crusher of men" left an only daughter, Arete, the benevolent, literally the "exorable," who espouses her

¹ VII. 56. sqq.

uncle, Alcinoüs, the reigning prince. To her both Minerva and Nausicaa, with appropriate reference to her name and character, counsel Ulysses to address his supplication on arriving at the palace.¹ The remaining twenty names of noble personages are but so many ingenious compounds significant of maritime pursuit, with the exception of two, one of which, Laodamas, "subduer of the people," is but a modification of that of the owner's grandfather, the "crusher of men."

Among the specimens of primitive "mock heroic" in this episode, attention may be drawn to the simile of the lion, employed to illustrate the hero's first appearance before his benefactress Nausicaa; no figure can be less appropriate, if taken in a literal sense, or happier if considered as a travesty of the more dignified epic style.² The account of the gymnastic games, with the descriptive catalogue of the doughty Phæacian candidates, is also a burlesque paraphrase of parallel passages of the Iliad. The facetious spirit³ of the adventure is maintained to the close. Laden with compliments and presents, the hero embarks in the evening, in a galley expressly fitted out for his service. Before daybreak the ship reaches the coast of Ithaca, where he is conveyed

¹ VI. 310., VII. 75.

² VI. 136.

³ The misapprehension of this spirit has throughout proved a stumbling-block in the path of many a profound commentator. Nitzsch's subtle inquiries, "Why Alcinoüs, on so short an acquaintance, should offer his daughter in marriage to Ulysses?" and "Why the Phæacians should have landed the hero asleep on his island?" with other similar questions, are but so many proofs how little this otherwise ingenious critic has understood the more characteristic features of the Odyssey. See Erklärr. Anmkk. zur Odys. VII. 311. sqq.; and Plan u. Gang der Odys., ibid. vol. II. p. 46. 50.

gently from the deck on his bed by the waggish crew, and deposited fast asleep¹, together with his goods, on his native rocks. On awakening he is at a loss to know where he is, when he is relieved from his embarrassment by the appearance of his divine patroness, Minerva.

8. It is in the latter part of the poem that the higher ethic attributes of Ulysses are chiefly displayed; in the conduct of his deep-laid plot; in his stoical command of temper and feeling under the trials to which both are exposed from the brutality of his enemies or the affection of his friends; and in his skilful enactment of the fictitious characters which he assumes. Attention is especially due to the care with which, in his part of beggar or vagabond, he guards against too great a sacrifice of his personal dignity, as well as the risk of detection, by giving prominence to the circumstance of noble birth and reduced condition, when called upon from time to time for an account of his previous life.² That the language of Ulysses should be marked by the same distinctive individuality as that of some of his fellow heroes were consistent neither with the versatility of his genius, nor the variety of parts he is called upon to act. The characteristic feature of his eloquence is an appropriate adaptation to the circumstances in which he is placed. Like the fabulous Lycian sphinx, which combined the nature of the lion and serpent with its own proper body of Chimæra, Ulysses, whether the king, the beggar, the warrior, or the traveller, is still in word and deed Ulysses. In the *Iliad* he speaks and acts as the wise counsellor, the energetic

Ulysses in
Ithaca.

¹ XIII. 119.

² XIV. 199. sqq., XVII. 419., XIX. 180.

disciplinarian, and the skilful diplomatist. In the indignant retorts provoked by the insolence of the suitor tribe, his eloquence assumes a vehemence worthy of Achilles.¹ His address to Nausicaa is in the most insinuating style of courtly flattery. In the banqueting-hall of her father a tone of sarcastic raillery is blended with the self-satisfied bombast of its habitual guests ; as, for example, in the proud catalogue of his own athletic attainments, with which he overwhelms the already crestfallen party in the gymnastic arena.² In his interview with Pallas on the shore of Ithaca, he calls forth the admiration even of the goddess of stratagem, by the readiness with which he disguises the struggle of excited feelings under the ingenuous bewilderment of the benighted voyager³ ; and in the hut of Eumæus, accommodating his manners to those of his landlord, he combines the garrulity of the veteran soldier with that of the itinerant beggar.⁴

TELEMACHUS.

Character
of Tele-
machus.

9. The character of Telemachus, if little distinguished by the prominence or the brilliancy of its features, is second to none of either poem in the delicacy of its shades or of the touches by which it is delineated. To be rightly estimated, it must be considered in its parallel with those of other youthful heroes of the same rank ; with that of Achilles, for example, or of his son Neoptolemus. The former hero, at the outset of his career of conquest, was several years younger than Telemachus. Neoptolemus is also described, at the same early age with his father, as taking a lead, both in the council and the field, among the Greek warriors ; while Telema-

¹ XVIII. 376.

² VIII. 202. sqq.

³ XIII. 256.

⁴ XIV. *passim*.

chus is represented as without energy, shy of danger, and incapable of spontaneous action or exertion. Herein may perhaps be figured the first symptoms of that degeneracy, mythical or real, in the race of Achæan warriors subsequent to the Trojan war, which, coinciding in the third generation after that event with their expulsion from their native seats by the Dorians, forms the line of distinction between the heroic and the historical age of Greece. That the falling off was understood by Homer to commence in the immediately ensuing stage of descent is implied in a speech of Nestor, where he remarks on the Ithacan prince's want of spirit: II. 276.

παῦροι γάρ τοι παῖδες ὅμοιοι πατρὶ πέλονται,
οἱ πλέονες κακίους. . . .

In fact, with the single exception of Neoptolemus, not one of the sons or immediate descendants of the heroes of Troy is celebrated, in popular tradition, for warlike genius. The suitors, as sprung from the secondary class of Achæan nobles, are altogether an inferior race. Neoptolemus, being himself within the age which admitted his taking part in the war, might be numbered rather to the contemporaneous than to the subsequent generation. There are however special peculiarities in the case of Telemachus, tending to explain and palliate his inferiority. Deprived in infancy of a father's tuition, he had been educated within a small island, among objects calculated to inspire a taste for tranquil life, by an anxious mother, herself of a gentle disposition, and far more feelingly alive to the dangers to which warfare exposed her objects of affection, than to the glory of success or victory. On approaching manhood he

became, with herself, victim of a conspiracy of his father's vassals, by whose systematic oppression whatever spirit he inherited from his ancestors was for a time effectually subdued. Hence, though at heart a noble and generous youth, he appears, up to the moment when his father's return elicits his dormant energies, as remarkable for langour and backwardness as were the youthful heroes of the Trojan war for precocity and spirit.

During the early part of his career therefore, our compassion for his painful lot is mingled with surprise and irritation, that a prince of some twenty years of age should tamely suffer, not himself alone, but his mother, to continue the victim of a base faction, without so much as meditating an effort for her deliverance. One feels provoked to exclaim, as Nestor and his other friends frequently do: Why does he not put his own shoulder to the wheel, instead of querulously longing for his father's return to make good his inactivity? Why does he not rally his own party in the state against the rebels? Why limit his Peloponnesian expedition to a fruitless inquiry after Ulysses, instead of asking from his powerful friends in that country a military force to assist in subduing his treacherous enemies? One evident motive with the poet for thus diluting the character of his youthful hero was to enhance the glory of the father, whose destinies and influence are made the sole pivot on which the fortunes of his kingdom and family depend. Telemachus in fact, from the commencement of his domestic troubles, had been led by his mother to look for his father's eventual reappearance as their only sure, though postponed remedy. This consideration also explains the sudden change which

his character seems to undergo on the arrival of Ulysses, into whose daring schemes he enters with ready devotion.

10. Here, as usual, the poet's mode of delineation is purely dramatic. He vouchsafes not a word of description, burthening the youthful hero with the whole duty of exhibiting his foibles through his own language and behaviour. He is first introduced sitting in his paternal hall, an unwilling partaker in its festivities, and "brooding with sad heart on his disappointed hopes of his father's arrival to scatter the audacious crew." Minerva, in the disguise of a stranger chief, an antient friend of Ulysses, appears at the door, and is received by the prince with prompt hospitality. His recapitulation, in a tone of querulous helplessness, of his woes, of his longing for his father's return, and of his despair of doing anything for himself, moves the spleen of his divine guest, and draws forth a smart reflexion on his degenerate spirit:

I. 252.

τὸν δ' ἐπαλαστήσασα προσηύδα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·
ὦ πάποι! ἣ δὲ πολλὸν ἀποιχομένου Ὀδυσῆος
δεύη. . . .

Urging him in the sequel to avenge his own cause, she taunts his boyish inactivity by a contrast with the different conduct of Orestes: 296.

οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ
νηπιᾶας ὀχέειν· ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι τηλίκος ἐσσί!
ἣ οὐκ αἶψαι οἶον κλέος ἔλλαβε δῖος Ὀρέστης
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἔκτανε πατροφονῆα; . . .
καὶ σὺ, φίλος, μάλα γάρ σ' ὀρώω καλὸν τε μέγαν τε,
ἄλκιμος ἔσσι! . .

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E E

He is induced by her remonstrances to assemble the great council of the island, and solicit the public sanction to his proposed voyage to Peloponnesus. His address to the assembly opens in a spirited tone of invective against the usurpers of his rights, but speedily subsides into the usual strain of lamentation over his juvenile incapacity, which here assumes a very characteristic tone of querulous petulance: II. 58.

οὐ γὰρ ἔπ' ἀνὴρ,
οἷος Ὀδυσσεύς ἔσκεν, ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμῦναι· . . .
ἦ τ' ἂν ἀμυναίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη. . . .
νῦν δέ μοι ἀπρήκτους ὀδύνας ἐμβάλλετε θυμῷ.
ὥς φάτο χαόμενος, ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ,
δάκρυ' ἀναπρήσας. . . .

His introduction to Nestor is an agreeable picture of the bashful ingenuous youth, suddenly finding himself, on first setting out on his travels, in the presence of one of the most illustrious sages of Greece.¹ In his intercourse with the Pylian chief the same morbid diffidence of his own powers is expressed in the same complaining tone which marked his late dialogue with Minerva. Nestor, like the goddess, is surprised that a fullgrown youth, son of such a father, with the example of Orestes before him, and backed by the patronage of Pallas, should tamely put up with oppression and insult; and counsels him to a bold attempt, by his own resources, to reestablish his affairs.² Telemachus is quite bewildered by the magnitude of the proposal, and exclaims: III. 226.

ὦ γέρον, οὐπω τοῦτο ἔπος τελέεσθαι οἶω·
λίην γὰρ μέγα εἶπες! ἄγῃ μ' ἔχει!³ οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγε
ἐλπομένῳ τὰ γένοιτ', οὐδ' εἰ θεοὶ ὥς ἐθέλοισιν.

¹ III. 22.² III. 195. sqq. 212. sqq.³ Conf. XVI. 243.

This speech provokes the disguised goddess again to denounce the want of spirit, which would distrust not only his own but the divine exertions in his cause. He replies by a request that the subject may be changed: 240.

Μέντορ· μηκέτι ταῦτα λεγώμεθα, κηδόμενοι περ· . . .
 νῦν δ' ἐθέλω ἔπος ἄλλο μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἔρσθαι.

Ulysses himself, in his mendicant disguise and as yet unrecognised by his son, utters an equally energetic reproof of his unmanly backwardness: XVI. 99. sqq.

αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὕτω νέος εἶην τῶδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ . . .
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς,
 εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ κείνοισι κακὸν πάντεσσι γενοίμην.

From the moment however in which Ulysses discovers himself, the dormant energies of the young hero are rapidly developed, and he ardently co-operates in all his father's hazardous schemes.

In his intercourse with the suitors he shows that, with all his youthful diffidence and timidity, he combined also some of the political talent of Ulysses; and the mode in which the social relations between his oppressors and himself are maintained, with the mutual care to preserve amid mutual hatred a certain outward show of harmony, may be cited among the examples of Homer's tact in working up the details of his plot.¹ The suitors, though barefaced usurpers of their prince's house and goods, are still anxious to be so in the capacity of his own and his mother's guests. They continue therefore, even in outrage and insult, to pay a sort of formal deference to him as landlord. Telemachus, on his side, shows

¹ XVI. sqq.

an equally cautious discretion, and, with an occasional remonstrance, is yet contented to fulfil the part of host in the mortifying farce. Almost the only provocations which tempt him to menace open rupture, are the brutal violations of the sacred rites of his domestic hospitality committed by the crew of revel-
lers.¹ The suitors on these occasions, partly from policy partly from contempt, pocket the affront; and in this way the same insolence is successively checked, and the rebuke successively submitted to, each party avoiding to come to extremities.

THE SUITORS.

Characters
of the
suitors.

11. The characters of the suitors offer a variety of the poet's dramatic art peculiar to the *Odyssey*, that of portraying the more odious features of human nature. In the disposition and habits of this confederacy, the levity of men of pleasure is combined, not, as in the case of the Phæacians, with good-humour and generosity, but with insolence, profligacy, rapacity, and cruelty. They may be considered as representing a class of society with which Homer was still familiar, though gradually becoming obsolete, the race namely of petty tyrants, unworthy scions of heroic stock, whose degenerate habits accelerated the downfall of the old patriarchal system, and the change throughout Greece from monarchical to republican institutions.

The proceedings of the fraternity, amid an indiscriminate course of outrage against all others, are marked by a singular degree of harmony among themselves. Yet the individual members of the gang present much diversity of character. The "ring-

¹ xx. 265. sqq. 306.

leaders,"¹ Antinoüs and Eurymachus, are the worst of the whole, and ready, should it seem expedient, to shed the blood of their young prince as remorselessly as they ravage his property. They are the chief spokesmen, and organs consequently of that vein of scurrilous drollery which marks the habitual demeanour of the party. In their joyous festivities, their solemn councils, or their murderous plots, every thing becomes matter of jest, often with a lively wit, which though it may offend does not fail to amuse. This combination of waggery and brutality, of ferocity and fun, so characteristic of the same class of persons in every age, is carried through with a tact and consistency bespeaking the same master-hand which gave life to the more pleasing frivolities of the Phæacians. The character of the two leaders, in addition to other odious vices, is stained with base ingratitude. Ulysses, as they themselves admit, had been to them and their families, not only a paternal sovereign but a kind patron and benefactor.² These sacred obligations are however not merely set at nought; like all other subjects they are made matter of ridicule in those ironical professions of friendship with which they attempt, or rather affect, to blind Telemachus to their more outrageous schemes. Detestable as are both characters, there is yet a marked difference in the mode in which their wickedness displays itself, favourable on the whole to Antinoüs. He is, from first to last, the open, reckless, unblushing villain. Eurymachus combines more deceit and hypocrisy with his depravity, and occasionally succeeds in so far disguising it under the mask of better feelings, as partially to impose on both mother and

Antinous.
Eurymachus.

¹ IV. 629., XXI. 187.

² XVI. 424. sqq. 437. sqq.

son. These different shades of villany in the two leaders are maintained with unvarying consistency throughout the action of the poem.

Amphinomus.

Such unmitigated depravity, however, was not to be expected in the whole of so numerous a band of young noblemen even of the most licentious habits. Others, of whom Amphinomus¹ may be considered the representative, are exhibited as susceptible of better influences; and, although led away by the pernicious party spirit which animates the fraternity, to acquiesce or to share in the nefarious counsels of their leaders, are ready at times to check the execution of their more atrocious designs. A third class

Liodes.

may also be distinguished, of whom Liodes² is the spokesman, comprising mere passive well-intentioned suitors of the queen, whose crime consists chiefly in their connexion with such bad company, and who, though unwilling to abandon their chance of the prize, would, if left to themselves, have been contented honourably to compete for it.

These general remarks on the genius of the association will now be tested by the portions of the text in which it is most prominently exemplified.

Oratory of the suitors.

12. The first speech of Antinöus³ affords a fair specimen of his style of satirical bantering, often pregnant with a savour of wit worthy of a better mouthpiece. Telemachus had been emboldened by his interview with Minerva, to a remonstrance of no very sturdy nature against the usurpation of his domestic rights. The reply of Antinöus is an ironical sneer at the weak points of the prince's character, couched in the form of a complaint of his

¹ XVI. 394., XVIII. 395. 412., XX. 245.

² XXI. 144., XXII. 310.

³ I. 384.

domineering spirit, habitually renewed in the sequel. It concludes with a burlesque petition to the gods, "to avert the day when such a sovereign as Telemachus should mount the throne of Ithaca!"

The mock farewell of the party to Telemachus, previous to the voyage which they never suspect he will have the boldness to undertake, is in the same style of insolent drollery. The epithets of overbearing, insulting, and the like (*ὑψαγόρη, μένος ἄσχετε, ἡμίας αἰσχύνων*), which here, as on other occasions, they ironically select in their addresses to him, are precisely those which least apply to his conduct and most pointedly to their own.¹

In the council held after the failure of their plot to waylay and murder the prince on his voyage homeward, Antinoüs proposes another attempt on his life. Amphinomus objects, and the argument by which he dissuades them is very characteristic:² "To murder a prince of royal blood, without the express authority of the gods, were a terrible impiety. If therefore the gods enjoin the deed, I shall agree, otherwise I protest against it." In the ensuing dialogue between Penelope and Eurymachus, that prince of ruffians, at the very moment when he is plotting against the life of her son, declares, that "should any man venture to raise a hand against his dearest friend Telemachus, the son of the benefactor who had so often dandled him on his knee, and fed him with wine and dainties, that man's blood should flow in torrents from his spear!"³ The whole following scene is admirably worked up, and, amid our disgust at the brutality of

¹ II. 85. 303—325., I. 385., XVII. 406.

² XVI. 400.; conf. XX. 244. 247.

³ XVI. 436. sqq.

Antinoüs, it is impossible not to be amused by the humour of some of his sallies. Such, for example, is the mock lecture which he administers¹ to Eumæus, when the latter introduces Ulysses in mendicant disguise to solicit a few crumbs from their table, on the inconsistency of the old rustic's conduct in thus bringing in hungry vagabonds to consume his master's store, the very same thing for which he was in the habit of blaming himself and comrades. He soon after assails the disguised king in a similar tone of facetious insolence. Ulysses is provoked to retort. Antinoüs in a fury throws a stool at his head. Even his fellow-revellers are scandalised at their leader's violence, and interfere to prevent further outrage. The calm indignation and stern purpose of vengeance, on the part of the hero and his son, are here finely contrasted with the surrounding tumult, in one of those expressive formulæ with which the poet loves to identify the recurrence of any striking image: XVII. 490.²

οὐδ' ἄρα δάκρυ χαμαὶ βάλεν ἐκ βλεφάροισιν,
ἀλλ' ἀκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσσοδομέων.

In the next book the entrance of the beggar Irus ushers in another equally vivid scene of brutal fun and riot. The puerile delight with which the giddy crew hail the quarrel between their two ragged guests as a novel source of diversion, and their alacrity in ranging themselves as backers or bottle-holders of the combatants, are described with a spirit and truth which must strikingly recall to many a reader the follies of his own schoolboy days: XVIII. 36.

¹ XVII. 375.

² Conf. 465., XX. 184.

ᾧ φίλοι ! οὐ μὲν πῶ τι πάρος τοιοῦτον ἐτύχθη,
 οἷην τερπωλὴν θεὸς ἤγαγεν ἐς τόδε δῶμα !
 ὁ ξεινός τε καὶ Ἴρος ἐρίζετον ἀλλήλοισιν,
 χερσὶ μαχίσασθαι ! ἀλλὰ ξυνελάσσομεν ὥκα.
 ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀνήϊξαν γελόωντες. . . .

When the unfortunate beggar is actually stretched bleeding and bellowing on the floor, their merriment is at its height, and "they are ready to die with laughter." Ulysses, who has so much contributed to their diversion, before despised and insulted, is now suddenly admitted into a high degree of favour, which however serves but as a prelude to fresh insult.

Here the farcical tenor of the proceedings is relieved by an impressive scene. Amphinomus had good-humouredly presented the royal mendicant with a cup of wine, adding kind wishes for his future lot. Ulysses, aware of the better feelings of this misguided youth, addresses him in return a friendly remonstrance on the guilt of his present courses, warning him emphatically to flee from the wrath to come. Though deeply smitten by the words of his disguised lord, the ill-starred vassal yet wants strength of mind to break the ties which bind him to the scene of his destruction, but, "shaking his head and foreboding evil," he silently resumes his place among his fellow-victims.

It is now the turn of Eurymachus to take the lead in the course of facetious scurrility and insult, of which Ulysses continues the chief butt, in order, as we are frequently told, "that the full measure of their crime, and his indignation, may be completed against the approaching hour of retribution." This interference of the divine agency is expressed, from

time to time, by the recurrence, according to the poet's familiar practice, of the same emphatic form of words : XVIII. 346.

μνηστῆρας δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀγήνορας εἶα 'Αθήνη
 λώβης ἴσχεσθαι θυμαλγέος, ὅφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον
 δύη ἄχος κραδίην Λαερτιάδεω 'Οδυσῆος.¹

There is here a plain analogy between Homer's mode of subjecting the moral conduct, as well as the destiny of his actors to the control of the deity, and the mode employed by a still more divinely inspired poet. The "hardening of Pharaoh's heart," for a similar purpose, is expressed by the recurrence of a parallel form of expression.

Theocly-
 menus the
 seer. Im-
 pressive
 scene.

13. In the banquet of the following day, Theoclymenus the prophetic guest of Telemachus is introduced, and his part in the action relieves the prevailing course of revelry by an appalling scene of preternatural terror.

Ulysses had just been subjected to another practical joke by Ctesippus, to the high entertainment of the party, when the merriment on their faces is suddenly, by the agency of Pallas, "distorted into a ghastly grin. Their eyes fill with tears; their minds with forebodings of a yet dark but terrible future; and the flesh of the animals on which they are feasting appears dripping with gore."² Theoclymenus here takes up the word, and, pointing to the outward change on their persons, proclaims the further omens of their impending fate which, though hidden from their eyes, his spirit of second-sight revealed to his own: "their heads and feet involved in preternatural darkness; wailing and lamentation

¹ Conf. xx. 284., xviii. 155.

² xx. 345. sqq.

resounding from their lips; their cheeks streaming with tears, and the walls and roof of the hall with blood; the courts of the palace crowded with ghosts hurrying down to Erebus; the sun darkened in the heavens, and the atmosphere overspread with mist." Eurymachus, who with his companions had in the meantime resumed his previous levity of demeanour, replies in the usual strain of facetious contumely, by ordering the attendants to "conduct the stranger into the open street, since he is so much incommoded by the darkness of their saloon." The prophet calmly replies: "that he has no need of escort; that the eyes which could see, and the mind that could apprehend, the signs of their approaching fate, will safely conduct him from a place so soon to be filled with death and horror." He thus takes his final leave of the scene of action. The revellers, nothing abashed, commence bantering Telemachus on the offensive character of the guests who visit his palace: "first a beggar, and then a croaking prophet." The prince, no longer heedful of their impertinence, sits watching his father's eyes and motions for the signal to commence the work of vengeance.

The catastrophe now rapidly approaches. The trial of archery ensues. The jollity of the victims is kept up to the last moment. The first blow falls on Antinoüs, while holding the festive cup to his lips¹ unconscious of danger. It strikes him in the throat, the organ of his gluttony and insolence, when in the act of swallowing the produce of his destroyer's vineyards. His companions, on seeing him fall, unable to believe there could be willing mischief in the shot, suppose it accidental. No

The catastrophe.

¹ XXII. 11.

sooner, however, are their eyes opened by the hero's full disclosure of his person and intentions, than the surviving ring-leader Eurymachus, with dastardly effrontery, attempts to exculpate himself and propitiate the wrath of his enemy, by denouncing his fallen colleague as the chief author and instigator of their joint enormities, and by submissive promises of repentance and future good conduct.¹ Perceiving however all hope of mercy to be vain, he dies at last like a scion of heroic stock. Rushing on his adversary with drawn sword and battle shout, he is met and pierced by the fatal shaft, and his body is soon buried under heaps of his slain comrades.

PENELOPE. ANDROMACHE.

Parallel of
Penelope
and Andromache.

14. The two heroines selected by Homer as the joint representatives of ideal excellence in female character, the one for the Iliad the other for the Odyssey, are Andromache and Penelope. The qualities of each are fundamentally the same; gentleness, modesty, and tenderness of heart, womanly discretion, and the several virtues of the wife and mother. The native purity of Homer's taste has been signally displayed, in thus excluding from the qualities of his higher class of female characters such as at all savour of masculine spirit. The attempts, so popular with later poets, to form an interesting heroine by combining the boldness of the virago with the softer graces of the woman, may impart vivacity to an action deficient in more genuine portraits of human nature, but can inspire the sound critic or moralist with little sympathy or admiration. It can hardly be supposed that originals for such pictures as

¹ xxii. 44. sqq.

Camilla or Clorinda were wanting in an age when the traditions of Hippolyta and Penthesilea were rife, and among a nation which produced the race of Spartan dames. Homer therefore, it is obvious, has, in the conception of his leading female characters, repudiated these bolder features from choice, not from want of opportunity for their delineation. That this correspondence in the essential attributes of the two heroines arises from no want of the same fertile talent displayed in his male portraits may also be evinced by a glance at the varied characters of Helen, Nausicaa, and Hecuba. Upon the last has been bestowed the small share of masculine sternness which he allows the sex: but even in her person, where it sits so well, it is meant to appear as a blemish, not as an ornament.

The poet has however managed, even in the case of Penelope and Andromache, without any essential modification of his original idea, to impart, through the difference of their lot in life, distinct features of interest to each. The part of Andromache, in the *Iliad* is one of suffering rather than action. At the commencement of the poem she is the anxious and devotedly affectionate wife, in the catastrophe the mourning widow. The only strong emotions she is called on to display are, tender solicitude for the welfare of her husband and poignant grief for his loss. Her appearances, too, on the scene are rare and brief. Yet there is, perhaps, no heroine in the whole range of poetical fiction who inspires more powerful feelings of admiration and interest; a fine proof of the poet's faculty of imparting life and reality to his actors with the smallest apparent amount of machinery. How striking is her first

appearance on the scene! Hearing in the seclusion of her chamber that the tide of battle had turned against her husband, she hurries forth "like one distracted,"¹ followed by her nurse and infant child, to the tower that overlooks the plain. The ensuing interview with Hector, whom she encounters returning to the field on completing his pious errand; her allusions to her previous heavy load of domestic sorrow; to the loss of her father, brothers, and native home, to her husband as supplying the place of all; her supplication, by his love for her and their common offspring, to moderate his valour, and have mercy on a life so dear to every thing most dear to himself, are all of the last degree of tenderness. How beautiful the description of her smiling through her tears, as she receives back the unconscious babe from his father's caresses into her arms; and of the mute suppressed emotion with which, yielding to Hector's gentle reproof for her attempt to weaken the firmness of his patriotism, she submissively retires to indulge her anxieties in solitude! Nor throughout the distressing scenes at the close of the poem, in her outbreak of agony on beholding her husband's corpse mutilated and outraged beneath his native walls, or in her touching lament over it in the sequel, is the meek affliction of this most innocent and sensitive of sufferers alloyed by a single expression of anger or bitterness, even against the hand which had successively bereaved her of father, mother, brother, and husband. Had Andromache combined but a small share of the sternness of the Spartan wife or mother with her anxieties for the safety of Hector, had she uttered a few natural ejaculations of vin-

¹ II. vi. 388.; conf. xxii. 460.

dictive wrath against his destroyer, the charm which renders her the most angelic and interesting of her sex would at once have been dissolved.

There is this difference in the fate, and by consequence in the conduct of Penelope, that, while Andromache is merely doomed to suffer, the heroine of the *Odyssey*, under little less severe misfortunes, is also called upon to act. There is however also the somewhat curious analogy, that in each case the all-engrossing objects of solicitude are a husband and an only son. Although the love of Penelope for Ulysses, and her grief for his loss, are as lively as on the day of his departure, she begins to despair of his return. As hope grows fainter from hour to hour, the necessity of some effort to establish her son in his rights forces itself more and more on her attention: but far from encouraging him to resort to violent measures against the usurpers, her great object is to prevent such dangerous schemes from entering his head. If but once assured of the death of Ulysses, she is even ready to offer herself a sacrifice at the altar of peace, by selecting a second husband from the ranks of her persecutors.¹ If she occasionally gives way to expressions of indignation against her unmanly courtiers, they are rarely if ever provoked by her personal sufferings, but solely or chiefly by the wounds inflicted on the honour of her husband or family. In the absence of her lord, the deference due to him is transferred to Telemachus, now arrived at the age which qualified him to inherit his father's rights both public and domestic. The more prominent examples of her implicit acquiescence in his orders are where, after having been

¹ *Od.* XIX. 157.

tempted by her fears or her interests to descend and take part in the transactions of the palace hall, she is desired by Telemachus to withdraw from society so little congenial to her own feelings. She obeys at once, and in silence. These scenes, in their occasional recurrence, are described in one of the usual graphic formulæ by which the poet loves to individualise events and characters : I. 356.

“ ἄλλ’ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ’ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
 ἰστόν τ’ ἡλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
 ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· μῦθος δ’ ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
 πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ’ ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ’ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.”
 ἡ μὲν θαμβήσασα πάλιν οἰκόνδε βεβήκει.

The same lines occur in the *Odyssey* *xxi.* 350., and in the *Iliad* *vi.* 490. at the close of the interview between Hector and Andromache; with the slight variation required by the circumstances of each case.

The pensive melancholy which forms the habitual tone of Penelope's mind, is similarly dramatised by an appropriate trait expressed in a single recurring form of words. When under the influence of any painful emotion, after some afflicting announcement, or fresh mortification at the hand of her persecutors, she is described as retiring to her chamber, throwing herself on her bed, and weeping over her absent lord and domestic woes until slumber relieves her sorrow. For example, after the scene in which she reproaches Antinoüs with his insidious designs against the life of her son, it is added : *xvi.* 449.

ἡ μὲν ἄρ’ εἰσαναβᾶσ’ ὑπερώϊα σιγαλόεντα
 κλαῖεν ἔπειτ’ Ὀδυσῆα, φίλον πόσιν, ὃφρα οἱ ὕπνον
 ἡδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάρῳσι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.¹ . . .

¹ Conf. *i.* 362., *xix.* 602., *xxi.* 356.

15. The subordinate actors of the *Odyssey* are delineated with the same spirit and propriety as its leading characters. The cottage of the swineherd presents¹ a lively picture of the habits of rustic life, and the better sort of relation betwixt landlord and serf in the poet's age. Eumæus is one in whom gratitude to a beneficent master, if it have not obliterated the recollection of his own early days of freedom, has at least extinguished all desire for a change in his present condition. His patron, and his patron's family, are the objects around which his thoughts and affections are now concentrated, and the favourite theme of his rustic eloquence. His only griefs are the prolonged absence and supposed death of Ulysses, and the domestic distress of the royal house; his only cares to husband his master's store, cherish his memory, and long for his return. His hospitality to the afflicted wanderer is prompted even more by his desire to support the credit of his lord's establishment, than by his own benevolent disposition.

Eumæus
the swine-
herd.

In the treacherous goatherd Melanthius, on the other hand, we have to the life the base-born, low-minded, rustic blackguard, whose brutal conduct and scurrilous tongue made him a fit partisan and associate of the faction whose cause he had espoused.² The affectionate, and at times officious zeal of the faithful old nurse Euryclea, or the housekeeper Eurynome, is equally well contrasted with the insolent levity of the wanton Melantho. Nor can there be a more spirited portrait than that presented in the beggar Irus, of the lazy idle vagabond, or of the bully and sycophant, blusterer and coward, united

Melanthius'
the goat-
herd.

Euryclea.

Melantho.

Irus the
beggar.

¹ XIV. sqq. passim.

² XVII. 212. sqq.

Eurylo-
chus.

in such a character. The poet's faculty of individualising his actors equally displays itself where there is the least apparent intention or opportunity, even where they extend beyond the pale of human nature. The mutineer Eurylochus, the poor sluggard Elpenor, the seer Theoclymenus, the enchantress Circe, the monster Polyphemus, Æolus, Proteus, and the Læstrygonian ogres, are all instinctively, as it were, assigned their place in the imagination, under some proper variety of person and conduct.

Nestor.
Menelaus.
Helen.

Among the internal evidences of unity of origin in the two poems, attention has already been drawn to the close similarity of the mode in which their author's faculty of conceiving and representing human nature, under every difference of scene and subject, is displayed in each. That similarity is, perhaps, most delicately exemplified in certain pairs of characters belonging one to each poem, between whose lot, or the parts they are made to perform, there happens to be some analogy. The parallel of Penelope and Andromache has already been considered. There is, also, little difficulty in recognising in the beggar Irus the hand which delineated Thersites, or in the placid gossip of Eumæus the dramatic skill which animates the more dignified loquacity of Nestor. Ulysses indeed, in his assumed character of veteran warrior, exhibits the peculiarities of the old Pylian hero, even to certain idiomatic turns of his oratory, with a fidelity which, free from all suspicion of imitation, seems to guarantee the two portraits as works of the same master.¹ A similar inference results from the consistency with which the

¹ XIV. 222. 468. 503.

characters of the *Iliad* are reproduced in the *Odyssey*. This point has already been illustrated in the case of Menelaus. The distinctive qualities assigned to that hero in the *Iliad*, whether in his personal capacity or his relation to his fellow-chiefs, re-appear in the *Odyssey* in such precisely identical colours, as to leave no room for doubt that the author of each poem, whether the same or different, had, at least, the very same prototype present to his mind.¹ The remark applies with more or less force to Ulysses, Nestor, and Helen. The examples of Menelaus and Ulysses are important in a historical point of view, from the refutation they afford of a popular doctrine of the Separatist school, which would account for the harmony of characters, facts, and style in the two poems, by a corresponding unity in the genius at large of the primitive epic minstrelsy. Upon this principle, the same harmony would be observable in the works of other accredited organs of that genius. But the reverse is notoriously the case; both these heroes being invested by the remaining poets of the Epic cycle, or the Attic dramatists who borrow from them, with very different and very degrading attributes.²

Nestor, even during his short appearance on the scene, has time to display the same essential peculiarities which distinguish him in the camp before Troy; the same benevolence, cheerfulness of temper, and frankness of demeanour; the same affectionate familiarity with youth; the same love of conversation and good cheer; the same fluency of oratory, with the same tendency to wander from the immediate

¹ *Supra*, Ch. vii. § 8.

² *Infra*, Ch. xv. § 8., xviii. § 16.

subject of discourse, on his own topics of egotistic enlargement.¹

The Helen of the *Odyssey*, reconciled to her home and husband, is the same Helen whom we knew in the *Iliad* as the paramour of Paris, under such small degree of variety as was warranted by change of destiny and lapse of time. Although described as still beautiful, her person and manners are shaded by a veil of matronly gravity, to be expected after an interval of ten years, and under such altered circumstances. She is distinguished by the same elegance and courtesy, and the same voluptuous habits. She enters the hall of the Spartan palace² with a pomp of female luxury never assigned by Homer to any other heroine, preceded by three waiting-maids, one bearing her throne, another soft rugs or cushions, a third her richly stored silver work-basket. In the course of the dialogue, there appears the same mixture as formerly of self-reproach and easy indifference, in her allusions to her past conduct; while the longing after her first husband and native land, which in the *Iliad* also occasionally came over her mind, is here described by herself as having, towards the close of the war, so grown upon her, as to render her as false to the cause of the Trojans as she had formerly been to the bed of Menelaus.³ A curious trait of primitive luxury, which the poet, with a fine adaptation to her character and habits, obviously therefore not without some moral signification, has attributed to her⁴, is the use of a drug calculated to banish thought, and promote oblivion of past or indifference to present subjects of vexation. This

¹ III. 32. sqq.

² IV. 121. sqq.

³ 260.

⁴ 220.

drug was a present from the queen of Egypt, whose court she had recently visited with her husband. The view of some commentators that it was opium, used in the East, as they suppose, from time immemorial as at this day for the same purpose, is certainly not devoid of probability.

CHAP. X.

HOMER. ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. DISCORDANCES OF
THE TEXT.

1. INCONGRUITY OF HISTORICAL DETAILS A COMMON FEATURE OF PROLONGED EPIC NARRATIVES. — 2. EXAMPLE FROM THE ODYSSEY. — 3. ANOMALY A CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF GREAT ORIGINAL GENIUS. — 4. OTHER SOURCES OF ANOMALY IN POETICAL WORKS. — 5. JOURNEY OF TELEMACHUS. ANALOGY OF THE ATTIC DRAMA. — 6. EURYLOCHUS IN THE ISLE OF CIRCE. — 7. VARIATIONS IN THE PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE DISGUISED ULYSSES. — 8. HIS DIALOGUE WITH THE CYCLOPS. WITH EUMEUS. TRANSACTIONS IN SCHERIA. — 9. RETURN OF TELEMACHUS FROM SPARTA. CHRONOLOGY OF THE ODYSSEY. — 10. ANOMALIES OF THE ILIAD. FORTIFICATION OF THE CAMP. SECESSION OF ACHILLES. — 11. DUEL OF HECTOR AND AJAX. THE GODS IN ETHIOPIA. THE SLEEP OF AGAMEMNON. ARMS OF PATROCLUS.

Incongruity
of historical
details a
common
feature of
epic narra-
tives.

1. THE analysis of the plan and structure of each poem, in so far as bearing on the question of their authorship, has hitherto been limited solely or chiefly to their internal evidence of unity and consistency. It remains to consider those incongruities to which so great importance has been attached as arguments on the opposite side. That many such discrepancies do exist, is undeniable; and the mere adduction of a certain amount of them has, in many quarters, been considered as an adequate triumph of the ingenuity of the critic over the unity of the poet. Nor have the adherents of the old opinion ventured by any bold line of criticism to impugn such inferences. They have usually been satisfied either with attempting by subtle explanations to strain palpable discordances into harmony, or with accounting for them by interpolation or corruption; expedients which tend, in fact, but to strengthen the case of

their opponents. The subject will here be taken up on broader principles, involving considerations of no small moment, as affecting not merely an insulated point of Homeric criticism, but the genius at large of epic poetry in every stage of its cultivation.

The first question which here presents itself, and one of momentous bearing on the whole inquiry, is : How stands the case with regard to other epic authors, and what would be the consequence of an equally rigorous enforcement in their case of the same tests applied to Homer ? It would require no very rigid scrutiny of many an elaborate poem of modern times, which it were absurd to doubt is, in its integrity, the genuine work of the author whose name it bears, to satisfy any impartial reader that such anomalies are much more frequently the result of oversight, of the contempt of genius for petty details, or even of wilful intention on the part of a single poet, than of that discordance which marks the operations of many. The action of the *Æneid*, to select the example most apposite in the eyes of the classical student, presents incoherences and self-contradictions far surpassing, both in number and degree, the utmost that have ever been detected in either *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. The same holds good, to a greater or less extent, not only of Dante, Milton, and probably every other great poet, but of many a standard prose writer, sacred and profane.¹ Before therefore such anomalies can supply ground for any legitimate inference, it must be established upon some sound principle, what portion of them in any given case is to be ascribed to the one, and what to the other, of the two classes of causes above specified. As preliminary to any

¹ See Appendix F.

such inquiry, another no less important question offers itself: Whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are to be judged in this particular by the same law as any similar work of historical times, or by certain by-laws applicable to them alone? To this question there can be but one answer in any reasonable quarter: that the same rule ought to be applied to all; or that, if any exception be made, the strongest claim to indulgence belongs to the poet of a period least provided with technical aids to accurate composition. If then it can be proved, by the same internal criteria as would be valid in regard to Virgil or Dante, that the anomalies of Homer are, in a large number of cases, such as cannot reasonably be explained otherwise than by the purely personal class of causes, we are in some measure precluded, by the fundamental law that every author is his own best interpreter, from judging other cases, where possibly the same criteria may not exist, by any more subtle rule.

Example
from the
Odyssey.

2. In order to have the general question more tangibly before us, it may be proper, by an illustrative example, to form some clear estimate of the mode or extent in which the peculiarity here under review is observable in the structure of either poem. The example about to be selected is one generally held to be the most intractable, even by the keenest defenders of Homer's unity. It occurs in the *Odyssey*, in the comparative chronology of two parallel courses of the action: the journey of Telemachus, and the voyage of Ulysses from Calypso's island. Telemachus starts on the evening of the second day after the poem opens, with the intention of being back in Ithaca on the twelfth at furthest.¹ He

¹ II. 374. sqq.; conf. IV. 632.

arrives on the morning of the third day at Pylos, and on the evening of the fifth at Sparta, where the poet leaves him on the morning of the sixth, to return to the affairs of Ithaca. In his conversation with Menelaus on that morning, the young hero is pressed to remain ten or twelve days at Sparta. This invitation he declines, adding that he would willingly spend a year there, but that his companions whom he had left at Pylos were already impatient for his return.¹ The next book takes up the history of Ulysses. Mercury is dispatched to Calypso's island, on the next day at soonest, it may be presumed, after that on which we parted from Telemachus; the seventh, consequently, from the opening of the poem. The raft of Ulysses is ready on the fourth² day afterwards (the 11th from the commencement). He sails seventeen days (28th); on the eighteenth (29th) his raft is destroyed.³ After being tossed on the waves two whole days⁴, he reaches the island of Scheria on the third (32nd). He remains there three days⁵ (35th), and on the fourth is landed on his native island⁶; the 25th since parting from Calypso, and the 36th from the opening of the poem.

Now Telemachus does not reach Ithaca, on his return, until the day after his father, the thirty-seventh of the poem, and the thirty-sixth since his own departure from home. He had, therefore, been absent three times the period originally promised. We left him at Sparta on the sixth day, determined to return home forthwith; add three days for his journey and voyage, deduct the nine from the whole thirty-seven, and it results that he had remained

¹ IV. 595. sqq.⁴ V. 388.² V. 262.⁵ VI. sqq.³ V. 279.⁶ XIII. 119.

twenty-eight days with Menelaus, more than double the twelve proposed by that hero and declined by himself. He had consequently kept his companions, formerly described as so anxious for his return, together with his borrowed ship, lying off the coast of Pylos a whole lunar month. Here then is a very palpable discordance, perhaps the most important in the text of either poem, and which has therefore been very plausibly adduced as an argument of original disconnexion between these two portions of the *Odyssey*.

The validity of any such inference must, however, depend on another consideration of no small importance as affecting this and other similar cases of anomaly: Whether they be less compatible with the genius of a single poet, ranging with the native freedom of a lively imagination over an extensive subject, than with the cautious artifice of the professional bookmakers whom the modern theory substitutes in his place? Considering the wonderful ingenuity displayed by these supposed amalgamators of discordant materials, the pains they must have been at to soften down so many discrepancies of fact or allusion, to connect by mutual references so many petty incidents, even where the absence of such mechanical links would never have been felt, is it likely, or even possible, that they would have overlooked an error of eight-and-twenty days in the chronology of a narrative the whole duration of which does not exceed forty? The functions of these supposed compilers were obviously, as regards mere mechanical combination, equivalent to those of original authors. Their productions were as much entitled to the credit of original design, as any modern Roman building constructed by Vignola or Fontana with columns and cornices

supplied by the ruins of antient edifices. It were quite as probable that one of those artists would have been contented, in the adjustment of his borrowed masonry, to place a Corinthian and Ionic capital side by side in the same series, as that such a blunder as that above noticed would have been left uncorrected by the masters of the Pisistratian school of patchwork epic architecture.

This consideration goes far to vitiate, in its source, the whole train of sceptical reasoning usually resorted to in such cases. The introduction, for example, of warriors severely wounded on one day, fresh and vigorous on the next, or even on the same, is a license, and no small one certainly, of familiar occurrence in the *Iliad*. A critical study of the text, however, evinces it to be one inherent in the spirit of the old epic muse, and as inseparable from the subordinate parts into which it is proposed to subdivide the poem as from its collective integrity. But even setting aside this fact, were such license more compatible with the cautious artifice of a bookmaker than with the genius of an original author, in a narrative working throughout on supernatural mechanism? Compilers of such tact and skill as those here in question would never surely have ventured, without some precedent in the usage of epic art, arbitrarily to introduce, in a poem which they were about to offer as the most finished specimen of that art, a novelty calculated to shock either the judgement or the taste of their public.

3. It is an old and sound remark¹, that faultless precision of detail is the attribute of mediocrity; anomaly the invariable characteristic of the higher

Anomaly
the ordi-
nary cha-
racteristic
of great

¹ Longin. De Sublim. xxxiii.

original
genius.

order of genius in every branch of imitative art. Among the modes in which that anomaly displays itself in poetry is a disregard of the strict rules of narrative probability, especially where likely to interfere with the general effect of a composition. Similar violations of rigid truth or nature are often observable in the works of the great antient sculptors and modern Italian painters, even in those where the general result is most to be admired. Here, a shadow is made to fall on objects which, on strictly optical principles, it would not have reached; there, a figure filling up a space in the grouping of the background is larger or smaller, more or less distinct, than the strict rules of perspective enjoin.¹ Such license, in the abstract, cannot, it is true, be defended. It may, therefore, in so far, be subject of regret that Homer or Raphael should yield to artists of an inferior order in the mechanical adjustment of their works. It must however also be remembered, that had they been equally scrupulous, they would not have been Homer or Raphael, nor should we have had either an *Iliad* or a *Transfiguration*. Our limited knowledge of the higher economy of creation enables us to perceive the fact, though not to assign the cause, why so much in the visible works of nature which appears to us

¹ Hence may in part be explained that carelessness of perspective and poverty of landscape accompaniment, which seem to have characterised many even of the higher productions of Greek painting and sculpture. These blemishes can hardly be attributed to incapacity, in an age which produced an Archimedes, and in the face of so deep a knowledge of drawing and anatomy as is displayed in the same works. The scope of Greek design was to represent human life and character in the most beautiful or striking forms, or the most harmonious groups. Geometrical precision in the adjustment of lines of building or scenery was a secondary consideration. So in fact Plato, *Critias*, p. 107. B. sq.

defective may yet be so connected with acknowledged advantages as to be indispensable to their existence. We often see a countenance in the individual features of which no actual blemish can be detected, but where we are as little struck by any beauty; on the other hand one is apt, on beholding a handsome face combining certain irregularities of feature, to imagine that by slightly varying its lineaments, by adding length or fulness in one part, or subtracting it in another, perfection would be the result. But, could the alterations be effected, they would probably but tend to prove how inferior the work of "nature's journeyman" was to her own; and, undoubtedly, the same secret blending of imperfection and excellence in the parts is as essential to aggregate beauty in the works of human genius as in those of nature.

This principle has been distinctly seen and laid down by both Aristotle¹ and Longinus.² Among the various classes of anomaly which it involves, that here in question has been comprehended by the former critic under what he defines, in scarce translatable phraseology, as the "Imitation of the Impossible." In the abstract he observes it cannot be defended, but is to be excused or even admired, where tending to enhance the general effect of a work. For illustration of the rule he appeals, as usual, to Homer; and one of the examples cited will be noticed in the sequel. In fact, one of the most remarkable of the poet's talents is this very one of making even discordances

¹ Poetic. c. xxv. xxvi. ed. Bip.; conf. Plat. Critias, p. 107. c.

² De Sublim. sect. xxxiii. A remarkable passage, where this great critic characterises the petty anomalies of Homer, so captiously founded on by his hypercritical successors of the present day, with singular point, as, *παρορίματα, δι' ἀμέλειαν εἰκὴ που, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ὑπὸ μεγαλοφύας ἀνεπιστάτως ἀνηνεγμένα.*

of detail contribute to general harmony of effect. Hence it is that such blemishes, palpable as they often are, have rarely been observed, still less condemned by those who judge the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the true spirit of their author. Nor, in the whole range of subtleties in which successive schools of Homeric criticism have indulged, is there one more fallacious or pernicious than the practice, lately so much in vogue, of picking petty flaws and holes in the mechanical structure of the poems, while all their grander features of moral and poetical harmony are overlooked. Against such an ordeal, no epic composition, even if indited by the pen of Calliope herself, could stand for a moment.

Other
sources of
anomaly in
poetical
works.

4. Admitting however, that such anomalies may proceed as well from the inadvertence, or even artifice, of a single poet, as from patchwork or interpolation, the question naturally arises: What are the criteria for ascribing those discernible in Homer's text to the one rather than the other class of causes? They are to be sought partly in the internal structure of the text itself, partly in the tenor of those same commentaries where the above distinction has been confounded. The discordances in question occur, in more or less palpable form, not only in the integral, and as regards subject or space least connected heads of narrative, but also in contiguous passages; and are often so closely interwoven with the minutest fibres of the text, as to be essential to the very pith and substance, not merely of its historical import, but of its syntactical structure. The cases, however, to which importance has been attached by the advocates of primitive non-integrity, are confined solely or chiefly to the former class, while the latter are either

overlooked, or noticed as mere eccentricities of the poet or poets from whom the separate rhapsodies are supposed to emanate. But it is not easy to see upon what principle this method can be justified; or how so fatal an importance can be ascribed to discordances occurring at wide intervals, and where oversight were both natural and excusable, while the same irregularities, in a more glaring position of contiguity, pass unheeded. The only apparent ground of the distinction is, that the one class of examples supplied the sceptical doctrine with arguments possessing an outward show of plausibility, while a similar inference extended to the other would equally annihilate the textual integrity of the supposed separate elements, cutting them up into such shreds and patches as would have been found impracticable materials for the ingenuity even of the artificial compiler. Here there is an inconsistency on the part of the commentators quite equal to any imputed to the text, and which can only be avoided by the more logical conclusion, that the same peculiarities occurring throughout the same work, in the same forms, originate in the same cause, anomaly of genius in the same author.

The cases now about to be quoted may be classed under two heads. The one comprises incongruities to all appearance intentional, where Homer's object seems to have been, with a disregard or even a wilful violation of rigid consistency, to produce a certain poetical effect, or obtain a wider field for the exercise of his inventive powers; the remainder are such as seem to be altogether involuntary, resulting from the natural contempt of genius for minor details. The usual custom would here enjoin that precedence

should be given to the text of the Iliad; but the example already selected as the basis of illustration having been derived from the Odyssey, it will be preferable to carry on the analysis in the first instance through the remainder of the same work.

Voyage of
Telemachus.

5. Among the integral subdivisions of the poem set apart in the popular theories on the subject as originally independent compositions, one of the most important is the description of the voyage of Telemachus to Peloponnesus, comprising the four opening books down to verse 624. of Delta. The young hero announces his intention in a public assembly of the citizens, and asks a vessel from the suitors, which is insolently refused. He afterwards borrows one from his friend Noëmon, and mans it with a select body of Ithacan youths. He then takes a formal leave of the suitors, informing them at the same time of his having elsewhere procured the means of transport to Pylos, and that the object of his voyage was to concert means for their destruction. In their reply they again turn his project into ridicule.¹ He next communicates his intentions to the old housekeeper of the palace, Euryclea², binding her by an oath to keep his absence secret from his mother until his return, or until a lapse of ten or twelve days from the date of his departure.³ Now let us consider what a tissue of anomalies is here. What can be more inconsistent than the conduct of Telemachus, in formally apprising the suitors, who had just before discountenanced his voyage, of the arrangements he had made to carry it into effect in spite of them, telling them also plainly that their own lives were at stake in the matter? It was little else than an invitation

¹ II. 212. sqq., 386. sqq., 316., III. 363.

² II. 349.

³ 373.

to them to arrest his person. In the next place, is it credible that a project proclaimed aloud by himself in the national assembly and the palace hall, a project already, like all other topics, matter of scurrilous jest with the suitors, should have remained a mystery to the housekeeper of the palace until announced to her, under a vow of secrecy too, by her young master? What more unaccountable than that Telemachus, after the pains he had taken to make the thing notorious to the whole town, after having, without any vow of secrecy, manned his vessel with twenty young citizens, whose friends must all have been privy to the affair, should yet have been such a simpleton as to believe, that the swearing in of a single old woman to silence would keep his departure secret from an anxious mother during a fortnight's absence, and amid the incessant gossiping of which she and her concerns were the principal butt on the part of the suitors and their adherents? Upon Wolfian principles, it is plain, that neither the passages in which Telemachus bids adieu to the suitors, nor that where he swears in Euryclea, could be by the author of the council-scene or of the previous account of the prince's conduct. The text however is here intractable, and the anomaly has been overlooked. In the sequel the case becomes worse. During several days, not only Penelope but the suitors are represented altogether ignorant of the expedition, until Noëmon, standing in need of his vessel, applies to them for information as to the probable time of the prince's return, in the very natural confidence that they must be cognizant of his motions. But they are as much amazed as if they had never heard a syllable

of the matter, and inquire with much anxiety into the circumstances of his departure, "having been all along under the impression that he was gone into the country to look after his farm!"¹ All this incongruity appears the more glaring, when it is considered how easily it might have been avoided. The young hero might have been made, preserving silence in public, first to sound the suitors as to their acquiescence in his voyage. On discovering their repugnance to it, he might have said no more on the subject for the present, but, affecting to abandon his scheme and to be really going into the country for a week, might have secretly borrowed his vessel and taken his other measures without risk of detection. In this way, both his exaction of the vow from Euryclea, and the subsequent ignorance of his mother and the suitors, would have been quite natural.

The question then occurs, How can Homer, either as author of the whole *Odyssey* or of this particular rhapsody, be justified in such a disregard of probability? The answer is, first, that no unprejudiced reader probably has ever been offended by his mode of management; and secondly, that the more precise method above suggested might have been less conducive to the general effect of the poem. The prince's announcement of his project in the public assembly, with his request of a ship so contemptuously treated by the suitors, gives a spirited turn to the debate. Their subsequent indifference to so really important a matter, of which they had been so formally warned, supplies some graphic touches both to their own character and that of Telemachus, who, hitherto a quiet passive youth, had appeared to them incapable

¹ IV. 630. 638.

of venturing on any bold step for the assertion of his rights. Hence the contempt with which they treat his proposed voyage as but an innocent bravado, and their amazement on discovering its actual execution, are valuable ingredients of the ethic spirit of the *Odyssey*. That the publicity given to the expedition was incompatible with ignorance on the part of the servants and other secondary personages, cannot here enter into consideration. It is a fundamental principle of Greek poetry, epic as well as dramatic, and one largely exemplified in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that none but the leading personages shall be entitled to know more or less of what is going on than suits the poet's convenience. Hence, on the Attic stage, by an exaggeration of this principle, all the secrets of the plot are intrusted to the chorus, which is often a body of females of the middle class, representing consequently the most loquacious and least trustworthy portion of the community; and on the modern theatre, under the rubric "aside," remarks are made within a few yards of the person from whom they are supposed to be kept secret, in a voice which would suit the commander of a battalion. To these partial inconsistencies the Greek audience, in its day, submitted, as does our own at the present, in consideration of advantages only to be obtained at their expense. By a parallel species of license, it is here assumed that the Ithacan public, in the vulgar sense, are not privileged to interfere. The poet has thus obtained a further opening for several interesting scenes: first, between Telemachus and his faithful old nurse, and afterwards between her and Penelope, when the truth is at last revealed to the queen. This crisis is brought about through the medium of

Analogy of
the Attic
drama.

Noëmon, the lender of the vessel, and in so far a principal in the transaction, but who, a discreet and reserved person as his name denotes, had hitherto remained in the background, until under the pressure of his own affairs he applies to the suitors for intelligence; and thus, by the proper epic agency, the case becomes too notorious for either them or the queen to remain any longer in the dark.

Eurylochus in the
isle of
Circe.

6. This privilege of the epic art applies, not merely to ignorance but to knowledge, which will also be found, in numerous cases, to exist or be wanting at the discretion of the poet. For example, on landing on the island of Circe, Ulysses sends a party, headed by his lieutenant Eurylochus, to explore the country.¹ On their approaching the dwelling of the sorceress, she appears at the door and invites them to partake of her hospitality. All enter, with the exception of the leader, who suspected treachery. The party within are converted by their landlady into hogs. Eurylochus remains awhile expecting their reappearance, but in vain. He then returns, greatly alarmed, and reports them missing to his chief. Ulysses determines himself to go in quest of them, and orders Eurylochus to act as his guide, who, not yet recovered from his fright, refuses. The hero proceeds alone, defeats the arts of the sorceress, and returns to the vessel to bring up the rest of the crew to her palace. On his arrival the men surround him, eager to learn the fate of their comrades. He bids them, drily, put their equipage in order, and come themselves to see and partake of the good cheer that awaits them. Upon this Eurylochus interposes, and strongly dissuades them from obedience, assuring them

¹ x. 208. sqq.

that "the sorceress will convert them also into hogs or wild beasts."¹ Here then Eurylochus is suddenly inspired with a knowledge of the previous fate of his own detachment, which no part of the text admits of his having obtained by natural means. He had not seen what happened. The terror he displayed on returning to the ship was but the foreboding of some mysterious evil; nor, had he been privy to the real cause of his men's detention, could he have limited his report to a simple statement of their not being forthcoming. His knowledge therefore is evidently but an afterthought of Homer, introductory to the scene that followed, and supplying a few additional touches to the character of the mutinous lieutenant, a personage of some importance among the second-rate heroes of the *Odyssey*.

7. Another case which, from the more favourable arrangement of the text, has afforded a readier handle to casuistry, occurs in the variations made by the disguised Ulysses in the personal narratives with which he successively entertains Eumæus, the suitors, and Penelope. These passages are richly illustrative, not only of the conventional knowledge or ignorance authorised by epic usage, but of the hero's ready talent for dissimulation, and the spirit of comic humour which runs through the action of the poem. In every emergency he has at once a new and plausible version of his life and adventures at command, adapted to the circumstances of the case or the dress he has assumed. When accosted by Minerva, in her disguise of a shepherd boy, on first awakening from the sleep in which he had been deposited on his native coast, ignorant where he is, he inquires the name of

Personal
narrative
of the dis-
guised
Ulysses.

¹ x. 433.

the country. When told that he is in Ithaca, he is almost overpowered with joy, but suppressing all outward demonstration gravely replies, "that he had heard indeed of such an island in his own native land of Crete, but had never expected to visit it." He then enters on a fictitious account of his life, and the manner of his transport to this strange country.¹ His patroness hears him patiently to the end, and then, discovering herself, banters him on his unrivalled talent for the arts of intrigue.

On reaching the hut of Eumæus in his new character of mendicant, a longer and more varied series of fictions is required to amuse his host.² Little of his previous matter of fact is retained but his Cretan origin and certain exploits in the Trojan war. The additions comprise a predatory voyage to Egypt, and sundry adventures in Lybia, Phœnicia, and Epirus.

In the suitor's hall this account is again partly repeated, partly varied.³ His captivity in Egypt still forms the basis of the narrative, but the details are different.

Penelope, on the other hand, in their midnight interview⁴, is favoured with another version of the Cretan story formerly told to Minerva. On this occasion, no longer content with the humble capacity in which he had previously figured as natural son of a Cretan nobleman, he has the boldness to announce himself a brother of king Idomeneus.

This spirited series of fictions, so characteristic of the genius of the poem, so replete with the liveliest features of Homeric style, has yet been stigmatised by modern hypercriticism as interpolation or patchwork, and on the very ground which constitutes a chief

¹ XIII. 256.² XIV. 199.³ XVII. 419.⁴ XIX. 172.

part of its value: that the different accounts contradict each other! that it is "improbable," forsooth, "the beggar should address conflicting stories to the different members of the household, because, by communicating among themselves, they might have detected his self-contradictions."¹ Had Homer been obtuse enough, from any such considerations, to obtrude again and again the same hackneyed tale upon his audience, he would be as little entitled to the praise bestowed by Aristotle on his own inventive genius, as his hero would deserve the like compliment paid him by his patroness Minerva.

In the Phæacian palace this talent for innocent fibbing is still more broadly exemplified. When Alcinoüs reproves his daughter for want of hospitality, in not at once conducting the stranger from his landing-place to the palace, Ulysses vindicates her by an assurance that she had pressed him to accompany her, but that he, from modesty, had loitered behind.² The fact as previously narrated is the very reverse. The hero, noway disinclined to her escort, had postponed his entry into the city by her express order.³ His reply, evidently, is just what occurred to him at the moment to get his fair benefactress out of a scrape.

That this spirit of ready pretext was common to the Laërtian royal family, appears from another similar expedient on the part of Telemachus. While still an inmate in the palace of Menelaus, he is warned by Minerva in a dream to return home forthwith, for that his mother had consented to espouse Eury-machus⁴, and that his presence is urgently required

¹ B. Thiersch, *Urgestalt d. Odys.* p. 74.

² vi. 295.

³ vii. 298. sqq.

⁴ xv. 17.

to look after his own interests. The next morning, when Menelaus inquires the cause of such haste, Telemachus answers simply, that he has become anxious about the management of his property at home during his long absence.¹ Any mention of his vision or his mother's marriage, by exciting curiosity, might have involved delay; he therefore seizes the first pretext that offers, as a means of effecting his escape. Nor, on his arrival in Ithaca, does he express the least surprise at finding matters exactly in the same position as when he left home.

8. The preceding examples have been limited chiefly to cases where the anomaly appears more or less intentional on the poet's part. In the following it may be attributed solely to oversight or inadvertence.

His dialogue
with the
Cyclops;

Ulysses, on escaping from Polyphemus, pushes off his vessel "as far from the shore as a man's voice could be heard,"² and then triumphantly taunts his baffled enemy. The giant, in return, hurls a fragment of rock in the direction of the ship, which narrowly escapes destruction. The hero, nothing daunted, rows out to a distance "double that at which he uttered his first address," and again gives vent to his reproaches, to which Polyphemus again replies. The question, then, is: How could this second harangue reach the ears of the giant, if uttered at twice as great a distance as a man's voice could be heard?

with
Eumæus,

When Ulysses, in the hut of Eumæus, complains of cold, and asks for the loan of a blanket, the swineherd is made to remark in reply, that "in his establishment each man had but a single blanket for his own use." Six lines afterwards he is described as

¹ xv. 88.

² ix. 473. 491.

lending his guest "one both large and warm, which he always kept by him for a change, or for extra covering in very cold weather."¹

The account of the hero's arrival and reception in Scheria offers a most curious succession of glaring discordances, which yet, owing to the impracticability of the context, has never given serious umbrage in sceptical quarters. In the first place, the poet and his hero between them are guilty of making the sun set at least twice in one day. Ulysses in his narrative to Arete says, that on awakening from his slumber in the bush, "after the sun had gone down,"² he descried Nausicaa with her maidens playing on the beach. The poet, however, in his own previous account of the same events³, informs us that the sun set on that evening just before the party reached the grove of Minerva, several hours after it had disappeared according to his hero, allowing a reasonable time for the journey and other intermediate transactions. Aristarchus proposed to smooth down this difficulty⁴, very arbitrarily as well as unnecessarily, by altering the text. But even this remedy would be inadequate to the disease, for the sequel gives a virtual contradiction to both passages. Although Ulysses does not proceed from the grove to the city until after another considerable interval, consequently until after complete darkness must have spread over the land, yet the whole account of his entry implies it to have taken place in broad daylight. Not only was Pallas obliged to cover her favourite with a cloud, to preserve him from the impertinence of the populace, but

Transac-
tions in
Scheria.

¹ XIV. 513. 521.

² VII. 289.

³ VI. 321.

⁴ By changing *δύσετο* (VII. 289.) into *δείλετο*, a term foreign to the vocabulary both of Homer and of Hellas. Schol. Palat. ad loc.

he was himself able to take a minute survey of the objects of curiosity on his walk ; of the port and arsenal ; of the external ornaments of the palace ; the fruit trees, flower-beds, and fountains of the royal gardens. The mode in which this tissue of petty incongruities is interwoven with the nicest fibres of the text is not only such as to exclude the possibility of a solution, but amounts to a literary curiosity ; for the same sentence which describes the hero as gazing with admiration on the brilliant objects that adorned the exterior of the royal residence, introduces him into the banqueting-hall, where he finds Alcinoüs and his guests engaged in the usual solemnities before retiring to bed.¹

Return of
Telema-
chus from
Sparta.

9. Let us now return for a moment to the more serious chronological discrepancy from which we originally set out, and inquire how far it may be explained by the same twofold peculiarity of the poet's genius, a disregard of minute details, and a readiness to sacrifice them to poetical effect. Homer had undertaken to interweave the adventures of Telemachus with those of Ulysses, in the relation to each other of principal subject and episode. Telemachus is first sent to Pylos and Sparta. The circumstances under which his voyage takes place, with the state in which he left his mother and household, require that his excursion should be speedily performed, or at least that he should set out with the intention of using expedition. This intention is adhered to up to the moment when we leave him to attend to the affairs of his father. Here a different mode of management was required. Whether in deference to the popular legend, or from the poet's desire to mag-

¹ VII. 138.

nify the adventures of Ulysses, nearly a lunar month is devoted to the voyage of that hero from Calypso's isle to Ithaca. In resuming the history of Telemachus therefore, either a tacit anomaly was unavoidable, or his previous arrangement must have been varied, in order to bring his course into chronological harmony with that of his father. This alternative, it seems, whether from oversight or indifference, did not occur to the poet; and he has allowed the case to remain as it stood, leaving us to explain it as we best can. It may be observed however, that although there is discordance there is here no actual self-contradiction. The inconsistency results merely from the reliance which the reader is led to place, naturally enough no doubt, on the previously expressed intention of Telemachus to return speedily. We are at least at liberty to imagine that Menelaus had found means in the interval to persuade him to remain three weeks instead of three days. The narrative of the visit, as resumed in the fifteenth book, implies indeed this alteration of plan. Neither the remonstrance of Pallas at his long delay, nor her account (which, though false, seemed true to the prince,) of the momentous change in his domestic affairs, appear compatible with an adherence to his original intention of remaining but a week or ten days from home.

It may be remarked, in further illustration of the chronological discrepancy in the voyage of Telemachus, that the computation of time throughout the *Odyssey*, with its greater variety of events and localities, has no pretensions to that regular and progressive accuracy observable in the *Iliad*.¹ Discordances of a similar, though less glaring, nature exist in other cases,

Chronology
of the
Odyssey.

¹ See Appendix G.

where the structure of the text still more effectually excludes any sceptical inference. For example, on the night of the disguised hero's arrival in the hut of Eumæus, its inmates are sent to bed with the usual formalities.¹ That same night Telemachus, still at Sparta, is warned by Minerva in a vision to return home.² He sets out at daybreak, and, after a journey by land and sea of two days and nights, reaches the coast of Ithaca on the third morning. During his voyage we leave him³, and rejoin the party in the hut, who are found at dinner on the day after that on which they had been sent to bed. They again retire⁴ to rest, and we return to Telemachus, who lands, and leaving his vessel on the shore walks up and joins his father at breakfast in the hut⁵, on the third day after the arrival of Ulysses in the island, according to the chronology of his own adventures, but on the fourth according to that of his son's. The reckoning stands as follows:—

ULYSSES.	TELEMACHUS.
First night in the hut =	First night at Sparta.
Second night in the hut =	{ Second night at Pheræ.
	{ Third night at sea.
Third night in the hut =	Fourth night in the hut. ⁶

¹ xiv. 523.² xv. 1. sqq.³ xv. 301.⁴ xv. 494.⁵ xv. 495., xvi. 1. sqq.

⁶ The accuracy of this table, in the case of Telemachus, is clearly borne out by the description of his course. In that of Ulysses, where the chronology of the narrative itself is not so distinct, the computation is confirmed by xvii. 515.

Nitzsch (Erklär. Anmkk. Bd. ii. S. liii.) would evade this incongruity, by assuming that Pallas appeared in vision to Telemachus at a later hour of the same morning on which her interview with Ulysses took place in the cave of the nymphs. This were out of Scylla into Charybdis; and as the poet has already been convicted of making the sun set twice in the same evening, he would here make it rise twice in the same morning.

Throughout the poem, it is said that Ulysses returned home on the tenth year after the fall of Troy, the twentieth after his own departure from Ithaca. But the chronology of his vicissitudes since the siege does not bear out that statement. He describes himself as having been detained seven years in the isle of Calypso¹ and one in that of Circe.² Add about seven months, as the sum of the lesser portions of time to be collected from the ninth to the twelfth books inclusive, the result does not exceed eight years and seven months. Let us now turn to the *Iliad*.

10. Several cases of incongruity have already been incidentally cited³ from the opening scenes of that poem, consisting in a certain accumulation of preliminary details at the expense of strict historical order, with the apparent object of laying a broader foundation for the ensuing narrative. These cases may be numbered to the class above described as originating in design rather than oversight. Such is the advice given by Nestor to Agamemnon in council as to the mode of marshalling his army; advice which, however appropriate it might have been in the first year of the war, was, historically speaking, quite out of place in the tenth. Such is the like injunction of Iris, disguised as Polites, to Priam, with her report relative to the advance and appearance of the Greek host. Another somewhat similar example is here subjoined.

Anomalies
of the *Iliad*.

During the nine years of the war previous to the quarrel of the chiefs, the Greek fleet and camp are

Fortifica-
tion of the
camp.

Minerva is plainly described as parting from Ulysses in broad daylight (xiii. 189. 344. sqq.): while it is distinctly stated (xv. 8. 49. sq.) that her subsequent appearance to his son was during the nighttime.

¹ vii. 259.

² x. 469.

³ Ch. v. § 4. sq.

represented as having remained unprotected by any species of entrenchment, on an open coast, in the midst of a hostile country, under the poetical pretext that the terror of Achilles was a safeguard against hostile aggression.¹ The historical insufficiency of this pretext is obvious. Had every one of the 100,000 men who composed the host been an Achilles, their united valour would have been unavailing against the enterprise of a few daring peasants, armed with a tinder-box and favoured by a dark night and a scirocco wind. But setting this aside, it is further said that Achilles was occasionally absent for weeks² together, by sea and land, ravaging the country or besieging the towns of Priam's Asiatic allies. Why then, it may be asked, did the Trojans neglect these opportunities of attacking the enemy in his quarters, and setting fire to his tents and ships? The construction of the rampart belongs, therefore, historically, to the first year of the war.³ Yet the details of every portion of the poem so incontestably prove its poetical connexion with the tenth, as completely to exclude every species of sceptical inference. That a camp protected by Achilles should require no artificial defence was essential to the heroic grandeur of his character. The construction of the rampart, on the other hand, after his secession, was both an additional homage to his glory, and necessary to the future conduct of the poem; to relieve the monotony of a series of field

¹ Il. ix. 352., iv. 512., et locc. cit. in Ch. v. § 1.

² ix. 325. sqq.

³ Thucydides, accordingly, in his pragmatical notice of the Trojan war, dismissing the authority of Homer, describes the Greeks as fortifying their camp immediately after their establishment on the coast (i. xi.).

engagements, and impart variety to the martial vicissitudes of the action.

The knowledge which the Trojans are from the first assumed to possess of the quarrel of the chiefs, the secession of Achilles, and other transactions in the Greek camp, is altogether conventional. The text contains not a hint at the time or mode in which they obtained the information, or at the consequent change of tactics on their own side. In these details, the more methodical spirit of the modern Muse would have found abundant materials for episode. We should have had Trojan spies or treacherous Greeks sending notice to the city, a council held to deliberate on the important news, and a determination adopted to abandon the previous timid line of defence and face the enemy in the field. Homer probably saw no great poetical capabilities in such details. He therefore tacitly requests his readers to take them for granted, and introduces the Trojans at once familiar with all that had taken place, boldly marching out on the plain instead of skulking behind their city walls. Even Priam, in his dialogue with Helen, while obviously aware that the principal Greek hero was not present, neither makes any remark on his absence, nor betrays the least curiosity as to its cause.¹

Secession of
Achilles.

¹ This simple fact, the absence of the principal hero from the field during three great battles and sixteen whole books of the poem, while all the other chiefs are exhibited in a state of constant activity, ought, with reasonable critics, to go far in itself to vitiate the attacks on the original integrity of the series of martial cantos. The hypothesis of a careful cutting out of all the passages bearing on the hero's presence, and the insertion here and there of the numerous allusions to his absence, a hypothesis which W. Müller plainly inculcates, and which the arguments of his fellow-commentators necessarily involve, seems an astonishing climax of sceptical credulity.

Duel of
Hector and
Ajax.

11. In the seventh book, Apollo and Minerva consult as to the propriety of concluding the day's battle by a single combat between Hector and Ajax, and agree that Hector shall be the challenger. Helenus, the Trojan soothsayer, is then brought forward as the inspired medium of communication with Hector, whom he encourages to the adventure by an assurance of having overheard the two deities stipulate for his coming forth unscathed from the engagement.¹ Not a syllable however occurs of any such condition in their actual conversation. The intelligent critic will not fail to perceive the close congeniality of spirit between these cases and the previous examples of conventional knowledge or ignorance cited from the *Odyssey*. Nor can anything be more incongruous than that the Greeks, after the treacherous conduct of the Trojans on that very morning, should here complacently accept their renewed proposals of truce, and again place confidence in their oaths without the least notice of their late perjury. Yet every rational inference of a sceptical nature is excluded, by the distinct allusion of both Hector and Antenor² to that perjury; allusions so inseparably linked with the whole spirit of the context that no casuistry can get rid of them. The previous case of single combat, like the dream of Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, having served its purpose, is dismissed, and in no way allowed to interfere with the subsequent conduct of the action.

The gods in
Ethiopia.

When Achilles requests his mother to interest Jupiter in his behalf, she replies, that he must wait until the return of the god from Ethiopia, whither he had gone the day before "with the rest of the

¹ VII. 53.

² VII. 69. 351.

deities.”¹ Yet we had just before been told, that on the morning of the day on which this dialogue took place, Pallas had been sent by Juno to check the fury of Achilles, and that, after having executed her commission she rejoined “the rest of the deities” in Olympus.² Apollo was also on that same morning still in the camp, shooting his arrows at the Greeks. Here is a naked self-contradiction which has yet, owing to the indissoluble connexion of the text, been passed over as a mere inadvertence by the keenest modern impugnors of Homer’s unity, and the antient commentators who notice it have been censured in the same quarters as hypercritical cavillers.³

On the night after the first great defeat of the Greeks, it is said, that “all the other chiefs⁴” slept soundly, with the exception of Agamemnon, kept awake by anxiety of mind. Yet shortly after, we are told that “Menelaus had passed an equally sleepless night” from a similar cause. In the sequel of the first quoted text, Agamemnon’s restless anxiety is described as amounting to despair, when he “looked across the plain and beheld the Trojan watchfires.” Yet a few lines afterwards it appears he was still in bed in his tent; for it is added that, after musing awhile what was to be done, he arose, dressed himself, and proceeded to the quarters of Nestor. This incoherence has been noticed by Aristotle in a

Agamem-
non’s sleep.

¹ I. 423.

² I. 221.

³ See Heyn. ad II. i. 424. Since the above was written, the author has observed that Lachmann, undismayed even by Heyne’s sneer at such “grammatical subtlety,” has gallantly come forward to relieve the school of criticism to which he belongs from the discredit of having overlooked so important a link in the chain of evidence in favour of its doctrines. *Betracht. üb. Homer’s II. p. 6.*

⁴ x. init.

passage of the Poetica, which is the more interesting from the circumstance that its author, who, like Homer, though seldom wrong in essentials is sometimes careless of details, has himself run into a very natural oversight, by quoting, as the basis of his criticism, instead of v. 1. of the tenth, the parallel exordium of the second book of the poem.¹

The arms
of Patro-
clus.

If the arms of Achilles fitted Patroclus, why does the former hero lament his inability to revenge his friend's death for want of arms², since the arms of Patroclus, which were lying in his tent, would equally have fitted himself? This inconsistency, though as palpable as many others to which sceptical importance has been attached, happens to be inseparably linked with the historical essence of the action; and,

¹ De Poet. xxvi. τὸ δὲ κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἶρηται, οἷον·

ἄλλοι μὲν βα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι . . .
εὖδον παννύχιοι.

ἅμα δὲ φησιν·

ἦτοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδῖον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν,
αὐλῶν συρίγγων θ' ὕμαδον·

τὸ γὰρ πάντες ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλοὶ κατὰ μεταφορὰν εἶρηται.

The *ἔλογον* here imputed is twofold: first, the impossibility of Agamemnon looking across the plain while lying in bed in his tent; where it really exists: secondly, the impossibility of the Trojans making merry around their bonfires, if the whole human race except Agamemnon were asleep; the apology for which is, that the whole signifies metaphorically the greater part. In this latter case, however, the *ἔλογον* is chargeable on the philosopher himself, not the poet.

Such oversights are not uncommon with Aristotle in parallel cases. Yet this text, the spirit of which ought to be apparent to whoever competently apprehends the genius of either author, has so bewildered the commentators, that a recent respectable editor of the Poetica has even resorted in despair to the unjustifiable expedient of entirely omitting the words from *ἅμα* to *ὕμαδον*, in which lie the whole real pith and marrow of the passage. Graefenhahn ad loc. and in nott. p. 206.

² xviii. 192.

accordingly, the subtle attempts of the scholiasts to explain it away have been ridiculed by the same modern critics who are themselves in the habit of adducing far more trivial incongruities in support of their views, where the arrangement of the context happens to be more favourable.¹

It were tedious to enumerate the additional examples of Homeric self-contradiction derivable from the text of the *Iliad*. Enough has been said to bear out the original position, that as such anomalies can be proved by internal evidence, at least in a large proportion of cases, to originate in a corresponding anomaly of the genius of a single poet, the fundamental rule of all sound criticism, that every author is his own best interpreter, precludes any arbitrary attempt to explain other cases, where the same criteria may not be so distinctly applicable, upon any more subtle or far-fetched principle.

¹ Heyn. ad loc.

CHAP. XI.

HOMER. ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. DIVINE MECHANISM.

1. DOCTRINE OF DIVINE INTERPOSITION IN HUMAN AFFAIRS, AS EMBODIED BY HOMER.—2. HUMAN PERSONIFICATION OF THE DIVINE AGENCY.—3. SCHEME OF DIVINE MANAGEMENT IN THE POEMS.—4. CHARACTERS OF THE DEITIES.—5. AGENCY OF APOLLO. NEPTUNE. THE RIVER GODS. VULCAN. MINERVA. DIVINE INSTIGATION TO CRIME.—6. POETICAL DEFECTS OF HOMER'S DIVINE MECHANISM.—7. THE GODS IN THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER. DOMESTIC BRAWLS IN OLYMPUS.—8. DIVINATION. DREAMS. OMENS.—9. OF HOMER'S OWN BELIEF IN THEIR EFFICACY. HIS DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE.—10. HIS DIVINE MECHANISM COMPARED WITH THAT OF MODERN POETRY.—11. HIS DOCTRINE OF HUMAN APOTHEOSIS.—12. OF ALLEGORY IN HIS DIVINE MECHANISM.

Doctrine of
divine in-
terposition
in human
affairs, as
embodied
by Homer.

1. THE religious mechanism of the Iliad and Odyssey cannot, for reasons stated in another place, be properly classed under any single one of the three more general heads, of action, characters, or style, into which the analysis of an epic poem resolves itself. It has therefore been reserved for separate treatment in the present chapter, with joint reference to the two poems, the questions it involves extending equally to both.

A belief in the direct agency of the Deity in the conduct of human affairs is a principle of natural religion common to every people and state of society. The devout Christian and the enlightened heathen each delight to trace the hand of a supreme being in the works of nature or the course of worldly destiny, and to acknowledge his retributive justice in the punishment of vice or the reward of virtue. Such sentiments, in all ages, are viewed with respect, even by those least susceptible of their influence. Yet, if

the source in which they originate be more narrowly investigated, it would appear as if their value depended rather on the objects on which they are brought to bear, than on their own intrinsic reason or propriety; for the man who carries the same train of reflexion into the ordinary concerns of life, who discovers in every petty disappointment a sign of divine displeasure, in every trifling piece of good fortune a token of favour, is an object of derision rather than respect. It is, however certain, that the agency of the Deity, if exercised at all, is exercised as actively in the one as in the other class of cases. He would at least be a bold casuist who should pretend to mark out the relative amount of importance which entitles one transaction of this world to the special guidance of Providence, and leaves another to the independent management of its inhabitants. The causes of this different estimate of mere varieties of degree in the same moral sentiment, lie beyond the scope of the present inquiry. It will here suffice to remark that the distinction itself is justified by the practical experience of life. In the one case, such impressions are found habitually connected with good sense and intelligence; in the other, with weak judgement and infirmity of purpose. In the one therefore they are esteemed the philosophy of religion; in the other are condemned as bigotry and superstition.

The pantheon of Homer embodies the system of natural religion prevalent in primitive Hellas. The direct part assigned by him to the gods, in the conduct of human affairs, represents the same divine influence which, in purer systems, is limited to a single deity. The rule, therefore, above laid down

for estimating the value of any theory of special interference by the importance of the objects on which the divine agency is brought to bear, supplies a fair general criterion for appreciating the celestial mechanism of classical fable. Not that, in every case where the influence of that theory were unbecoming the philosopher, it would be equally inappropriate in the hero of a poem: but the analogy holds good of each. Wherever the tendency of such influence is to destroy the freedom of human thought or action, and convert rational beings into irresponsible automata, the effect must be mischievous, whether exemplified in the creed of the devotee or the imagery of the epic muse.

But the agency of the Deity is not confined to the physical affairs of man. The disposition of his mind, its good and evil impulses, proceed necessarily from the same omnipotent first cause as the varieties of his worldly destiny. Hence that indisputable, though incomprehensible dogma of all religion, natural or revealed, that men are predestined, or in other words constrained, to the indulgence of passions and the commission of crimes which the same religion teaches them to avoid. The Greek mythology, while recognising this dogma in its full extent, differs in so far from that of most other antient nations, that instead of placing the two contending influences under the guidance of conflicting agents, the Deity and the Demon, it unites them in the same.¹ The Greek

¹ The goddess Atë, though invested by Homer with functions in some degree parallel to those of Satan or Tempter, possesses no claim to the dignity of an independent antagonistic evil principle. She represents merely a certain form of the vice or weakness common to gods and men, just as Eris represents discord, or Cholos immoderate anger.

system acknowledges no independent Evil Principle, but exhibits the several personifications of divine attribute, according to their own partialities or the decrees of Fate, now encouraging to virtue, now tempting to crime and hurrying into perdition. This system, although involving in its details offensive anomalies, seems yet, if referred to first principles, the more reasonable of the two. If the existence of one omnipotent Deity be admitted, the influence of the Evil Principle can only become effective by his authority, and every impulse to which humanity is subjected must ultimately originate in the same source. To assign, therefore, a separate independent agency to that element of divine power which men are pleased to consider as hostile to themselves, can tend little either to the dignity or the consistency of the Supreme Being. With regard, again, to the question here more immediately in point, how far such a distinction be conducive to the spirit or propriety of a poetical mythology, the simplicity of the Greek plan seems greatly preferable to that collision of good and bad demons which forms, with most other nations, the mechanism of heroic poetry. Any such methodical separation of attribute would have been incompatible with that variety of character and freedom of action in the members of the Greek pantheon, in which its poetical value so greatly consists.

The doctrine of fatality, while replete with a mystery and terror which render it a fine instrument in the hand of an accomplished poet, is a philosophic rather than a poetical doctrine. Hence its full development in the poetry of Greece was reserved for a later period. Although it lies at the root of Homer's fable, it is seldom there put forward in so prominent

a form as in the tragic drama. With Homer, naturally weak or wicked men are indeed instigated to folly or crime by the decrees of Fate or the agency of its ministers; but he takes no pleasure in exhibiting just or well-intentioned persons irresistibly impelled to guilt and consequent destruction, as in the case of Œdipus and other heroes of the Attic stage.

Human
personifi-
cation of
the divine
agency.

2. There can be little doubt that even in the rudest ages of Greece men of a high range of intellect had formed worthy notions of the divine attributes, many of which are embodied in the poetical mythology with a corresponding degree of dignity. On the other hand, the lively fancy of the race led them, in the popular developement of their pantheon, to extend its principle of petty interference with the daily concerns of life to an excess unparalleled, perhaps, in any other system. Nor was the principle of human personification, however essential to the poetical effect of the Greek pantheon, free from moral disadvantage. In the material polytheism of other leading antient nations, the Egyptians, for example, the incarnation of the Deity was chiefly, or exclusively, confined to animals, monsters, or other fanciful emblems. The preference by the Greeks, as their visible type of the Deity, of the only one among his creatures whose intellectual powers entitle him to a community with the divine nature, appears on first view far more consistent with the celestial dignity. The consequences were, however, in some respects unfavourable. The Oriental system was essentially allegorical. It brought the deities into but slight physical contact with humanity. Human apotheosis, with its attendant confusion of the social relations of men and gods, was

there unknown ; and, even where the customs of earth were transferred to heaven, it was in so symbolical a form as to obviate much risk of humanising effects. In Greece, on the other hand, it was an almost necessary result of the spirit and grace with which the deities were embodied in human forms, that they should also be burthened with human interests and passions. Heaven, like earth, had its courts and palaces, its trades and professions, its marriages, intrigues, divorces. This community of the two races led to amorous intercourse between them, supplying another fertile source of abuse and partiality in the divine administration of the affairs of earth. If the infusion of celestial blood into human veins added lustre to the race of heroes, the promotion of mortals to the honours of Olympus detracted proportionally from the dignity of the host of heaven.

Homer's genius here, as in other respects, reflects that of his nation. The divine character and agency, as shadowed forth by him, combine the respective excellences and defects of the popular system. Replete for the most part with grandeur and beauty, his celestial portraits are apt to degenerate into the gross or fantastical ; and his supernatural mechanism, while often appropriate and effective, is at times trivial, misplaced, and detrimental to the spirit of his action.

3. The general scheme of divine management in both poems is consistent and well imagined. The supreme first cause, or efficient unity of the Deity, is Fate or Destiny. Her decrees, although the manner and time of carrying them into effect might be modified at the discretion of her agents, were unalterable. By one of them the destruction of Troy had been fore-

✦
Scheme of
divine me-
chanism in
each poem.

ordained of old, as a judgement on the accumulated impieties of its royal family. The immediate motive of fulfilment was the crime of Paris. Jupiter, as confidential minister of the supreme fiat, is represented as impartial. Juno, Neptune, Minerva, and some other inferior deities, favour the Greeks. Apollo, Venus, and Mars take part with the Trojans. Jupiter himself however, at the crisis of the war which forms the subject of the Iliad, is involved in temporary hostility to the Greeks, by espousing the cause of Achilles, in repayment of a debt of gratitude for services rendered to himself by that hero's mother. The six deities above mentioned as taking a keener interest in the contest appear, when free from Jove's control, indefatigable in their efforts to promote the interests and stimulate the energies of their favourites; to rally them in defeat, reinvigorate them when fatigued or wounded, and, in a proportional degree, to depress the spirits and baffle the schemes of their adversaries.

The divine mechanism of the Odyssey, both in principle and in detail, offers the same essential features as that of the Iliad, under such incidental varieties as were involved by the corresponding variety of the subject and scene of action. Ulysses, the most virtuous hero of the age, is predestined, on his departure from Troy, to numerous trials and hardships before his resettlement in his native island. Jove, as the minister of fate, is friendly to him. The adverse power is Neptune, lord of the element which was the principal scene as well as cause of the hero's disasters. The moral springs of the celestial agency, though of an inferior order, are, in their operation and results, closely parallel to those of the Iliad. In the latter poem, Jove's not unreasonable

advocacy of the cause of Thetis and her son entails on the Greeks, while asserting their own just rights, a series of severe calamities. In the *Odyssey*, his far less justifiable indulgence of Neptune's vindictive rage at the well-merited punishment inflicted on his cannibal offspring, subjects the blameless hero to nine years of banishment, and his innocent wife and family to nearly as many of cruel insult and oppression. The office of guide and protector to Ulysses is undertaken by Minerva, the divine representative of the qualities by which he was himself chiefly distinguished. She had already, during the Trojan war, been his constant patroness, and now as zealously counteracts the malignant schemes of her uncle. These are the only great Olympic deities who take a prominent part in the *Odyssey*. The other supernatural agents, Circe, Calypso, Æolus, Proteus, belong, consistently with the genius of the poem, to the mythological rather than the religious element of the Greek pantheon.

The mode in which the divinities interpose in the affairs of men is similar in each work. Sometimes they appear in their own proper person, sometimes in the disguise of mortals. In the rare instances where they assume the shape of animals, an exclusive preference is given to the winged part of the creation.¹ It seems doubtful, by reference to the passages bearing on the point, whether Homer's gods were essentially invisible to men, whose eyes were at times endued with the faculty of perceiving them, or whether their persons were naturally distinguishable to human ken, and only concealed or disguised by means of clouds or mists, as circumstances might

¹ IL. VII. 59., XIV. 290.; *Odys.* III. 372., XXII. 240.

require.¹ Even where they appear openly, the power of recognising them is usually limited to certain privileged individuals. Thus Minerva is visible to Achilles alone in the quarrel scene of the *Iliad*, to Ulysses alone in the cottage of Eumæus and in the removal of the arms²; Apollo, Venus, and Mars, to Diomed alone in the fifth book of the *Iliad*. Sometimes this divine privilege is figured less as a quality of the gods than as an incapacity of mortal eyesight, symbolised as a mist before the eyes, removable in the case of favoured heroes.³ The supernatural æther which habitually envelopes their own bodies is also frequently resorted to as a covering to such other persons or objects as they may be anxious to conceal. Even their material appendages, arms, chariots, and the like, when separated from their own persons, require this aid.⁴ Little or no description is given of the personal appearance of any deity, unless in the poet's usual indirect mode, by epithets or incidental notices. Thus the white arms and full round eyes of Juno; the majestic form and azure eyes of Minerva; the golden tresses and smiling countenance of Venus; the lofty stature and slender but athletic grace of Diana; the brawny arms and limping gait of Vulcan; the delicate youth and noble aspect of Hermes, are specified. The broad chest of the dark-haired Neptune, the waist of Mars, and the forehead and brow of Jupiter are also appealed to as symbols of strength and majesty.

Characters
of the
deities.

4. The characters of the gods are as finely conceived as consistently maintained. The conduct and

¹ Il. xiv. 282., xvi. 790. ² Il. i. 193.; Od. xvi. 158. sqq., xix. 33.

³ Il. v. 127., xx. 321. 341.; Od. vii. 41.

⁴ Il. iii. 391., v. 356. 776., viii. 50., xvii. 270., xxi. 597.; Od. vii. 140., xiii. 189.

bearing of Jupiter is distinguished, except in his conjugal relations, by a dignity befitting the ideal lord of the Hellenic pantheon. While never submitting, amid the conflicting interests of his subordinate deities and their rebellious opposition to his views, to the least compromise of his authority, he exhibits a happy mixture of severity and mildness in his mode of asserting it. Alone among the gods he abstains from all personal intercourse with his terrestrial subjects. His controlling power is exercised through the agency of inferior deities, while he himself sits apart on the summit of Olympus or Ida, contemplating, in proud consciousness of his surpassing glory, the progress of mundane events.

Juno is high-tempered, self-willed, and imperious ; with lofty notions of her own prerogative as queen of Jupiter, she is easily mortified and incensed by his slowness to admit her pretensions. Ardent in the pursuit of her objects, she is little scrupulous in her mode of attaining them, a warm friend and a bitter enemy.

The character of Neptune, allowance being made for difference of sex, has much resemblance to that of Juno. As vindictive as his royal sister, and haughty and impetuous like the element he rules, he is the only deity, besides Juno, who, presuming on the privilege of a brother, as she does on that of a wife, ventures boldly to follow out his own schemes in defiance of Jupiter's commands.

Apollo is the sublimest of Homer's gods. In the *Iliad*, to which poem his visible interposition is confined, his presence and power are portrayed under features of mingled beauty, grandeur, and terror. Even in the *Odyssey*, where he never openly appears,

his indirect influence is shadowed forth under equally awful and impressive forms.¹

Minerva, the patroness of intellectual pursuit and of the art of war in its nobler departments, is, even in the hurry of battle, calm and dispassionate, fertile in expedients, and a zealous champion of mortals who resemble her in character. Energetic in forwarding their views against her equals in rank, she exercises a politic forbearance when brought into collision with her superiors.

Mars is the type of the more offensive, as Pallas of the nobler side of the military character. His warlike ardour savours at all times of ferocity rather than valour, and degenerates in the heat of battle into blind indiscriminate fury.

Vulcan, in both poems, is the lowest of the Olympic host in the scale of divine dignity. He is represented as a mere blacksmith, distinguished but for skill in his art, brawny arms, his love of good cheer, and talent for buffoonery.

Venus, the divorced spouse of Vulcan, and now the paramour of Mars, combines with her familiar attributes of beauty, grace, and levity of habits, a tender and affectionate heart. On the few occasions where her concern for her son Æneas or her favourite Paris impels her to take part in the combat, her interference with the province of her more martial sisters is visited by severe castigation at their hands.

It will now be proper to illustrate the above remarks by individual cases, where the poet's mode of management appears more especially deserving of approbation or censure.

¹ See above, Ch. viii. p 381. sqq.

5. Perhaps the noblest example, in either poem, of divine interposition in human affairs is the pestilence inflicted by Apollo on the Greek host. The Apollo of Homer, it must be borne in mind, is a different character from the deity of the same name in the later classical pantheon. The attributes under which he is here chiefly represented, but which were afterwards obscured or superseded, are replete with a terror and mystery singularly adapted to the higher mechanism of epic poetry. His primitive proper function, common also to his sister Artemis, and forming by a natural train of association the basis of those which make up the fulness of his divine office, is that of angel or minister of death. Throughout both poems, all deaths from unforeseen or invisible causes, the ravages of pestilence, the fate of the young child or promising adult cut off in the germ of infancy or the flower of youth, of the old man dropping peacefully into the grave, or of the reckless sinner suddenly checked in his career of crime, are ascribed to the arrows of Apollo or Diana. The oracular functions of the god arose naturally out of the above fundamental attributes; for who could more appropriately impart to mortals what little foreknowledge Fate permitted of her decrees, than the agent of her most awful dispensations? The close union of the arts of prophecy and song explains his additional office of god of music, while the arrows with which he and his sister were armed, symbols of sudden death in every age, no less naturally procured him that of god of archery. Of any connexion between Apollo and the Sun, whatever may have existed in the more esoteric doctrine of the Greek sanctuaries, there is no trace in

Agency of
Apollo and
Neptune.

either Iliad or Odyssey.¹ He is there the god, not of life and light, but of destruction, who promptly responds to the call of his injured saint with his weapons of vengeance. The few verses in which he is described as "descending, dark as night, the sides of Olympus, his quiver rattling on his shoulders," and as dealing death at each twang of his silver bow, is one of the finest examples of that simple brevity with which Homer loves to shadow forth his grandest conceptions. Another exercise of Apollo's power, which can hardly be justified but in figurative connexion with this primary attribute, is his share in the death of Patroclus. The introduction of so noble a god in the character of a ruffianly pugilist, to stun a brave warrior with a blow of his fist, were otherwise irreconcilable with the fine taste and judgement of Homer. It may possibly symbolise some popular legend of this hero having been seized, in the heat of battle, with a vertigo or giddiness, which rendered him an easy victim of the second-rate warrior who dealt him his death blow. Such fatalities belong to the class ascribed to the agency of Apollo.

In the Odyssey, attention has already been directed to the brilliant exemplification of the mysterious power of this god, in his cooperation with Minerva for the destruction of the suitors. That poem also

¹ Not only is the sun assigned a separate personality by the poet, but Apollo is frequently introduced under circumstances incompatible with the character of Sun-god (xxiii. 190.). The popular explanation, therefore, of the pestilence of the Iliad, as an effect of the burning rays of the midsummer sun, is out of place. Homer has himself confuted it by the epithet *πυρρι δαιμόνι*, applied to the god (i. 47.), an illustration to which no rational poet could well have resorted, to figure the influence of the sun. The dog-star, not the sun, is Homer's agent of pestilential heats.

abounds with incidental allusions of a pointed, often touching nature to the sudden dispensations of the twin deities.¹

Closely parallel to the pestilence of Apollo, both in grandeur of conception and graphic conciseness of terms, is the description, in the *Odyssey*, of the destruction of the raft of Ulysses by Neptune. The god, returning from Ethiopia, descries, from the summit of the Asiatic mountains, the object of his persecution already, in spite of all his efforts, within sight of a friendly coast. With a brief ejaculation of wrath and surprise, "he brandishes his trident; the clouds gather, the sky is darkened, the winds rush forth, the billows rise," and, in a few seconds, the ill-starred voyager, his vessel shivered to pieces, is again abandoned to the fury of the waves.

Perhaps the boldest excursion of Homer into this region of poetical fancy is the collision into which, in the twenty-first book of the *Iliad*, he has brought the river god Scamander, first with Achilles, and afterwards with Vulcan when summoned by Juno to the hero's aid. The overwhelming fury of the stream finds its natural interpretation in the character of the mountain torrents of Greece and Asia Minor. Their wide shingly beds are, in summer, comparatively dry, so as to be easily forded by the foot-passenger. But a thunder-shower in the mountains, unobserved perhaps by the traveller on the plain, may suddenly immerse him in the flood of a mighty river. The rescue of Achilles by the fiery arms of Vulcan. Vulcan scarcely admits of the same ready explanation from physical causes. Yet the subsiding of the flood at the critical moment when the hero's destruc-

¹ VII. 64., XV. 409., XVIII. 202.

tion appeared imminent, might, by a slight extension of the figurative parallel, be ascribed to a god symbolic of the influences opposed to all atmospheric moisture.

Minerva.
The gods
as insti-
gators to
crime.

In the more remarkable cases where the Deity appears in either poem as instigator of crime, the divine agency is figured in the person of Minerva. In the Iliad, Fate requires the truce between the two armies to be violated, and Pallas is despatched from Olympus with a commission to that effect. She selects Pandarus, a prince of naturally treacherous character, as her instrument, and assuming the form of a comrade, tempts him to the act by seductive views of the favour it will insure him with Paris and his party. The Lycian chief is easily persuaded. His perfidious shot at Menelaus causes a renewal of the battle, in which, as a reward of his villany, he is among the first heroes who fall.

In the Odyssey, the same goddess exercises a similar, but still more cruel influence on the destinies of the suitors. The hearts of these, in great part rather weak than wicked, youths, when momentarily turned to repentance, are by her hardened and confirmed in the career of guilt which was to involve their common destruction.¹

Defects of
the poet's
divine
mechanism.

6. Attention will now be turned to those cases where the active interposition of the gods appears in a less favourable light, whether from the extent to which it is carried, or the triviality of its object. It is in the battles that these defects of the poet's mechanism are chiefly observable. That the patron deity of a warrior should invest him with superhuman prowess, or accompany him in person on his career

¹ See *supra*, p. 426.

of victory, is an allowable stretch of poetical license. The escape of a champion in a crisis of great danger, or the harmless consequences of an apparently fatal wound, may also, without any serious breach of poetical propriety, be traced to the same miraculous aid. Homer has ingeniously availed himself of these expedients to maintain the credit of his countrymen in defeat. All the hostile fury of Jove and his elements, directed in the face of Diomed or Ajax, is required to insure the retreat of those heroes before a victorious enemy; while Hector or Æneas rarely escapes from a Greek champion of equal rank but through the intervention of the gods. These displays of divine tactic amount, however, at times, to so complete a suspension of the independent action of the heroes, as is greatly injurious both to their own dignity and that of their patrons. It can tend but little to magnify the prowess of a victor, that his spear should be directed with surgical accuracy, by his patron god, into the most vital part of his adversary's body, while the return shot is, by the same agency, made to spend its force in the air. In the last combat between Achilles and Hector, this mixture of the frivolous with the tragical greatly tarnishes both the grandeur of the catastrophe and the glory of the conqueror. The balancing of the heroes' fates in the scale of Jove, the sudden departure of Apollo from the side of Hector on perceiving his destined hour to be come, and the occupation of the god's previous post by Minerva, to whom alone, as patroness of the Greeks, the issue of the battle was now intrusted, are a series of figures highly conducive to that feeling of ominous foreboding with which the

mind loves to contemplate the approach of some great and fatal event. But when the same Minerva, after Achilles has missed his aim, nimbly picks up his spear and replaces it in his hand, while the Trojan hero, whose well-directed weapon rebounds harmless from the shield of his adversary, looks round in vain for a similar service from his faithless esquire, our previous sense of propriety in the supernatural interposition gives place to offence at such vexatious meddling. It was natural that the heroes, under these circumstances, should be powerfully impressed with their dependance on the arbitrary exercise of the divine authority. A belief that the brow of Jove frowns on their efforts is often a valid excuse for flight. If a sword shivers on the mail of an antagonist, the fault is attributed less to the temper of the blade, or the awkwardness of the thrust, than the displeasure of Minerva. If an arrow flies harmless from the bow, Apollo is taxed with partiality for the object at which it was aimed.

Where however the adventures described, and the style of the narrative, assume a familiar or humorous turn, such interference, if not more worthy of the divine majesty, is less prejudicial to heroic dignity, and at times has a lively agreeable effect. When Diomed, for example, in the chariot-race, is on the point of passing Eumelus, Apollo, of whom the Argive prince was no favourite, jerks the whip out of his hand. Minerva his patroness alertly restores it, and in revenge overturns the chariot of Eumelus. In the foot-race the same goddess, to favour Ulysses, causes his competitor to slip and fall among the cowdung, when on the point of success. Here the deities appear less as ministers

of Fate than as familiar genii of the chiefs, promoting and taking part in their amusements.

The Iliad, in its continued series of battles, where the favourite warriors of different deities are pitted against each other, affords more frequent opening than the Odyssey for this officious exercise of the divine influence. The most signal example in the latter poem is found, accordingly, in the portion of the action which offers the nearest resemblance to that of the Iliad, the assault of Ulysses on the suitors. The darts of the enemy are here so carefully turned aside by Minerva as to prove harmless, while those of the royal party are guided with deadly accuracy into vital parts. The apology which here suggests itself, the completely miraculous nature of the whole adventure, is perhaps but another ground of censure on this portion of the poem. The destruction of above a hundred able-bodied young chiefs by four individuals, without so much as a wound on the part of the assailants, is in itself a violation of all historical possibility, only to be glossed over by a copious admixture of preternatural agency. The most pointed instance in the Odyssey of that more venial class of petty interference already exemplified in the games of the Iliad, is, by a similar coincidence, the favour shown by Pallas to Ulysses in the athletic arena of the Phæacians.

7. The foregoing remarks on the poet's pantheon have been confined to its members in their relation to the human species. It remains to consider their character as exhibited in their dealings with each other. The anomalies here observable are no less strikingly illustrative of the joint merits and defects of the system of human personification. In the

The gods
in their re-
lation to
each other.

examples subjoined, it will be proper to distinguish between what is derogatory to the character of the Deity in the higher sense, and what is also inappropriate in a poetical point of view.

Domestic
brawls in
Olympus.

When Achilles applies to his mother to intercede with Jove in his favour against Agamemnon, she postpones the fulfilment of her son's request for a fortnight, owing to the absence of the god at a festival of the Ethiopians in his honour. This is a figure noway inconsistent with the poetical dignity even of the king of Olympus. Omnipresence, or all-pervading control over mundane affairs, far from being an essential, was scarcely a possible attribute of the chief of a pagan pantheon; while, poetically speaking, the visit of the celestial host to the distant fabulous land on the banks of ocean, to grace with their presence the annual sacrifice of a favoured race of worshippers, is a fine image, and is repeated with like happy effect in the *Odyssey*.¹ On the return of Jupiter, the scene between him and Thetis, her supplication, his hesitation lest his indulgence of her wish should prove a source of discord with Juno, and his final concession of her suit, are all quite worthy of the poet and the *Iliad*. When however in the sequel, the divine king and queen actually come to high words on the subject, and the enraged husband threatens to lay violent hands on his spouse if she torment him further, while

¹ Od. i. 22., v. 282.; conf. Il. xxiii. 205. If, indeed, it be referred to a higher and purer standard, the case is different. Coupled with the slumber of Jove on Mount Ida, in the fourteenth book of the *Iliad*, this passage supplies a fine commentary on the address of Elijah to the worshippers of Baal: "Cry aloud, for he is a god! either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey; or, peradventure, he sleepeth and must be awakened!"

their lame son Vulcan excites the mirth of the deities by the ludicrous performance of his office of peacemaker, and finally restores good-fellowship by briskly circulating the goblet, neither the general spirit of the description, nor the grandeur of some of the passages it contains, can reconcile to such an exhibition, in the circle of the gods, of scenes discreditable to the humblest of their worshippers upon earth.

The frequent occurrence of such improprieties in the standard text-book of the national religion gave great offence to the early Greek philosophers, whose anxiety to maintain the dignity of Olympus, conjointly with the credit of Homer, gave rise to the allegorical system of interpretation, where not only the divine brawls, but a large portion of the facts or imagery of the poems, were fancifully explained as types of physical phenomena or ethic dogmas.¹ The attempts of modern commentators to reconcile the anomaly have not been more successful.² The only reasonable explanation or vindication of these passages is to assume their object to be satirical. They reflect partly the poet's own disposition to banter the extravagance of the popular theology, partly the inclination of the Greek public of all ages to extract materials for jest from the objects of gravest interest. They thus

¹ Heyn. Exc. III. ad Il. xxiii. ; conf. obs. ad Il. xv. 18.

² Some would discover in these Olympian brawls traces of an earlier and ruder state of the popular pantheon, to the traditions of which the poet's veneration for the olden time has led him to give occasional prominence. (Heyne ad Il. i. 581. 587.) Apart from other objections to this view, it seems very questionable whether such a subjection of the Deity to the meaner failings of humanity were in better keeping with the more primitive, than the more complicated, stages of Pagan superstition.

possess a historical, in addition to their poetical value, as the earliest specimens of a taste afterwards so characteristic of the genius of Hellenism. It must here be remembered that Homer's works were not composed for the perusal of a limited and fastidious public, but for the entertainment of a whole nation. In more refined periods, on the subdivision of the various orders of literary composition, such talent for the burlesque found exercise in its own proper sphere: but in an age when the popular minstrelsy formed the whole cyclopædia of literature, the temptation to administer to so important an element of national taste was irresistible, even in works with the general style of which Homer himself, or his more critical hearers, might have felt such license to be not strictly congenial.

This view is confirmed by the fact that these domestic squabbles are exclusively confined to the social intercourse of the gods, although many portions of the narrative in both poems offer equal opportunity for the exercise of the same satirical license in human affairs. In the *Iliad*, the household relations of the Trojan king and queen were easily susceptible of such touches of the ludicrous; and in the palace of Alcinoüs, where the whole action is seasoned with a broad tone of raillery, there was abundant opening for their introduction. The limitation is not difficult to explain. It is of the very essence of the higher class of satire that it should be aimed at the highest objects. Doubtless such scenes were really enacted in the palaces of the Greek chiefs, from which the poet has transferred them to the halls of Olympus. This reality, however, was precisely what destroyed their aptness for poetical treatment. Amid the

simplicity of manners among all classes in those days, domestic broils were probably of too familiar occurrence in human families to supply popular subjects of comic allusion ; while their introduction in such cases would have been at variance with Homer's fundamental principle of exalting the character of his human race of heroes. The distinction here drawn is pointedly illustrated by the different turn given by him to his descriptions of matrimonial infidelity, in the respective cases of a divine and a human libertine. Agamemnon, to enhance the value of his sacrifice in parting with Chryseis, tells his assembled countrymen that he prefers her as a bedfellow even to his queen Clytemnestra. This is certainly, to modern ears, no very delicate allusion. It may, however, be urged in palliation, that the code of heroic morality was by no means severe as to the practice of extra-nuptial concubinage : and, in this particular case, a ten years' absence from home and domestic enjoyments might go far in the way of apology. Very different is the effect when Jove, on the summit of Mount Ida, in protesting the ardour of his amorous affection for Juno, assures her that it greatly surpasses what he had ever experienced for any other female with whom he had cohabited ; and then proceeds gravely to sum up¹ for her conviction his adulteries with Danaë, Europa, and some half-dozen other paramours, so celebrated in classic fable. It is impossible the poet could mean so strange an address to be taken seriously. He could have no other conceivable object but that of satirising this absurd chapter of the national theology.

Hence, too, may be understood why this particular

¹ XIV. 315.

class of satire should be more liberally indulged in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. In the former poem the general gravity of the subject was precisely what imparted zest to such traits of the burlesque; in the Odyssey, a work of an essentially humorous character, while the poet had less temptation to resort to Olympus for a comic seasoning of his narrative, its introduction from that source would have been proportionally less effective. The subject offered also in other respects less opportunity. In the Iliad, the brunt of the theological satire is concentrated around the domestic intercourse of Jupiter and Juno; in the Odyssey, the latter divinity takes no part. The only other deities of higher rank interested in the action, Neptune and Minerva, present neither in their personal character nor their adventures similar opening for ridicule. The theological pasquinade of the poem is therefore confined to the inferior deities, Proteus, Circe, Æolus; with the exception of the episode of Mars and Venus, in the song of Demodocus, which is indeed a brilliant specimen of this style of composition.

Divination.
Dreams.
Omens.

8. Another mode of interposition in human affairs, less direct but little less effective than the personal activity of the gods, is that of divination or theomancy. The same rules above laid down for estimating the poetical propriety of mythological mechanism here equally apply. That the future will of heaven may be imparted through the agency of dreams and other ominous warnings; that unusual phenomena of the visible world portend parallel vicissitudes in the affairs of its inhabitants, are doctrines countenanced even by enlightened systems of religion. On the other hand, there is no chapter in the intellectual history of man which exhibits his rational powers

in a more degrading light than that which records the delusive influence of this species of superstition on the minds of the greatest heroes, or the conduct of the most important enterprises.

Homer's mode of management is here, upon the whole, judicious and elegant. Of the numerous forms of divination familiar in later times, those to which he has given prominence are comparatively few. The decrees of Fate relative to the course of events in each poem, being intrusted for their execution to the various members of the pantheon, may be divulged by them, as occasion suggests, to favoured mortals, either directly by means of prophetic inspiration, or through the medium of dreams and prodigies. The functions of the seer thus consisted partly of a simple knowledge of futurity received from the Deity, partly of his skill in the interpretation of omens.¹ There is no trace in Homer of the arts of divination having been yet reduced to system, as an element of public polity. Before a battle, the gods were propitiated by sacrifice; and, if an omen appeared on this or other similar occasions, it was hailed as more especially pregnant with prophetic import. But such indications do not seem to have been formally sought after, still less considered indispensable to the success of an enterprise. Neither the poet nor his heroes show any knowledge of those petty solemnities which exercised, in more civilised ages, so great a sway over

¹ High authority exists for the belief that Homer endowed his heroes, when at the point of death, with the power of foretelling future events; that the soul, on the threshold of the other world, was admitted to a participation in its privileges. The passages quoted in favour of this view are, the dying assurance of Patroclus to Hector, that Achilles will speedily avenge his fate (xvi. 851.), and the similar prediction by Hector (xxii. 358.) of the death of Achilles. Conf. Plato, *Apol. Socr.* p. 39.; Heyn. obs. ad Il. xxii. 358.

the fortunes of both Greece and Rome, and are so happily described by our own satirical bard, as

“the roguery
Of old aruspicy and augury,
That out of garbages of cattle
Presaged the event of truce or battle ;
From flight of birds or chickens pecking,
Success of great'st attempts would reckon.” . . .

Prophetic dreams are classed by the antients under two heads: first, those where the Deity in person, or through agents, issues his commands directly to the sleeper; secondly, those where the events are shadowed forth in the action of the dream, either as they afterwards take place, or in the form of trope or allegory. The Iliad contains but two dreams, both of the former class. In the first, Agamemnon is warned by Jupiter to prepare for battle; in the second, the shade of Patroclus appearing to Achilles enjoins the speedy performance of his funeral rites. In the Odyssey, where, in the more familiar spirit of the subject, this species of omen is of more frequent occurrence, there is one example of the allegorical class. In both poems the apparition is described in one of those simple epic forms with which Homer loves to stamp identity on his favourite images. The spectre stands over the head of the dreamer, and after a short address vanishes, when the sleeper awakens.¹ In the mission of dreams the gods, as in their ordinary control of human action, are the agents of deceit as well as of instruction. This doctrine is formally inculcated in the Odyssey, where dreams are described as of two kinds, veracious and delusive, each kind passing to the region of earth through a diffe-

¹ Il. II. 20., XXIII. 68.; Od. IV. 803., VI. 21., XX. 32.

rent gate of heaven.¹ The same doctrine is illustrated in each poem by a closely parallel example. In the *Iliad*, the dream sent by Jupiter in the semblance of Nestor persuades Agamemnon to take the field, by a false assurance of the immediate conquest of the city. In the *Odyssey* Minerva, in her own person, urges Telemachus to return home from Sparta forthwith, by an equally false account of his mother's contemplated marriage with Eurymachus.²

The native purity of Homer's taste is signally displayed in the choice of his ordinary prodigies or omens. They are derived chiefly from the phenomena of the atmosphere or the motions of its winged inhabitants, whose importance in the system of Pagan divination was such as to have furnished the familiar names for the art. Nor, certainly, is there any part of the animal creation better entitled to the distinction. Their privilege of roving through the boundless realms of space to the very gates of heaven, might in itself prompt the fable of their being the chosen messengers of God to man: while the majestic soaring of the eagle; the rapid flight and fatal swoop of the falcon; the scream of the sea-fowl flitting around the projecting cliffs, amid the dash of the surge and the roar of the storm; the dismal croak of the raven from the stunted tree of the desert, are objects calculated, in all ages, to inspire feelings of ominous terror and mystery. The only other animal which, with Homer, enjoys a similar privilege is the serpent, a creature whose peculiarities have obtained it a like preeminence in the superstitious code of all the antient nations. The atmospheric prodigies of favourite introduction are, in each

¹ Od. xix. 562.

² xv. 10. sqq.

poem, thunder, sudden change from light to darkness, or the reverse; and, in the *Iliad*, the descent of red drops of rain, as a figure of bloodshed.¹ This phenomenon, if a mere fruit of the poet's imagination, might seem arbitrary or far-fetched. It is one however of ascertained reality, and of no uncommon occurrence in the climate of Greece.² The allotment to these various omens of their relative degrees of propitious or adverse import, by reference to the time or place of their occurrence, was the office of the professional soothsayer. In ordinary cases, however, popular opinion supplied common rules of interpretation. When the prodigy appeared on the right hand, it was favourable; on the left, the contrary.³ Its appearance immediately after an invocation of the Deity was usually considered in itself an answer to the appeal, and an earnest of divine sympathy.

Among the nobler examples of such prophetic warnings may be cited, from the *Iliad*, that vouchsafed to the victorious Trojans during their assault on the Greek rampart, the ultimate failure of which was portended.⁴ An eagle appears on their left, grasping in his talons a snake, which, wounded and enfeebled, still fiercely maintains the combat, until his enemy, agonised by a last decisive sting in the throat, drops him on the field and flies screaming from the scene of his discomfiture. The poet was partial to this class of images. The destruction of the suitors is prefigured to Telemachus by a hawk devouring a pigeon, and strewing its feathers on the ground; and to Penelope by an eagle destroying a flock of domestic

¹ Il. xi. 53., xvi. 459.

² See Heyn. ad locc.; and Lit. Gaz. 1842, May 7. p. 314., Oct. 1. p. 682.

³ Od. ii. 154.; Il. xii. 201.

⁴ Il. xii. 201.

fowls in the court of the palace.¹ Prophetic importance has rarely, if ever, been assigned by Homer to low or trivial images.² In the *Odyssey*, a dexter sneeze of Telemachus is indeed hailed as an omen by Penelope, but with a laugh, and evidently in the humorous spirit which pervades even the graver parts of the poem.³

9. Whatever prominence may have been given to the primitive arts of divination in the poet's description, it may still perhaps be a question how far he himself was imbued with a belief in their efficacy. Here and there the mind of the individual seems to shine forth superior to that of his age. Both Nestor and Priam, while deferring to the popular doctrine, are made to utter reflexions little respectful to its professors.⁴ But the reply of Hector to the Trojan augur's comment on the omen of the eagle and snake, XII. 237.

Of Homer's
belief in
their effi-
cacy.

τὴν ὃ οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις
πείθεσθαι· τῶν οὔτι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω. .
εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης,

inculcates principles as just in themselves as they are foreign to the prevailing spirit of classical Paganism ;

¹ Od. xv. 525., xix. 536.

² The superiority of the primitive bard to his more refined successors, even in this delicate branch of his art, will appear from a collation of the images above cited from either poem with the poverty or vulgarity of those on which Virgil has hinged the fortunes of his hero. Such is the consumption of their dining-tables by the Trojan warriors ; a piece of heroic gluttony predicted by the filthy propheticess of the Harpies, and which, as accomplished through a subtle trickery on the first landing of the host in Latium, forms the divine indication of the future empire of the world. Such are the sow and litter of thirty pigs, selected as the symbol of the imperial republic and her tribes of statesmen and warriors. *Æn.* iii. 257. 390., vii. 115., viii. 43.

³ xvii. 541.

⁴ Il. ii. 81., xxiv. 220.

principles which strike at the root of the whole art of divination, and an equally free expression of which might have involved the fortunes or the life of an Athenian commander in the days of Pericles. In placing these noble doctrines in the mouth of Hector, who elsewhere shows himself so little under their influence, the poet seems but to avail himself of the habitually vainglorious tongue of that hero, to insinuate his own secret contempt for the ascendancy assigned by his age to blind fatality over personal exertion in the conduct of events. Similarly scornful allusions to the arts of augury occur frequently in the *Odyssey*¹, though chiefly placed in the mouths of unprincipled rakes: but the tenor of several, as of the remark of Penelope on the sneeze of her son, is plainly satirical.

His doctrine of a future state.

Nowhere does the poet's theology appear in a less favourable light than in his doctrine of a future state, as developed both in the Necromancy of the *Odyssey* and in parallel texts of the *Iliad*. The judgments of the infernal tribunal are limited to punishment. To reward there is, at least, no direct allusion; and the lot even of those whose lives were distinguished by great or good qualities is described as one of privation and gloom compared with that of the upper world. It is true that the poet's design was not to give a topographical description of the land of souls, but to narrate a visit to a particular region of it for a specific object. But when we consider the number and excellence of the heroes and heroines described by him as condemned to this dismal tenor of existence, there remains little room for even the hypothesis of an Elysium. If

¹ II. 178. sqq., xx. 358. sqq.

Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon, Tiresias, Alcmena, Ariadne, Leda, were excluded from its joys, who could have been entitled to share in them? The incidental notices of a better fate reserved for certain favoured heroes, imply rather their apotheosis than a mere improvement of their condition in Hades. In the *Iliad*, the allusions to the infernal regions are equally gloomy, and, both in sentiment and style, in the closest harmony with the more detailed descriptions of the *Odyssey*. This is not only a defect of Homer's system of mythology, but a striking eccentricity of his genius. That the exclusion of a Paradise from the world of souls could, in his day, have formed part of the popular Greek theology is incredible. It were repugnant, not only to the spirit of that system, as inculcated from the earliest to the latest periods of classical paganism by other little less valid authorities, but to the first principles of natural religion imprinted in the human breast, even to those of common sense and equity. In a system which enforced the law of retributive justice by such terrible inflictions on the wicked, the denial of recompense to the good, or, worse, the actual deterioration of their lot, seems absurd as well as unjust. This singular doctrine, therefore, must be considered as the poet's own, as the peculiar tone which he preferred giving to the more awful element of his poetical mythology.¹ The argument which so strange an anomaly supplies of unity of genius in the two works, where it is so harmoniously exemplified, is sufficiently obvious.

10. Throughout this analysis, Homer's poetical mechanism has been examined, not merely as illustra-

Homer's
divine me-
chanism

¹ See Plato (*Repub.* p. 386. sq.), who admits the superiority of its poetical effect.

compared
with that
of modern
epic poetry.

ting his own genius, but in connexion with those fundamental principles of art which apply to the literature of all ages and countries. In following out the same object, a few remarks are here subjoined on the general features which distinguish his mythological agency from that to which recourse has been had by standard modern poets of a similar class.

The elegant facility with which the Greek mythology embodies in material forms the phenomena of both the moral and the physical world has been considered in a previous chapter.¹ The creations of that mythology are neither the arbitrary inventions of fantastic poets, nor the studied personifications of didactic allegory. They shadow forth, in their native freshness, the original views and impressions of the most gifted family of mankind concerning the structure and government of the universe. This harmony, or rather identity, between religious dogma and popular superstition, imparts to Homer's supernatural agency a poetical truth and reality which must be wanting in any system where those two elements are distinct. Hence the disadvantage under which the modern poet labours, in his attempts to impart the interest of the marvellous to his narrative. The pure spirit of the Christian religion essentially disqualifies it for the mechanism of a heroic poem. The popular sympathies of our own middle ages hinge, indeed, on the Roman Catholic legendarium, somewhat as those of the Hellenes on the Homeric mythology: but the spirit of the former class of traditions is as repugnant to the genius of the Heroic Muse as to that of the pure religion which they contaminate. Of this the more

¹ Supra, p. 103. sqq.

judicious poets of the romantic school seem to have been sensible, rarely admitting the agency of saints or martyrs into their epic mechanism. The aids to which they preferably resort, magicians, fairies, and goblins, have the other drawback of being in glaring collision with the standards of religious belief, and, by consequence, with an essential ingredient of that popular sympathy which it is their object to awaken. The attempt, on the other hand, to blend the religious with the magical element of romantic fable involves offensive anomalies. Of this we have a striking example in the most popular model of the modern epopee, the Jerusalem of Tasso; in the action of which poem the grave dogmas of spiritual theology, the delusions of Roman Catholic priestcraft, the terrors of Northern dæmonology, and the gay idealities of Pagan Polytheism or Arabian romance, are all worked up into a single heterogeneous compound. What can be more false, either in poetry or in reason, than that a few cabalistic words of some lascivious sorceress or malignant necromancer should have the power of thwarting the schemes of Jehovah for the future destinies of Christendom; that angels and archangels should undertake the same officious functions as the fighting machinery of the Iliad, direct the blow of a Christian chief, or parry the thrust of his Mussulman adversary; or that the souls of departed saints should appear fighting in the air, with mortal weapons, against legions of hostile dæmons?

Had, however, the marvellous agency of the Greek poet been confined to the normal standards of Pagan worship, the result might have been an undue restraint on that play of inventive genius which constitutes the charm of all epic fiction. But of this

there was here no danger. The principle of physical personification, on which the whole Hellenic system was based, afforded ample freedom for expatiating in the most visionary realms of mythological fancy. Every newly explored region of earth or water suggested a fresh stock of representatives for the new objects or ideas which were brought to light. The Cyclopes, for example, Proteus, and other marvels or monsters of the *Odyssey*, had no place, probably, in the primitive Hellenic pantheon. The fables concerning them obtained currency in the progress of navigation along the shores of the Mediterranean; and, when once familiar in popular legend, they were easily engrafted on the genealogical stem of Olympus. The Cyclopes, types perhaps originally of some newly discovered race of ferocious maritime barbarians, were first admitted as sons of Neptune, gigantic shepherds of the verdant shores of the western deep: afterwards, when the more subtle interpreters of fabulous geography selected *Ætna* as their place of abode, they became Vulcan's journeymen, forgers of Jupiter's thunderbolts. Circe, who, in her simple capacity of marine enchantress of the remote West, stands in as little connexion with the Greek pantheon as any similar creation of medieval romance, became daughter of the Sun, guarding the gates of his palace and the neighbouring frontier of Erebus; and, in the exercise of her functions, was, like Calypso, Proteus, or Polyphemus, subjected to the presiding powers of Olympus.

In selecting his supernatural mechanism for subjects of higher national interest, it was natural that the poet should prefer those members of the pantheon whose authority was universally received and

acknowledged. In the *Iliad*, accordingly, this rule has been observed. In the *Odyssey*, he was equally led by the spirit of his subject to give prominence to a more fantastic class of fable. But even there such license is admitted solely in the extra-Hellenic portion of the adventures. Those confined to a Hellenic scene of action are conducted in the *Odyssey*, as in the *Iliad*, under the guidance of the same strictly Hellenic class of divine agents.

11. By some modern commentators Homer has been supposed ignorant of the doctrine of human apotheosis, or of the practice of hero-worship, as it prevailed in later Greek superstition. It is true that neither poem contains any specific notice of divine honours paid to deceased heroes. There can, however, be no doubt that this dogma of his national creed, although he may not have allowed it prominence in his fable, was quite familiar to him. Both poems in fact contain frequent allusion to deified mortals. Such are Tithonus and Ganymede in the *Iliad*; Ino, Hercules, and the Dioscuri in the *Odyssey*. The same honour conferred by Aurora on Tithonus was destined by Calypso for Ulysses.¹ Persons thus invested with immortal attributes were undoubtedly objects of worship to their admirers or descendants upon earth. There were however, in the general spirit and conduct of Homer's fable, obvious inducements for leaving this feature of the popular pantheon in the background. The contrast between the powers and duties of his heroes and those of his gods was a main spring of his dramatic action. In order to give effect to that contrast it was necessary, on the one hand to magnify the character of his heroes solely as

His doctrine of human apotheosis.

¹ *Od.* v. 136.

men; on the other, amid the community of the two natures, to secure a clear ascendancy of authority and power to the divine agency. Even admitting therefore, that Achilles and Agamemnon may have been worshipped as gods in the poet's time, as they were in historical ages, they could hardly, without a complete sacrifice of the spirit and propriety of his fable, have been represented as so worshipped in the Iliad. The same rule has been observed by the more distinguished of Homer's successors. The homage paid by the surviving heroes of the Trojan war to Achilles, or by Orestes and Electra to Agamemnon, in the mythology of the tragic poets, differs in no way from that offered by Achilles to Patroclus in the Iliad. The honours conferred are in each case those due merely to departed heroes, not to deified mortals.

Of allegory
in his di-
vine me-
chanism.

12. It would scarcely be doing full justice to this head of subject, were we to take leave of it without devoting a few special remarks to the symbolic or figurative element of Homer's mythological mechanism; or in other words to the question, how far the operations of the gods, in the poet's descriptions, are to be understood in a literal or personal sense; how far they are to be interpreted as shadowing forth some more recondite or mysterious class of physical influence. This question, while in every age a fertile source of error and extravagance, never has formed, nor can form, even when rationally treated, a very agreeable or instructive subject of enlargement, and will here occupy a proportionally limited share of attention.

Setting aside such purely metaphysical abstractions as Eris, Atë, Ossa, the Litæ, and so forth, concerning whose allegorical functions but little dif-

ference of opinion can exist, it will not probably be disputed, that all, or most, even of the leading Olympic deities are typical, in their origin at least, of some power of nature, moral or material; that Jupiter and Juno, for example, represent generally the celestial elements; Neptune, the liquid part of the creation; Vulcan, fire; Minerva, the wiser more sagacious, Mercury, the more astute and subtle exercise of human intellect. It were however absurd, on this account, to insist that every performance recorded of any one of these deities is a mere symbol of some actual effect or development of the physical influence over which he is supposed to preside; that the quarrels of Jupiter and Juno, for example, do but typify the conflicts of the atmospheric elements, the alternations of heat and cold, drought and moisture, or other vicissitudes of the weather and the seasons. It would, on the other hand, be unduly straining the principle of literal interpretation, to doubt that, where an easy and natural opening occurred for giving greater prominence to the symbolic ingredient in the character or agency of his gods, the poet would at times avail himself of what might often prove an elegant variety of figurative embellishment. As to the occasions in which any such more extended method of symbolic interpretation may be admissible, the reader's own taste or judgement must supply his best or only rule of distinction. The cases in which that method has been resorted to in the foregoing pages are few, and not, it is presumed, chargeable with undue latitude. Such was the explanation given of the seizure of the hair of the infuriated Achilles by Minerva, at the moment when he is drawing his sword against his commander, as a

figure of his own better judgement prompting a less violent, but more effective mode of exacting vengeance for the insult and injury to which he had been subjected. Nor, consistently with a due respect for the taste or correctness of the poet's genius, can the assault of Apollo on Patroclus be taken in any other than a figurative sense. That there is also a more or less symbolic import in the prominence given to Neptune as representative in the *Odyssey* of the agency hostile to Ulysses, is implied by the pointed terms in which the vindictive influence of the god is restricted to the purely maritime portion of the hero's adventures.¹

¹ I. 21. 75., VI. 331., IX. 532. sqq., XIII. 131. sqq.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A. (p. 200.)

ON A PECULIARITY IN THE TREATMENT OF HOMER'S TEXT BY WRITERS OF THE WOLFIAN SCHOOL.

THE authors chiefly distinguished by the perversion of the critical art alluded to in the text are, Hermann (*De Interpolat. Homeri*, Opusc. vol. v. p. 52.), Lachmann (*Betrachtungen über die Ilias*), and B. Thiersch (*Urgestalt der Odyssee*). The method of Heyne and some others, while little less destructive, admits of this apology, that they acknowledge the excellence of the work while questioning the source from which that excellence proceeds. They perceive the beauty of the creation amid the materialism of their views as to its origin. Hermann and Lachmann, on the other hand, with some less eminent fellow-labourers in the same field, glory in their blindness to all higher poetical unity in the *Iliad*, pronouncing the whole poem a cento or patchwork, for which nothing but a delusion on the part of the old critical public could have obtained credit as a standard of imitation. Hermann, in following out this view, denies accordingly the title of the *Iliad* to have been the primary model of the Hellenic epopee, in the early purer ages of art. This honour he asserts by preference to some one of the Cyclic poems, to the *Æthiopis*, for example, or the *Cypria*, discarding the *Iliad* as but an abortive attempt of some later clumsy compiler to emulate or surpass those more classical prototypes.¹ After dissipating this phantasmagoria of poetical perfection, which during thirty centuries had deluded successive generations of admirers and critics, he and his coadjutor Lachmann have tantalised us by showing how, had Pisistratus been better qualified for the task he undertook, he might by a more skilful arrangement of the same materials, have produced a poem, or even several,

¹ Op. cit. p. 69.

really deserving the reputation which the existing patchwork Iliad has so unworthily usurped. To attempt to confute in detail, by any serious line of argument, the subtleties by which these doctrines have been supported, would be an abuse little short of that of propounding them. The reader is referred to the general remarks in Chapter x. p. 438. sqq. and in Appendix F. p. 512. *infra*, on the principles against which those subtleties so grievously militate.

APPENDIX B. (p. 218.)

ON THE SUPPOSED VULGATE, OR EDITIO PRINCEPS, OF HOMER,
BY PISISTRATUS.

RITSCHL (Die Alexand. Bibl. p. 60. sqq.) would meet the obstacle which the absence of all notice of an Attic or Pisistratid edition of Homer interposes to the claims of the Athenian usurper as original compiler of the poems, by the hypothesis that the editions cited by the Scholiasts under the title of "common," or "vulgar," *αἱ κοιναί*, or *αἱ δημώδεις*, represented the text of Pisistratus, considered as the Editio princeps, or Vulgate, which formed the groundwork of all the others. He illustrates this view by the analogy of the Aristarchean text, as the similarly standard authority in later times. The illustration, however, is little apt. In the references to the Aristarchean text, Aristarchus is at least habitually quoted as its editor, while neither Pisistratus nor Athens are ever hinted at in connexion with this supposed Athenian vulgate. Nor upon this view would the citations have been worded in the plural "common editions," *αἱ κοιναί*. The frequent variation of this phrase into *αἱ κοινώτεραι*, "the *more* common," seems in itself conclusive proof that neither expression indicates more than its literal meaning implies; the mass of ordinary, probably nameless, texts current in later ages, as distinct from the few of more recognised authority. Add to this that the Greek technical term for vulgate text or reading is *παράδοσις*. It is habitually applied in that sense to the text by Aristarchus, and would without doubt have been similarly applied to that of Pisistratus had any such existed, or had any similar authority attached to it. See the passages cited by Bekker in Append. ad Scholl. p. 826.

APPENDIX C. (p. 254.)

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE UNITY OF THE MECHANICAL
STRUCTURE OF THE ILIAD.

IN order to save an accumulation of details, two principal heads of mutual reference have been omitted in the above Concordance. The one would have comprised the passages illustrative of the unvarying partisanship of the same cause by the same deities: Juno, Minerva, Neptune, being ranged from first to last on the side of the Greeks; Apollo, Mars, Venus, on that of the Trojans; while Jove is impartial. This consistency might, with better reason perhaps than in some other parallel cases, be explained as a result of the "common genius" of the heroic tradition. Yet it is somewhat remarkable, that Euripides (*Troad. init.*), after some older epic authority it may safely be presumed, describes Neptune as throughout the siege the warm friend of the Trojans, whose bitterest enemy he appears in the *Iliad*.

The other case of harmonious concordance in such recurring details, to which no special prominence has been given in our *Epitome*, is the disappearance from the field, throughout the remainder of the action, of the heroes successively slain in the earlier engagements. It seems inconceivable that any universal or unanimous tradition as to the vicissitudes of the ten years' war should have agreed in representing the following six heroes of principal note, Elephenor chief of the Eubœans¹, Tlepolemus of the Rhodians², Pandarus of the Lycians³, Odus of the Halizonians⁴, Pirous and Acamas of the Thracians⁵, besides many of secondary distinction, as all killed in the first battle after the secession of Achilles; or consequently, that any number of "independent poets" should have so harmoniously dispensed with the services of all six in the sequel. The well-known single exception therefore to this rule of consistency, in the case of Pylæmenes⁶, can admit of but two reasonable solutions. It is either an oversight of the poet; or verses 658—9 of the XIIIth book are, as their own internal evidence seems also strongly to imply, an early interpolation by some popular rhapsodist, better versed in the "Battle of the Ships" as his habitual part in the recital than in the "Prowess of Diomed."

¹ IV. 469.² V. 659.³ V. 290.⁴ V. 39.⁵ IV. 527., VI. 7.⁶ V. 576. sqq.; conf. XIII. 658.

The mind of the same poet is also curiously exhibited by Homer's partiality for certain names in the adjustment of his fictitious characters, or "men of buckram," as they may be called; the accumulation of which names, unconsciously perhaps on his part, creates some trouble to hypercritical readers. Thus in *xi.* 578, we have one Apisaon among the crowd of slain warriors, and another in *xvii.* 348., both Trojans; in *xv.* 515. we have a Schedius, and again in *xvii.* 306., both Phocians; the common names being distinguished in each case by different patronymics. The author has not himself had leisure to carry this analysis of heroic synonymes through the action of the *Iliad*. The following curious list, however, is subjoined from the text of the Venetian scholiast¹: "There are two charioteers named Eury-medon, both Greeks; one in the service of Agamemnon, the other in that of Nestor. There are two heralds named Eurybates, both Greeks; one in the service of Agamemnon, the other in that of Ulysses. There are three Adrasti, all Trojans; one killed by Diomed, another by Menelaus, a third by Patroclus. There are two Acamantes, both Trojans, distinguished by their different patronymics; two Astynoi, both Trojans; two Pylastæ, both Trojans; two Pisandri, both Trojans; two Ennomi, both Trojans." Such coincidences might, in their sameness and their distinction, occur naturally to the same poet, but were not likely to have suggested themselves to a number of different poets.

APPENDIX D. (p. 265.)

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE RELATION OF THE CATALOGUE TO THE REST OF THE POEM.

It is certainly very remarkable, considering the wide opening afforded by the peculiar character of the "Catalogue" to interpolation or corruption, how slender an amount of such imputation, if any, apart from the few verses stigmatised on more or less valid grounds by the antients themselves, the ingenuity of the subtlest modern commentators has been able to substantiate. The discrepancies, for example, pointed out by K. O. Müller² (who has dwelt in special detail on this head of sceptical argument), between the Catalogue and the body of the poem, however undeniable according to the letter, seem not only to vanish when

¹ Schol. ad *Il.* *xiii.* 643.

² *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 54. sqq.

judged in the spirit of the joint text, but even to afford fresh evidence of unity. Thus "Meges, son of Phyleus," it is urged, "is described in the Catalogue as a chieftain of Dulichium in Acarnania; but, in the Battle of the Ships, he is found leading on the troops of Elis, a state situated on the opposite coast of Peloponnesus." The anomaly however is explained by the fact that Phyleus, the father of Meges, was a prince of Elis who had settled on the Acarnanian territory. What more natural than that, in the vicissitudes of an eventful conflict with an alien enemy, the colonist should be found assisting in marshalling the troops¹ of the parent state? Equally groundless is another similar imputation of discrepancy, in the case of Medon, a Locrian chief settled as a colonist in Thessaly. "This hero," it has been objected, "is invested in the Catalogue with the command of the troops of Philoctetes, a Thessalian prince disabled by disease from appearing on the field. But, during the Battle of the Ships, the same Medon is found helping to rally and lead on the troops of another neighbouring Thessalian state." We can imagine nothing more natural or probable. Such self-adjusting anomalies, if anomalies they can be called, are even better evidence of genuine origin than any rigid observance of historical or geographical precision. With regard to the anachronism which the same Müller would discover in the poet's description of the Cadmean territory as already in the hands of the Bœotians at the epoch of the Trojan war, it seems, under any circumstances, very questionable whether the authority of Thucydides is to be held as better than that of Homer in so purely legendary a matter.² But that the anachronism, admitting it to exist, should be chargeable on an interpolator, rather than on the author of the original poem, is, in the face more especially of Il. v. 710., xiii. 685., xiv. 476., xv. 330., xvii. 597., an altogether gratuitous assumption. Little less arbitrary and far-fetched is the hypothesis of the same critic, that the Arcadians, as a "Pelasgian" people, could not have taken part in a war waged by the Hellenic confederacy.

The admission also objected to by Müller, of the petty islands of

¹ He does nothing more. Müller's statement that Meges is represented in this passage (xiii. 692.) as "king of the Epeans dwelling in Elis" rests on no other authority but that of Müller himself.

² The appeal to Thucydides (i. xii.) seems indeed at the best, somewhat out of place, admitting, as he does, on Homer's authority that there were Bœotians in the Theban territory at the time of the Trojan war, although the greater body of that people were then resident in Thessaly.

Cos, Syme, Nisyros, and others to a place in the list, on either the Greek or the Trojan side, may seem strange, no doubt, in itself. But the anomaly certainly supplies a better argument of eccentricity in a single original poet, or of some peculiarity in the legend which he followed, than of later rhapsodical interpolation. For what more improbable than that Ionian or Attic compilers should have been at pains to confer the high privilege of a place in the Catalogue on these insignificant islets; while Chios, Samos, and other illustrious seats of Ionian power and splendour in the immediate neighbourhood, are passed over with contempt. Among other more trivial arguments of Müller, that founded on the case of the augur Ennomus (Il. II. 860., conf. XXI.), if good for anything, must at least be extended, not only to the case of Antiphus in the *Odyssey* (II. 19., IX. 288. sqq.), but to that of Leucaspis in the *Æneid* (VI. 334., conf. I. 113. sqq.). The passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it may be added, here mutually illustrate each other and the usage of the poet in such cases.

APPENDIX E. (p. 405.)

ON THE PHÆACIANS OF THE ODYSSEY: THEIR RACE AND COUNTRY.

THE probability that Homer had some particular people in view in his Phæacian episode has already been suggested by Welcker¹, in an ingenious essay on the subject in the *Rheinische Museum*. He supposes the poet's Ionian fellow-countrymen to be the race whose habits are here portrayed. The author of this work has been led to a different opinion by certain coincidences between the characters and descriptive epithets of the Phæacian heroes and those of the Phœnician navigators, who figure so largely in parts of the *Odyssey*; also by similar coincidences between the names of Phæacian localities and parallel phrases occurring in the early geographical vocabulary of the Phœnician colonies. These analogies are of so very striking and peculiar a nature, as to have impressed on his mind, not otherwise much disposed to indulge in such speculations, a strong conviction that it is a colony of these Oriental adventurers in some part of the Western Mediterranean which here forms the butt of Homer's playful satire. Both Phæacians and Phœnicians are represented by him as enthusiastically

¹ 1821, p. 219. sqq. and in *Kl. Schrift.* vol. II. p. 1.

devoted to navigation; both are characterised by an epithet denoting "magnificence" or "ostentation," the special characteristics of the Phæacians. The parallel passages are here subjoined:—

Od. vii. 39. τὸν δ' ἄρα Φαίηκες ναυσίκλυτοι οὐκ ἐνόησαν.

xv. 41. ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἄνδρες.

viii. 191. Φαίηκες δολιχέρητμοι ναυσίκλυτοι ἄνδρες.

conf. 97.

xiii. 272. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆα κίων Φοίνικας ἀγαυοὺς
ἑλλισάμην. . . .

xiii. 120. ἐκ δὲ κτήματ' ἔειραν ἃ οἱ Φαίηκες ἀγαυοὶ
ῶπασαν.¹

The point of the parallel would here obviously be sharpened by the punning connexion, in the true spirit of Homeric humour, between the names Φαίηκες and Φοίνικες. Add to this that the name of the poet's seafaring islanders finds its appropriate etymology in the Oriental word *Phaik*, "magnificent," of which their favourite epithet *ἀγαυοί* is a Greek translation. The name of their city and port, Scheria, deducting the Greek ending, finds an equally apt interpretation in the Phœnician word *Scher*, "emporium," "busy port."² The Phæacians are further described by the poet as formerly settled at Hyperea, in the neighbourhood of the "Cyclopes,"³ and as having been expelled from that region by their overbearing neighbours. Admitting, with Fazelli and Stolberg, that the Lilybæan promontory of Sicily is the locality figured by the poet as the land of the Cyclopes, a view to which the author's own study of the poet's text in those regions led him readily to subscribe, the Phæacians might thus be supposed to figure one of the numerous Phœnician colonies originally settled on that line of coast, which had been driven by the barbarous indigenes to seek a new country in some distant part of the Mediterranean. Whether that country was Corcyra, or some other region, may be a question. Here, again, we have a remarkable coincidence between the name Hyperea of the Odyssey, and Hipparis, the title of a district and river of the same Sicilian coast originally possessed by Phœnicians, afterwards called Camarina when occupied by the Greeks. Hyperea is obviously a mere Greek poetical variation of Hipparis.⁴ That Homer was suffi-

¹ Conf. vi. 55., viii. 418., xiii. 71.

² Conf. Bochart. Geogr. sacr. p. 463. sq.

³ Od. vi. 4. sqq.

⁴ Eustath. et Schol. Buttm. ad Od. loc. cit.; conf. Bochart. op. cit. p. 548. sq.

ciently conversant with the language of the Phœnician navigators to admit of his turning his knowledge to account in the humorous element of the *Odyssey* may safely be assumed, as well from his apparent familiarity with their habits, as from their almost entire occupation of the Mediterranean commerce at this period, and the consequent probability, or even necessity, of his having acquired his stock of more distant geographical knowledge, mythical or real, in voyages performed in their company. Various other evidences of Homer's knowledge of the Phœnician tongue might be derived from his own text; but the train of inquiry which their full consideration would involve would be out of place on the present occasion.¹

An objection to the above view of the spirit of the Phæacian episode might perhaps be discovered in the lively fantastic genius of the imaginary race of Scheria, so different from the gravity, or even gloom, which we are in the habit of associating with the character of the natives of Palestine. There are, however, exceptions to every rule; and, in the case of a Phœnician community which happened to be really distinguished by frivolous or flighty habits, the contrast between those habits and the usual characteristics of the race might even add zest to the satire.

APPENDIX F. (p. 439.)

ON THE "SELF-CONTRADICTIONS" OF VIRGIL, MILTON, CERVANTES, WALTER SCOTT, AND OTHER POPULAR AUTHORS, AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF HOMER.

THE self-contradictions of the *Æneid* have been collected and illustrated by the author of this work in an article of the *British and Foreign Review* for October, 1839 (No. ix.); which essay he has been gratified to find has not been without influence on the judgement of the British public.² The list here subjoined has

¹ A single somewhat curious illustration is subjoined. The first syllable of the name Siren is the Semitic root *Sir*, Song, or sweet music. The full Greek term would be represented by the Semitic dual *Sirein*. Homer's Sirens accordingly were but two; as appears from his use of the dual form *Σειρήνιν*.

² See *Westm. Review*, vol. xlv. p. 405.; *Classical Mus.* No. II. art. 16. in fine.

been limited to a selection of certain cases of a more concise and palpable nature. For others still more important, but involving a more extended line of textual analysis, the reader is referred to the essay itself.

I. At v. 567. sq. of book II., Helen is represented, during the sack of Troy, as hiding herself in the Temple of Vesta; as shunning alike the presence of victor and vanquished, from each of whom she equally feared the retributive vengeance due to the author of their common disasters; and as apprehensive, above all, of the wrath of her husband Menelaus. In book vi. 511. sqq., the same Helen is described as having been the accomplice of the Greeks in their stratagem, as having herself given the signal for their issue from their ambush, and as having with her own hand opened the gates of the Trojan palace to Menelaus.

II. At v. 16. of book II. the Wooden horse is said to have been made of fir; at v. 112. it is made of maple wood; and at v. 186. it is made of oak.

III. In book II. 781., the shade of Creusa solemnly announces to Æneas that he is to seek his future destination and seat of empire "in Hesperia and on the banks of the Tiber." But at the opening of book III. we find the hero altogether unconscious of any such prediction, and wandering

Incertus quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur.

Soon after, as practical evidence of his ignorance, he lands, and quietly commences the foundation of his new city on the opposite coast of Thrace, a few miles from the Troad; and when, in the sequel, Apollo himself (154. sqq., conf. 172.) again announces his appointed restingplace to be "Hesperia and the banks of the Tiber," he is quite bewildered and astonished at the news.

IV. The winds employed by Æolus to scatter the Trojan fleet in book I. 85. sqq. are Eurus, Notus, Africus, and Aquilo; yet Orontes, the noblest victim of that disaster (I. 113.), is introduced (vi. 334.) in the infernal regions as having fallen a sacrifice to the fury of Auster, a wind which, by reference to the previous text, was altogether guiltless of his death; while the other hero, Leucaspis, here described as drowned on the same occasion, is never mentioned at all in the description of the storm.

V. By reference to 52. sq. 193. 309. sqq. of book IV., Æneas left Dido in midwinter. On his disembarcation, however, in Sicily a few days afterwards, the description of the green grass and serene sky, of the crowns of leafy poplars, and of the gar-

lands of rosy flowers (book v. *passim*), plainly indicate that in that island it was already summer or advanced spring.

VI. In book iv. 310., Æneas is described as sailing from Africa with the wind Aquilo; somewhat strangely, as the south, not the north, wind was required for his voyage to Europe. The blunder is corrected by the poet (or compiler of the poem) at the expense of another broad self-contradiction in iv. 562., where we are told it was Zephyrus. This statement is again contradicted in book v. 2., and it is now reasserted to have been Aquilo.

VII. In book v. 659., the Trojan women, wearied by their long voyage, attempt to burn the fleet, in order to secure a permanent settlement in Sicily. Æneas, in consequence, decides to leave them behind in that island (715.). They now implore to be allowed to accompany their male relatives, but Æneas is obdurate and sails without them (765. sqq.). Yet in the opening of the seventh book, we find the hero's nurse Cajeta dying on the voyage to Latium. Soon after (ix. 216. 284.) the mother of Euryalus also reappears on the scene; and the poet (217.) informs us that "this matron alone, of all the Trojan females, had preferred sharing the fortunes of the fleet to abiding by the flesh-pots of Acestes in Sicily;" a flat contradiction both of his previous notice of Cajeta, and of the statement in book v. 765., that the whole of the Trojan women were anxious to proceed, but had been refused a passage by Æneas.

VIII. In book x. 496. sqq., Turnus, after killing Pallas, appropriates the young hero's belt as the sole trophy of his victory, generously delivering up the body, otherwise unspoiled, to the comrades of the slain chief, who bear it off on his shield. In book xi. 91. this account is falsified, and the funeral pile of Pallas is said to be decorated with his spear and helmet alone, "as the rest of his arms," consequently shield, cuirass, and greaves, "had remained in the possession of Turnus."

IX. The close of the tenth book leaves the reader in the middle of a great battle, and the concluding lines describe the death of a distinguished Latin warrior by the hand of Æneas:

Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.

The eleventh book resumes the interrupted tale in the following manner:

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.

The consistency of the poet (or compiler) can here only be saved

by assuming this battle to have been fought during the night, and to have been interrupted by the rising sun.

It is to be regretted that Professors Hermann and Lachmann should not have extended to Virgil also their ingenious researches into the theory of "Homeric" self-contradiction. Had they done so, they would have infallibly proved the *Æneid*, by the same conclusive arguments employed in the case of the *Iliad*, to be a mere cento of popular Roman ballads clumsily strung together by the book-maker of the Augustan age who vulgarly passes as the poet of the entire *Æneid*.

The few examples here subjoined from other works are merely such as have incidentally presented themselves in the course of the author's reading; a closer analysis of the text of some of these compositions might perhaps supply as heavy a catalogue as that derived from the text of Virgil.

Milton informs us, that, when the Messiah came down from heaven to judge our guilty first parents after the Fall, Satan, shunning His presence, returned to hell by night (x. 341.). On his way he meets Sin and Death on their road to Paradise in the morning (x. 329.). After Sin and Death had arrived in Paradise, Adam is represented as lamenting aloud to himself "through the still night" (x. 846.). The ensuing day (assuming day to have now at length really dawned) is afterwards described by the same Adam in one place as the day of the Fall (x. 962.); in another place it is described as a day several days subsequent to that of the Fall (x. 1050.).

"The creation of man is represented by Milton as a consequence of the vacuity left in heaven by the expulsion of the rebel angels; yet Satan himself mentions it as a report rife in heaven before his own rebellion." Elsewhere "the angel speaks of 'timorous deer' before deer were yet timorous, or at least before Adam could understand the comparison."¹

In Lucian's *Timon*², Jupiter declares that for a long time past he had paid no attention whatever to the affairs of Athens; that he had not so much as turned his eyes in that direction; and the reason he assigns is, that the orators and sophists had filled the city with such an incessant clamour that he could no longer hear the prayers of his worshippers. In the immediate sequel, however³,

¹ Johnson, *Life of Milton*, ed. Aikin, 1805, vol. i. p. 143. sq. Of Pindar and Dante, see Appendix A. to Vol. II.

² ix.

³ x.

he describes how, a day or two before, he had broken two of his best thunderbolts in a bad shot at Anaxagoras, teaching impiety in his school in that city.

The same Lucian in his "True History"¹ of Hades, gives an account of a lawsuit between Theseus and Menelaus before the tribunal of Rhadamanthus, each litigant claiming Helen as his lawful wife. Soon after, however, the historian² tells us that women were common property in Hades, and that nobody troubled himself with jealousies about such matters. This again is contradicted in the sequel³, where Menelaus is described as prosecuting Helen before the same tribunal for her adulteries with Narcissus; and summary punishment is inflicted on both her and her paramour.

Walter Scott, in *Rob Roy*⁴, first describes the adventure in the Collegè church of Glasgow as on the week day devoted, according to Presbyterian custom, to the sacramental fast; but in the sequel the same transaction is made to take place on a Sunday.

In the *Antiquary* of the same author the scene is laid on the east coast of Scotland; yet, in the adventure of the storm on the beach, the sun is seen setting in the sea. Either, therefore (upon Wolfian principles), the sun, in Sir Walter's astronomy, must have set in the East, or this chapter is by a different hand.

The self-contradictions of Cervantes in his *Don Quixote* equal, or probably exceed in number, the whole collective mass of those in the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Æneid* united. Of the seventy chapters comprised in the second part of the work, there are few but contain statements totally irreconcilable with others occurring in previous or subsequent portions of the narrative. To analyse these discordances in detail would require a dissertation apart. A summary of them will be found in the "Chronological Plan" of the work prefixed to vol. i. of Jarvis's translation, ed. 1801.

The reader may judge for himself from these examples, the number of which might probably be augmented *ad nauseam*, of the value of Hermann's dogma, so formally and authoritatively laid down as the fundamental principle of his own school of Homeric criticism, "that no two passages of the same work contradictory to, or irreconcilable with, each other can be by one and the same author."⁵

¹ II. viii.

² xix.

³ xxv. sq.

⁴ 3rd ed. 1818, vol. II. vi. p. 122., viii. p. 162.

⁵ "Dass was sich widerspricht oder nicht vereinbar ist, nicht von einem und demselben Dichter seyn könne."—Opusc. vol. VI. p. 147.

APPENDIX G. (p. 459.)

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARK ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ILIAD.

OF the casuistry by which any argument in favour of the poet's own unity, which may be derived from the unity of his chronology, has been set aside, or rather perverted, there is a curious example in Heyne's elaborate analysis of the chronology of the *Iliad*.¹ He admits that no such discordance can be detected as to afford clear evidence of a previous independence of parts. The inference then, it may be presumed, is favourable to a single genuine Homer. Far from it: "Such subtlety is inconsistent with the free genius of the primitive bard, and betrays the artifice of the grammarian." In the sequel² however he observes, that although the general reckoning is correct, yet more events are here and there accumulated within a given time than could well have been accomplished. Here then surely is a redeeming point on the side of primitive artlessness. Not a whit: "The grammarian has but hampered himself by over-sedulity in the redaction of his stock of materials!" This is a species of two-edged logic which nothing can resist, and places the original genius of the poet as much at the mercy of those who wield it with such dexterity, as the lamb at the fountain was at the mercy of the wolf in the fable. Do what he will he must be in the wrong. If the waters are muddled, it is his fault that they are not pure; if they are pure, it is no merit of his that they are not muddled. The disingenuous partiality of this commentary appears the more glaring, if it be contrasted with the facility with which the same Heyne, in his parallel commentary on the *Æneid* of Virgil³, overlooks or excuses the really flagrant chronological discrepancies of that poem. The fact that, while scarcely any two commentators have been able to agree as to the duration of the action of the *Iliad*, their speculations fluctuating between forty and fifty-three days⁴, no palpable discrepancy has ever been detected in the poet's reckoning, is in itself, on Heyne's own principle, a powerful argument in favour of spontaneous simplicity against studied artifice of arrangement.

¹ Exc. i. ad ll. xviii.² Loc. cit. p. 578.³ Exc. ad *Æn.* xii.⁴ W. Müller, *Hom. Vorsch.* ed. 1836, p. 120.

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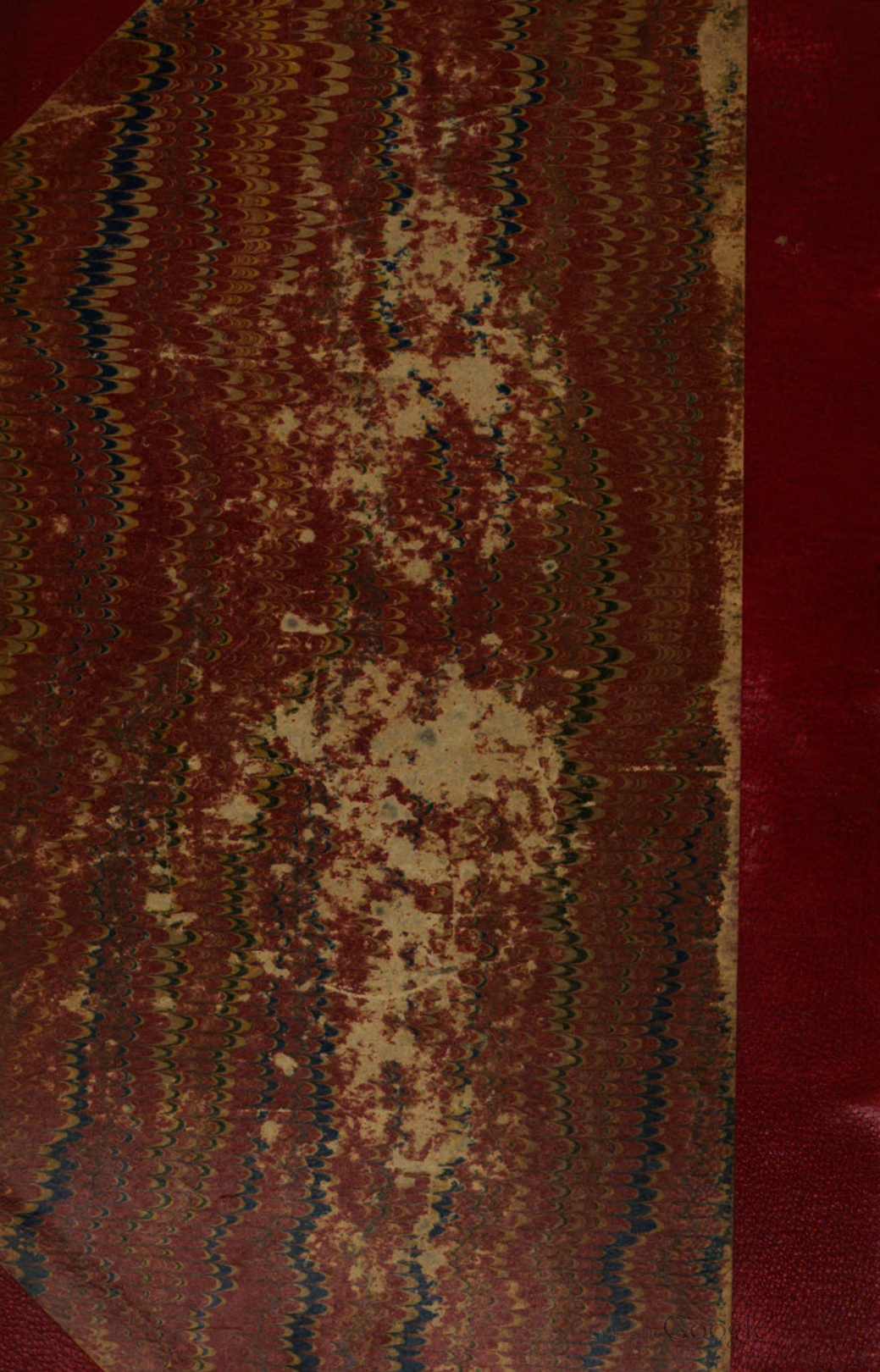
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OF

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CRITICAL HISTORY,

&c.

BOOK II.

POETICAL PERIOD.—EPIC POETRY.

CHAPTER XII.

HOMER. STYLE OF THE POEMS. EPIC COMMONPLACE
AND PARALLEL PASSAGE.

1. OF REITERATION, OR COMMONPLACE, IN POPULAR EPIC COMPOSITION. —
2. ITS VALUE IN POETICAL STYLE. — 3. EXAMPLES FROM THE HIGHER
WALKS OF POETRY. — 4. PARALLEL PASSAGE, AS DISTINCT FROM EPIC
COMMONPLACE, IN HOMER. — 5. CRITERIA FOR DRAWING THE DISTINCTION.
— 6. EXAMPLES FROM EACH POEM.

1. THE term Style, like various others in the vocabulary of modern criticism, is one of somewhat indefinite import. It will here be taken in its widest admissible sense, as denoting all those distinguishing features of the poems, in language, sentiment, or imagery, which do not properly rank under any one of the three previous heads, of Action, Characters, or Divine mechanism.

Of reiteration, or commonplace, in popular epic composition.

As in the preceding chapter, the Iliad and Odyssey will here form the subject of joint consideration. This arrangement becomes the more important, or even indispensable, in the present case, owing to the number of parallel passages in each poem, and the momentous bearing of those passages on the question

2 VOL. II.

B

of common authorship. Of the materials properly belonging to this head of inquiry a portion has already been anticipated, especially in the chapters devoted to portraiture of character. Some of those texts will again require to be taken into account, by whoever would do full justice to the argument of unity which they supply.

A preliminary question here offers itself, of vital importance to the ensuing analysis: How far those features of the poems which form its subject are to be considered as peculiar to Homer, how far as common to his age or school of poetry. This question resolves itself very much into another, relative to the nature and value of a peculiarity of Homeric style, above frequently alluded to under the name of "epic repetition," or "commonplace," and which will here demand a somewhat closer examination.

This peculiarity, it must be observed, is not confined to Homer or to the poetry of the Greeks, but is common to the narrative composition, both in prose and verse, of other nations in a primitive state of society. It reflects in fact the simplicity of the age which relished it, as contrasted with the more studied art of refined periods of literature. It is exemplified accordingly in similar, perhaps still more striking forms, in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the ballad poetry of the modern middle ages.

When in the course of a prolonged narrative the same facts or descriptions require to be recapitulated, the usage of a more advanced stage of literature requires a certain variety in the terms employed, and the neglect of this rule exposes an author to the charge of dryness or tautology. The early Greek public was not so punctilious, but was contented in many cases with a repetition of the same words; and

although a later, more fastidious taste may disdain to conform to this method, yet the critical reader, far from being offended by it in the primitive Muse, appreciates it as an element of that nervous vigour of expression which forms a peculiar charm of her style. That this judgement is correct, it will not, in so far as such matters admit of tangible demonstration, be difficult to show.

The duty of diversifying the connecting commonplaces of a narrative, the modes for example of specifying, in the course of a long dialogue, the deposition and resumption of the discourse by the speakers, is often one of the most irksome to which the modern author is subjected. From these obstructions to the easy flow of his ideas the old poet was comparatively free. On the first few occasions where statements requiring repetition occurred, he instinctively selected such forms of expression as appeared most appropriate and euphonous. But the facility of varying these forms would hardly be in proportion to the frequency of their recurrence; nor would he be inclined severely to task his invention for the sake of such variety. So constant an effort to impart novelty to statements in themselves devoid of intrinsic poetical value, would seem to him but imposing fetters on his genius, by forcing it to dwell on the mere mechanical element of his art, when bent on matters of higher poetical interest. He would therefore be content to reproduce the same idea in the same terms; not indeed with a slavish adherence to the same words, but under such partial modifications as his own taste, or incidental circumstances might suggest.

But the old poet was not satisfied merely with

such repetitions, the τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος for example, or τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε, as naturally offered themselves; he evidently takes pleasure in accumulating them. This tendency in Homer is chiefly observable in his dramatic management. One person, for instance, is intrusted by another with a commission, and receives instructions as to what he is to say or do. In the sequel the fulfilment of his orders, whether by word or action, is recapitulated in the precise terms used by his employer. A modern poet would have been contented, in the second stage of the transaction, with simply informing his reader that the message had been delivered or the commission executed. Of the many such passages occurring in each poem, the mission of Minerva by Jupiter, in the second book of the Iliad, with directions to quell the tumult among the Greek troops, may be selected as an example. The Goddess, having determined to employ Ulysses as the human agent for effecting this object, delivers her own injunctions to him in the very same words, with the same introductory reflections, previously addressed by her father to herself.

Its value
in poetical
style.

2. It is always difficult to trace the more subtle mechanism by which the taste is regulated in nice questions of art or literature. There seems however, to be no principle better founded in reason or experience, than that a just blending of uniformity and variety is a principal source of excellence in every branch of elegant art. The art of versification itself is based on this principle. Rhythm, still more rhyme in the modern sense, is a sacrifice of variety to uniformity, for the sake of harmony in the arrangement of words and sounds. The early epic poet extended this principle to the arrangement of phrases and ideas; and as the modern public takes pleasure in the

recurrence of the same numbers and terminations, the primitive audience delighted in the recurrence, on appropriate occasions, of the same verses or passages. The effect is similar to that of the burden or chorus in lyric poetry, an expedient so popular in the national songs of every country and age. As Homer's preference for the dramatic mode of conducting his action, imparts to many portions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the spirit of a scene in a tragedy, so the repetition of harmonious verses or texts often contributes much to that choric effect, which he has plainly been desirous of infusing into other portions of each work. The primitive epopee and the choric ode being both destined for public recital, the recurrence in either of spirited passages already familiar to the poet's hearers also tended, apart from its musical effect, to secure their more immediate personal interest in the performance. Another obvious advantage of the practice was the aid it afforded to the memory, by supplying the reciter with a sort of pause or restingplace for meditating on the less trite and easy portions of his task. The recapitulation of messages by the parties concerned, also conduced to his favourite object of transferring the conduct of the action from himself to his heroes.

It is remarkable that many of the passages in which this peculiarity is most broadly exemplified, are descriptive of objects of that homely character which may appear least adapted for poetical embellishment; such as the toilet of the heroes, the preparation of their meals, and other matters of everyday life. Yet it is evident, as well from the frequency of their recurrence, as their length and precision of detail, that such descriptions were agreeable to the

poet's audience. This forms another peculiarity of the primitive epic muse, which, however repugnant to modern practice, gratifies rather than offends even modern taste in the page of Homer. The apparent anomaly has been explained, and to a certain extent with reason, by the charm of classical or antiquarian association attached to the manners represented. There can indeed be no doubt, that the interest which a graphic description of any popular custom by a contemporary author, excites in the public of a remote posterity, is often in the ratio of the homeliness rather than the dignity of the objects described; just as the shelves, counters, and domestic utensils of the shops and houses of Pompeii, or the scribbling of the populace on the walls of the streets, awaken even a livelier emotion in the classical traveller, than the porticos, temples, or theatres of that wonderful city. But this explanation, however applicable to the modern public, cannot obviously hold good of the audience for whom the passages were originally composed. To them the description of one of their own meals or suits of wearing apparel, was no matter either of novelty or curiosity. The peculiarity therefore, in their case, requires to be otherwise accounted for.

It seems but to reflect a feeling more or less common in every simple state of society. The mere embellishment, by means of imitative art, of objects of domestic or familiar interest, is at all times a source of gratification to popular taste. Hence it is that in the present day, the inferior order of dilettanti prefer a picture of a greengrocer's shop or a Dutch alehouse, by Mieris or Teniers, to the Last Supper or the School of Athens. But in an age when sim-

plicity of manners and tastes was common to all classes, and before the different orders of composition had been defined and distinguished, the same rule would extend to the art of the poet, in portraying and adorning the inferior as well as the nobler occupations or pursuits of his hearers. Apart indeed from all influence of classical association, even the modern reader experiences a certain charm in the spirit and harmony of many of these descriptions, which may enable him to appreciate their still livelier effect on those to whom they were originally addressed; the delight, for instance, of the old mariner, on hearing the minute details of his former occupation adorned by all the imitative graces of poetical diction, with which Homer has so frequently dressed them up. Accordingly, there is scarcely an object of familiar interest to a primitive public, which the poet has not occasionally ennobled by such descriptive amplification. This is in fact a characteristic of popular story-telling in every age, and numerous examples, closely parallel to that above referred to in Homer's treatment of the art of navigation, might be added, not merely from the text of Scripture, but from popular modern romances, whose authors take pleasure in circumstantial descriptions of the working or rigging of ships, such as can be intelligible but to a limited portion of their readers.¹

¹ The practice has been parodied by Swift in the opening of the second part of *Gulliver's travels*. The above remarks, with others subjoined in the sequel of the text, may help us to appreciate the value of Hermann's argument (*De iteratis Homer.* : Leipz. 1840), that such repetitions are infallible evidence of the works in which they occur having been originally destined solely for oral recitation, and composed, consequently, before the familiar use of writing. This rule, if good at all, would extend to the Old and New Testament, (Genes. xli. 1. sqq., conf. 17. sqq.; Kings and Chron. passim; Acts, x. 9. sqq., conf. xi. 5. sqq.; x. 4., conf.

Examples
from the
higher
walks of
poetry.

3. But the value of this primitive epic usage is also displayed in a higher class of poetical mechanism. It has been remarked by writers on the Sublime, that objects not individually distinguished for grandeur or beauty, may awaken admiration or awe by the uniformity of their repetition. "A single sound of some strength," says Burke, "if repeated at certain intervals has a grand effect;" and he extends the remark to a continuous series of visible objects. This doctrine he illustrates, as to sound, by a succession of cannon shots, the beat of a drum, or the tolling of a bell; in space, by prolonged rows of columns or arches. The rule may be transferred to the recurrence of similar forms of expression in poetical narrative. Where a series of kindred facts or objects is carried steadily to a climax or catastrophe, the effect may be greatly enhanced by uniformity in the terms of their description. These however are questions, which a single pointed example will always better illustrate than volumes of disquisition. The passage here subjoined, while familiar probably to every reader, is perhaps the earliest as well as noblest of its class. In the opening chapter of the Book of Job, the sudden fall of the patriarch from the height of worldly prosperity to abject misery is thus described :

And there was a day when his sons and daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house.

And there came a messenger unto Job and said: the oxen were ploughing and the asses feeding beside them, and the Sabæans fell upon them and took them away; yea they have slain the servants with the edge of the sword, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

While he was yet speaking, there came also another and said: the fire of God is fallen from heaven, and hath burnt up

x. 30.; ix. 2. sqq., conf. xxii. 5. sqq.), and many other prose compositions, both ancient and modern, in primitive style.

the sheep and the servants, and consumed them, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

While he was yet speaking, there came also another and said: the Chaldeans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and have carried them away, yea, and have slain the servants with the edge of the sword, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

While he was yet speaking, there came also another and said: thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house; and behold there came a great wind from the wilderness and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the young men, and they are dead, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head¹, and fell down upon the ground. . . .

There can be no doubt that the recurrence of the same forms of expression in the connecting clauses of the narrative, contributes greatly to the unparalleled splendour of this passage. It is the reiterated uniformity of the announcements, which chiefly brings home to the mind the overwhelming effect of the series of calamities on the sufferer, and renders so electrifying the transition at the close, from the stupefaction at first created, to his paroxysm of desperate but submissive woe. The effect may be compared to that of successive blows of increasing strength, inflicted by some stunning weapon on the head, spreading at first over the frame a torpor, which on their being repeated to a certain excess gives place to violent convulsion. Were the studied varieties of phraseology, with which the Muse of a politer age would have diversified the fatal messages, to be substituted for this simple reiteration, the whole charm would be dissolved. It is evident, on

¹ There can be little doubt that here the right interpretation of the original, preferred by many old commentators, is "tore his hair." Shaving the head is a deliberate act, requiring time, and quite out of place consequently in this description.

the other hand, that no modern poet could venture to resort to the same means, or succeed consequently in producing the same result. There cannot be a more striking proof, both of the mode in which the refinements of poetical art deprive its professors of its best materials, and of that anomaly in the faculty of taste which admits of our admiring, through the force of sympathy, in one case, what we condemn or ridicule in another.¹

While neither *Iliad* nor *Odyssey* supplies any passage closely parallel to the above, nor perhaps does their subject afford opening for any similar description, each poem contains numbers, equally illustrative of the value of recurring phrases in securing precision and emphasis to the details of a narrative. Such is the succession of introductory forms in the *Shield of Achilles*, and the *Descent to Hades*; such, to quote a more tangible example, are the spirited lines describing the embarkation of *Ulysses* and his crew at the various stages of their maritime wanderings, repeated from time to time in the course of the hero's narrative, and imparting, by their periodical recurrence, both distinctness to the vicissitudes of the voyage, and life and rapidity to its course: IX. 103.

οἱ δ' αἶψ' εἰσβαῖνον, καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι κάθιζον·
ἔξῃς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολλὴν ἄλλα τύπτον ἑρετμοῖς.²

¹ A curious illustration of this remark may be found in a modern heroic epopee of some celebrity, the *Italia liberata* of Trissino; whose attempts to give Homeric effect to his descriptions, by aid of Homeric repetition and Homeric minuteness, are always ludicrous, unless where they become offensively indecent. See libro i. 55. sqq., conf. 84. sqq.; 103. sqq.; lib. iii. p. 102. sqq. (ed. Paris, 1729), conf. *Iliad*. xiv. 292.; lib. iv. 12. sqq., conf. 77. sqq.

² Conf. 179. 471. 563., iv. 579., xi. 637., xii. 146. 180., xv. 221. 548. See also, in the same series of narrative, ix. 161—168. 556., x. 183. 476., xii. 29., xix. 424.; ix. 62. 105. 565., x. 77. 133.; ix. 82., x. 28. 80., xii. 447.

Peculiar, on the other hand, to Homer is the skill with which he has availed himself of this courtesy of primitive art, in giving force and precision to his pictures of human character. Sometimes, as has been seen, the distinctive temper or disposition of the individual is stereotyped, as it were, by certain congenial forms of expression or sentiment, which he is made to utter, from time to time, in an easy and natural manner on fitting occasions. Sometimes modes of action equally natural and appropriate, are similarly embodied in uniform or closely parallel phraseology. The same agency has been no less effectively employed in both poems to characterise the more delicate affections or passions, not as peculiar to individuals but common to the species at large.

4. Attention must now be directed somewhat more narrowly to the question: How far such repetition in the two poems, whether as a general feature of their style or in special passages, is to be considered as representing the genius of their author, how far the manner of his age or school of poetry. The want of some such critical distinction has been one of the most serious obstacles to accurate views in the entire controversial element of Homeric criticism. While on the one hand the sceptical commentators, by comprehending under one sweeping denomination of epic mannerism the whole mass of cases in which this feature displays itself, have summarily disembarassed themselves of one of the chief obstacles to their doctrine, their opponents, by either conceding or acquiescing in the propriety of this decision, have committed the double error, of not only throwing aside one of their own best weapons of defence, but allowing their adversaries to wield it to their discomfiture.

Parallel passage, as distinct from epic commonplace, in Homer.

It will be admitted that the most effectual means of estimating unity of origin in any work, are the parallel passages of its text. The productions of poetical genius, especially genius of the highest order, cannot fail to be distinguished by marked eccentricities or peculiarities from the efforts of the inferior brothers of the art. But in a poet of Homer's age, such peculiarities would necessarily be embodied, in a great proportion of cases, in the same or similar forms of expression; or in other words, the parallel passages which exhibit the proper features of Homer's art, must range themselves in great part under this same general head of "Homeric commonplace." It is evident therefore, how indispensable some rule of distinction must here be to a right estimate of his style. To confound these parallel passages, so characteristic of its exclusive power and spirit, with the mere conventional routine of epic mannerism, were to shut our eyes to the brightest mirror in which the higher excellence of his genius is reflected.

The texts in which the correspondence here in question can reasonably be ascribed to such conventional usage, or the mannerism of a school, must be limited solely or chiefly to objects or ideas equally within the apprehension of all the disciples of that school; to the wording of certain turns of the narrative or dialogue, or to familiar matters of descriptive and illustrative detail. That much of the habitual phraseology in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is of this nature there can be no doubt, being common to the works of other early epic poets. There exists indeed no evidence in any particular case, that it was already the manner of a school in Homer's own day; it being certain, not only that his poems are

the most antient monuments of their class, but that they were adopted as models of obsequious imitation by his successors. Hence, as has also happened with some of the fathers of modern poetry, whose popularity caused their works to be received as standards of excellence, modes of expression originally proper to Homer himself would become in the sequel common to his disciples or plagiarists. It is therefore very probable, that many, even of those texts now habitually, and not unreasonably, classed as epic commonplace, may shadow forth, in the vigour and harmony of their expression, the same high order of inventive talent displayed in passages of a nobler range of poetical conception.

5. But when such repetitions are found extending to the higher philosophy of poetry, to that deep knowledge of human nature and character, to those lofty eccentricities, in a word, which distinguish the great original genius from the ordinary race of versifiers, the case is different. Here the reiteration forfeits altogether its character of vulgar commonplace, and assumes that of parallel passage. That touches of such force and feeling as are conveyed in many of these texts, embodying the noblest conceptions of Homer's genius, recurring always on suitable occasions, with so easy an unconsciousness of manner, and under the same features of genuine originality, should be but draughts from a common fund of poetical "shreds and patches," the bequest of an inferior race of epic formalists, is incredible. Take, for example, the ejaculation with which Achilles is wont to dismiss a painful or mortifying subject :

Criteria for
drawing the
distinction.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετόχθαι ἑάσομεν, κ.τ.λ.¹

¹ *Supra*, Ch. vii. § 3.

This trait, so graphically shadowing forth one of the more delicate features of so extraordinary a character, renewed at widely different intervals, slightly varied to suit the occasion, and with so native a simplicity of effect that the severest scrutiny cannot detect a symptom of greater or less originality in one case than in another, is yet, after all, like the *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα* or *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος*, but a Homeric form. It has, consequently, never attracted the notice of a single commentator, as illustrative of its author's skill in portraying character, still less of unity in the composition of the poem. Yet the attention even of the mere technical grammarian might have been drawn to the following considerations: first, that the passage occurs in the Iliad alone, among the extant works of the Homeric school; secondly, that it is there confined to Achilles alone; and, thirdly, that the word *προτετύχθαι*, the most prominent of its phrases, occurs but these three times in the entire Greek vocabulary. Similar is the case with the twenty-four appeals of Agamemnon or his apologists to the influence of Atë. Their very frequency, and the almost exclusive connexion they establish between the destinies of Atrides and that goddess, instead of being appreciated by the critics as individualising the hero's character and the poet's art, have insured their being passed over among the general mass of epic mannerism. These remarks admit of more or less application to the portraits of Diomed, Telemachus, and other leading characters of each poem.¹

But besides the parallel passages of this more significant nature, there is still another homelier class, distinguished by equally sure criteria from the

¹ Supra, Ch. vii. § 5. sqq.

common routine of repetition, and representing the unity of Homer's genius, the more vividly perhaps, that they do not necessarily represent its excellence.

The establishment of any phrase as a conventional form implies, as already remarked, the matter it describes to be of more or less habitual recurrence. Let us however suppose that in a long series of narrative, some object or idea no way partaking of this familiar character, some incidental, perhaps indifferent fact, turn of thought, or moral sentiment, may yet happen to present itself on more occasions than one, perhaps at widely different intervals. Let us assume it to be embodied, on each occasion, in the same characteristic form of language, slightly modified perhaps as circumstances might suggest, yet so similar on the whole as to convey to the mind an immediate impression of general identity. In such a case the correspondence could not obviously be the result of conventional usage. There would remain the following alternatives: chance, plagiarism, or the natural disposition of the same mind to express a similar idea in a similar manner. The first of these alternatives the very nature of the texts about to be quoted will set aside. The second is excluded both by the internal evidence of originality in the style of those texts, and by the obvious improbability that, in respect to ideas or forms of expression distinguished in themselves by no very striking or peculiar features, any poet of ordinary spirit should have been at pains to filch from the stores of a neighbour, what he might so easily have produced from his own. The third alternative therefore, unity of author, would alone remain. This, however, is

another case only to be clearly understood by aid of example. In selecting from the many which each poem supplies, a preference will be given to those where the parallel extends to the text of both, as bearing on the question of Homer's unity in its broadest shape.

Examples
from each
poem.

6. In the funeral games of Patroclus, a difference having arisen as to the distribution of prizes in the chariot race, Antilochus, one of the competitors, proposes that Achilles should present his opponent Eumelus with some other object of value, in place of that which he himself claimed with better right. The acquiescence of the hero in this suggestion is expressed in the following lines: XXIII. 558.

Ἀντίλοχ', εἰ μὲν δὴ με κελεύεις οἴκοθεν ἄλλο
Εὐμήλω ἐπιδοῦναι, ἐγὼ δέ κε καὶ τὸ τελέσω·
δώσω οἱ θώρηκα, τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων,
χάλκεον, ᾧ περὶ χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέριοιο
ἀμφιδεδίνηται· πολέος δέ οἱ ἄξιός ἐσται.

The simple presentation of a gift might perhaps form the subject of some conventional phrase; but that the presentation, under the above peculiar circumstances, of an object of a peculiar description, involving the mention of certain events and names, could ever have become so, is hardly conceivable. When therefore we find the same turn of expression renewed, in the precise number of lines, on the only other occasion where the circumstances are at all analogous, the conclusion is unavoidable: that the correspondence exhibits the spontaneous recurrence, to the same mind, of a similar form of words to express a similar idea. The case in point is where Euryalus, the young Phæacian chief who had insulted Ulysses,

acquiesces in the order of Alcinoüs to make amends by a present to the hero: VIII. 401.

Ἀλκίνοε κρείον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,
τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ξεῖνον ἀρέσσομαι, ὥς σὺ κελεύεις·
δώσω οἱ τόδ' ἄορ παγχάλκεον, ᾧ ἔπι κώπη
ἀργυρέη, κολεὸν δὲ νεοπρίστου ἐλέφαντος
ἀμφιδεδίνηται, πολέος δέ οἱ ἄξιον ἔσται.

In the sixth book of the Iliad, Helen, addressing Hector in a moment of bitter mortification, wishes herself dead. This desire is expressed in five lines of a peculiar strain of imagery, to the effect, that it would have been better for her at her birth to have been swept from the earth by hurricanes, or engulfed in the waves of the sea, than to have been reserved for her present fate. The whole invocation is marked by a tone of mingled grief and self-reproach, in fine keeping with the temper and habits of the suppliant. In the Odyssey a similar prayer is uttered by Penelope, in terms which are but a recast of the same passage, adapted to the different character of the heroine, a tone of plaintive languor being substituted for the remorseful petulance of Helen. The address is here to Diana, as angel of death. The mourner awakes in the morning to a renewed sense of her desolate condition; and sitting up in her bed, invokes the goddess to finish her sufferings. The two passages are here collated:

II. vi. 344.

δᾶερ ἐμεῖο, κυνὸς κακομηχάνου, ὀκρυόεσσης,
ὥς μ' ὄφελ' ἡματι τῷ ὅτε με πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ,
οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακῇ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα
εἰς ὄρος, ἢ εἰς κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
ἔνθα με κῦμ' ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι.

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Od. xx. 61.

Ἄρτεμι, πότνια θεὰ, θύγατερ Διὸς, αἴθε μοι ἤδη
 ἰὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλοῦσ' ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιο,
 αὐτίκα νῦν.¹ ἢ ἔπειτά μ' ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα
 οἴχοιτο προφέρουσα κατ' ἡερόεντα κέλευθα,
 ἐν προχοῇς δὲ βάλοι ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.

The poetical identity of these texts is obvious. The verbal identity, on the other hand, is so slight, as to preclude all suspicion of vulgar commonplace; even supposing that the etiquette of epic art could have prescribed a set form for invocations of death by distressed females. With the exception of the equal number of verses, and of a single line or half-line in each passage, the correspondence is not in the letter but the spirit; in the peculiar vein of imagery, and the plaintive flow of numbers, as modified to suit the genius of the speakers.

Attention has already been called to the two following verses of the speech addressed by Achilles to the ambassadors of Agamemnon : Il. ix. 312.

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀἰῖδαο πύλησιν,
 ὅς χ' ἔτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπη.

This is one of the many pithy sentences of Homer, condensing in a few words maxims of fundamental morality which pages of didactic philosophy could never bring home with equal force to the apprehension. Such a denunciation, prominently put forth in the exordium of the noblest effort of the eloquence of Achilles, could hardly be a scrap of trite commonplace. It is however once reproduced in the Odyssey, in its full spirit, the letter being slightly varied to suit the case, where Ulysses, in his disguise of

¹ Conf. Od. xviii. 203.

mendicant, indignantly repels the doubt expressed by Eumæus of the veracity of his tale : XIV. 156.

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀῖδαο πύλῃσι
γίγνεται, ὃς πενίῃ εἰκὼν ἀπατήλια βάζει.

It were certainly a marvellous coincidence, that two independent authors, each on the single occasion where he uses the expression "hateful as the gates of hell," should apply it to the vice of lying.

Still more curious perhaps in its identity, as in its variety, is the parallel in the two following passages, one from each poem, concerning the destinies of their respective protagonists :

II. xx. 126.

ἵνα μή τι μετὰ Τρώεσσι πάθῃσι
σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε τὰ πείσεται, ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα
γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ·
εἰ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς

Od. vii. 195.

μηδὲ τι μεσσηγὺς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθῃσι,
πρὶν γε τὸν ἧς γαίης ἐπιβήμεναι· ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα,
πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα Κατακλῶθές τε βαρεῖαι
γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ·
εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων

Another singularly delicate example of the same association of ideas suggesting like forms of expression, once in each poem, occurs in the third book of the Iliad and the first of the Odyssey. In the former place, after the Trojan elders had remarked concerning Helen : III. 156. sqq.

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιγᾷ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν, . . .

Priam rejoins, addressing himself to the heroine :

οὔτι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοι εἰσιν,
οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολὺδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν.

In the *Odyssey* the substance of both texts is combined in the reply of Telemachus to his mother, who had chid the bard for singing the, to her, afflicting song of Troy: I. 347.

οὔ νύ τ' ἀειδοὶ
αἴτιοι· ἀλλὰ ποθὶ Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅσ τε δίδωσιν
ἀνδράσιν ἀλφειστῆσιν ὅπως ἐθέλησιν ἐκάστω.
τούτῳ δ' οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀεΐειν.

Pandarus, the Lycian archer, on the failure of several shots aimed at distinguished Greek warriors, vents his spleen in bitter maledictions of his weapon: V. 212.

εἰ δέ κε νοστήσω, καὶ ἐσόψομαι ὀφθαλμοῖσι
πατρὶδ' ἐμὴν ἄλοχόν τε καὶ ὑπερεφές μέγα δῶμα,
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς,
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῶ ἐν πυρὶ θείην.

In the *Odyssey* the same emphatic denunciation, under such modification as the case required, is directed by the disguised Ulysses against his son's want of spirit, in a speech already noticed in treating of the young prince's character, and which is itself but one continued series of illustrations of the present subject: XVI. 92. sqq.

ὦ μάλα μευ καταδάπτει ἀκούοντος φίλον ἦτορ,
οἷά φατε μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάσθαι
ἐν μεγάροις, ἀέκητι σέθεν τοιούτου ἐόντος!
εἰπέ μοι, ἦ ἐκὼν ὑποδάμνασαι, ἦ σέ γε λαοὶ
ἐχθαίρουσ' ἀνὰ δῆμον, ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὁμφῇ;

Od. III.
212.
sqq.

- Od. xviii.
140. { ἥ τι κασιγνήτοις ἐπιμέμφεαι, οἷσί περ ἀνὴρ
μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε, καὶ εἰ μέγα νείκος ὄρηται;
- Il. v. 212.
sqq. { αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὕτω νέος εἶην τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ,
ἧ παῖς ἐξ Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἥε καὶ αὐτός,
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς,
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ κείνοισι κακὸν πάντεσσι γενοίμην,
- Od. xxi. 262. } ἐλθὼν ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδew Ὀδυσῆος.
εἰ δ' αὖ με πληθὺ δαμασαίατο μῶνον ἐόντα,
- Od. xx. 316-
319. { βουλοίμην κ' ἐν ἐμοῖσι κατακτάμενος μεγάροισι
τεθνάμεν, ἧ τάδε γ' αἰὲν ἀεικέα ἔργ' ὀράσθαι,
ξείνους τε στυφελίζομένους, δμῳάς τε γυναῖκας
ῥυστάζοντας ἀεικελίως κατὰ δώματα καλά!

This passage deserves attention on its own individual merits, as one of the finest specimens of Homer's poetical rhetoric, combining the martial fire of the Iliad with the ethic terseness of the Odyssey. As no address could be more appropriate to the occasion, so none can bear on its own face more genuine evidence of originality; and yet, as will appear by reference to the marginal citations, there is scarcely a line of it which has not its parallel, either to the letter or in the spirit, in some portion of one or other poem.

It is impossible to suppose this noble address a mere cento of scraps of epic mannerism. It clearly displays the operation of the same genius working up a new creation, by a new disposition of the same well-selected stock of materials.¹

With the latter part of the passage may be further

¹ Among the other more or less curious examples that might be cited of such recurrence of the same or similar, but not commonplace, passages, expressive of the same or cognate ideas of an ordinary or familiar character, may be compared: Il. i. 85. sqq. with Od. xvi. 436. sqq.; Il. xviii. 511. sq. with xxii. 118. 120., and Od. xv. 412.; Il. xx. 234. sq. with Od. xv. 250. sq.

collated the following series of texts, marked by the same Homeric energy, and varied with the same Homeric tact :

Od. xi. 489.

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω
 ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ὃ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
 ἥ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

Od. xii. 350.

βούλομ' ἄπαξ πρὸς κῦμα χανῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι,
 ἥ δηθὰ στρεύεσθαι, ἐὼν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ!

Il. xv. 511.

βέλτερον, ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ἕνα χρόνον, ἢ βιῶναι,
 ἥ δηθὰ στρεύεσθαι, ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτῆτι!

CHAP. XIII.

HOMER. STYLE. ITS ETHIC ELEMENT.

1. PHILOSOPHY OF HOMER'S STYLE. ART OF DRAMATISING THOUGHT. —
 2. ART OF DESCRIBING THOUGHT. — 3. AFFECTION OF SYMPATHY. — 4. AFFECTION OF GRIEF. — 5. AS DISPLAYED IN DIFFERENT CHARACTERS. — 6. VANITY OF HUMAN LIFE. — 7. FORCE OF ETHIC CONTRAST. COMIC ELEMENT OF HOMER'S STYLE. PLAY OF WORDS, OR FUN. CONVERSATIONAL HUMOUR. —
 8. HOMERIC TEST, OR TRIAL.

1. THE importance of the distinction drawn in the foregoing chapter will be apparent throughout the following analysis. Almost every attempt to illustrate the more delicate characteristics of Homer's language, sentiment, or imagery, will involve a collation of parallel passages, and in so far of epic commonplaces. So that, in fact, were the poems to be judged by the prevailing doctrine relative to this feature of poetical usage, much of what constitutes their acknowledged superiority to all other works of their class, would reflect little more credit on their author, than the mere putting together of second-hand materials, prepared and numbered for his use. Attention will first be directed to certain modes of expression which, as embodying some of the higher intellectual attributes of Homer, will here be comprised under the head of the Philosophy of his Style.

Philosophy
of Homer's
style.

Exclusively proper to Homer is his art of dramatising, not merely action, but thought; not merely the intercourse between man and man, but between man and himself, between his passions and his judgment. The mechanism of which the poet here chiefly

Art of dra-
matising
thought.

avails himself is, to exhibit the person under the influence of excited feelings as communing with, or as Homer defines it, addressing his own mind ; discussing the subject of his solicitude under its various aspects, as a question at issue between his judgement and himself. The conflicting feelings are thus, as it were, personified ; while the current of the language, often the very sound of the words, is so nicely adapted to the turns of the self-dialogue, that the breast of the man seems laid open before us, and, in the literal sense of the term, we read his thoughts as they flit through his bosom. The pleasure which Homer takes in this figure of epic rhetoric is as remarkable as his skill in its management. It recurs in numberless instances throughout both poems, under such happy adaptation to characters or circumstances, as to obviate all risk of satiety in the reader. Yet it is one of the cases in which the poet most freely resorts to his familiar expedient of conventional phraseology. The structure of these texts hinges chiefly on three expressive forms. The first is the introduction to the soliloquy :

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

The second is the transition from hesitation to resolution :

ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός ;

The third, under two varieties, resumes the general course of the narrative :

*ἔως ὃ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
τόφρα*

or

ὥδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι. . . .

The first is rarely, if ever, omitted or varied. The second is confined to cases where the rapid approach of the crisis required an equally rapid decision, or where some ignoble expedient which had at first suggested itself is discarded. The third admits of several elegant variations of the above more standard forms. Among the many parallel cases, the two following, one from each poem, are well adapted by their conciseness and simplicity for immediate illustration.

In the third great battle of the Iliad, the Greek army is routed and flies. Ulysses vainly endeavours to rally the fugitives; and on looking round finds himself alone, on the point of being encircled by the Trojan phalanx: XI. 403.

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δὴν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τί πάθω! μέγα μὲν κακὸν αἶ κε φέβωμαι,
 πληθὺν ταρβήσας· τὸ δὲ ῥίγιον αἶ κεν ἀλώω
 μοῦνος· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Δαναοὺς ἐφόβησε Κρονίων·
 ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;
 οἶδα γὰρ ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,
 ὅς δέ κ' ἀριστεύησι μάχῃ ἔνι, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼν
 ἐστάμεναι κρατερῶς, ἥτ' ἔβλητ' ἥτ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον.
 ἔως ὃ ταῦθ' ἄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
 τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώων στίχες ἤλυθον ἀσπιστάων,
 ἔλσαν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι. . . .

The scene is here painted rather than described. How precisely are the thoughts those by which the breast of a valiant warrior would be agitated at such a moment; how well does the hurried abruptness of the sentences in the first half of the passage, represent the rapidity with which the dangers of the

crisis would be passed in review: how fine the transition at the close, from hesitation to martial resolve!

With this passage may be collated the following from the *Odyssey*, where the same hero, cast by the waves naked and exhausted on an unknown shore, revolves in his mind, while reposing on the sea-weed, the dangers he may have to encounter in this new scene of adventure: v. 464.

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
 ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τί πάθω! τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται·
 εἰ μὲν κ' ἐν ποταμῷ δυσκηδέα νύκτα φυλάξω,
 μή μ' ἄμυδις στίβη τε κακὴ καὶ θῆλυς ἔερση,
 ἐξ ὀλιγηπελὴς δαμάσῃ κεκαφήτοτα θυμόν· . .
 εἰ δέ κεν ἐς κλιτὺν ἀναβὰς καὶ δάσκιον ὕλην,
 θάμνοισι ἐν πυκινοῖσι καταδραβῶ, εἴ με μεθείη
 ῥῖγος καὶ κάματος, γλυκερὸς δέ μοι ὕπνος ἐπέλθῃ,
 δεῖδω μὴ θήρεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένωμαι.
 ὥς ἄρα οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
 βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν εἰς ὕλην.

The same series of adventures¹ contains other similar texts, offering in some points a still closer parallel to that cited from the *Iliad*.

But the finest examples of this kind of dramatic mechanism are in the successive encounters of Agenor and Hector with Achilles.² The passages are too long for citation; but the reader who would rightly appreciate the evidence of parallel usage, as bearing on the authorship of the poems, would do well to collate them, in themselves, and with others similar of either poem. Each of the Trojan heroes is repre-

¹ 298. sqq. 355. sqq. 407. sqq.; conf. II. xvii. 90. sqq.

² II. xxi. 552. sqq., xxii. 98. sqq.

sented in face of his terrible adversary, revolving in his mind, or as the poet has it, "consulting his own great-hearted soul," what was to be done in so fearful an emergency; and the various courses suggested, with their respective feasibilities, difficulties, dangers, are reviewed in a succession of abrupt and hurried questions, with the usual contrast between the vacillation of the commencement and the bold determination at the close. The train of thought in the mind of Hector also reflects some of the more prominent traits of his character. His first idea is flight. Here his pride interferes. He reverts with bitter repentance to his late vaunts to Polydamas, and the reproaches to be endured from his countrymen, were he now meanly to shrink from a danger which he then affected to despise. Death were better than such indignity! But on the advance of Pelides his courage again breaks down. He now thinks of supplicating quarter under pledge of redress to the Greeks. The wandering hurry of the ensuing verses realises with astonishing effect the rapid precision with which the mind, even in the most desperate straight, will survey the minutest details of expedients to be adopted or results anticipated. The act of submission, the words, the very gestures, by which he might propitiate the wrath or tempt the avarice of the fierce Myrmidon; the terms of the treaty, the penalties, the sacrifices, the oaths, all flit across his mind in crowded succession. This vision of recreant self-preservation is dispelled by a brilliant transition to better thoughts, in the line which on such occasions gives the decisive turn to the mental drama:

ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός! . .

In the parallel self-dialogue of Agenor, the flitting of the mind over all the vicissitudes, localities, scenery, of the meditated flight, concealment, and return to quarters, is shadowed forth with even still more magic effect.

The value of these forms consists greatly in the emphatic power of certain peculiarly Homeric phrases for the emotions called into activity. 'Οχθέω signifies any deep mental affection. Διελέξατο, a word never occurring in Homer but in the verse above cited, is the verb reflexive of the noun "self-dialogue," which term better expresses the spirit of these passages than the more familiar one of soliloquy. 'Ορμαίνα denotes the rushing of thought to and fro in a mind violently agitated. The importance of these and other cognate expressions in their bearing on the unity of the poet's genius, will further appear in the sequel.

Art of describing
thought.

2. The skill with which Homer, in his narrative capacity, describes the workings of the human breast, is no less peculiar to himself than his method of portraying them through his dramatic agency. Here too, as a general rule, an introductory line announces the agitated state of the mind. Then follows a description of the expedients which present themselves. A third clause announces the resolution adopted. Here also, the value of the forms depends greatly on certain words of pointedly significant sound and sense. The first is μερμηρίζω, untranslatable, like ὀχθέω, by any single English term, but denoting anxious meditation or fluctuation of mind. The second δοάζομαι, equally unprovided with an English synonyme, expresses the decision arrived at, after much hesitation, and with still lurking doubt of its propriety. The word occurs (with a single exception) exclusively in the combi-

nation *δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι*, which may be rendered: "it seemed on the whole for the best;" *dubie visum est*. Examples are subjoined of the more familiar varieties of parallel texts:

II. XIII. 455.

Δηΐφοβος δὲ δῖανδιχα μερμήριξεν,
ἥ τινά που Τρώων ἐταρίσσαιτο μεγαθύμων,
ἄψ ἀναχωρήσας, ἥ πειρήσαιο καὶ οἶος.
ᾧδε δὲ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
βῆναι ἐπ' Αἰνείαν.

Od. vi. 141.

ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἥ γούνων λίσσοιτο λαβὼν εὐώπεα κούρην,
ἥ αὐτῶς ἐπέεσσιν ἀποσταδὰ μειλιχίοισιν . . .
ὥς ἄρα οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
λίσσεσθαι ἐπέεσσι.

In the sixteenth book of the Iliad Jupiter directs the course of the battle: 647.

πολλὰ μάλ' ἀμφὶ φόνῳ Πατρόκλου μερμηρίζων,
ἥ ἤδη καὶ κεῖνον ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ. . .
χαλκῷ δηώσῃ, ἀπὸ τ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἔλθεται,
ἥ ἔτι καὶ πλεόνεσσιν ὀφέλλειεν πόνον αἰπύν.
ᾧδε δὲ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι.

In the Odyssey, after the death of the suitors, the trembling bard: XXII. 333.

δίχα δὲ φρεσὶ μερμήριζεν,
ἥ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βαμνὸν
ἱρκείου Ἴζοιτο τετυγμένον, ἐνθ' ἄρα πολλὰ
Λαέρτης Ὀδυσσεύς τε βοῶν ἐπὶ μῆρ' ἔκαιον,
ἥ γούνων λίσσοιτο προσαιξας Ὀδυσῆα.
ᾧδε δὲ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι.¹ . . .

¹ Conf. II. i. 189., ii. 3., viii. 167., xiv. 159.; Od. x. 50., xvi. 74., xviii. 90.

Considering the striking character and frequent recurrence of these kindred forms, their occasional employment might naturally have been expected in other works, ranked by modern critics as jointly representing the "common epic genius." Yet in the five or six thousand lines to which that common privilege is held to attach, there is not only no approach to any such modes of expression, but the very phrases *ὀχθέω*, *μερμηρίζω*, *δοάζομαι*, to which may be added *πορφύρω*, and some others of cognate power still to be noticed, constituting the pith and marrow of the passages, are confined (with a single exception in the case of *ὀχθέω*¹) to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* alone among the productions of the early epic Muse.² In regard to a portion, and perhaps not the least expressive of their number, Homer's exclusive property extends from the epic vocabulary to the language at large.³ It would almost appear as if they had been created, had flourished, and become extinct, with the genius which alone possessed the faculty of so vividly apprehending the images they help to animate.

Sometimes the play of inward emotion, instead of a dialogue between the man and his mind, is described with like dramatic effect as a conflict

¹ Hesiod. Theog. 558.

² *ὀχθέω* is used by Homer (with two exceptions, only in the participle form *ὀχθήσας*) twenty-seven times; eighteen in the *Iliad*, nine in the *Odyssey*: *μερμηρίζω* thirty-seven times; ten in the *Iliad*, twenty-seven in the *Odyssey*: *πορφύρω* five times; twice in the *Iliad*, thrice in the *Odyssey*: *δοάζομαι* eleven times (ten of these in the form *δοάσαστο*); four times in the *Iliad*, seven in the *Odyssey*: *διελέξατο* (five times) is confined to the *Iliad*.

³ The same may probably be said in substance, if not to the letter, of the remainder; which, when occurring in authors of a later period, are used in a mere spirit of imitation, as obsolete Homeric idioms. Conf. Lucian. De conscr. hist. c. xxii.

between himself and his heart. The finest example of this kind is in the *Odyssey*. Ulysses, in his disguise of beggar, reposing in the vestibule of the palace, hears the maidens of his household sallying forth with joyous levity to their rendezvous with their suitor-paramours. His blood boils up at this pollution of his domestic honour with so fervid an indignation, that he can scarce refrain from inflicting punishment with his own hand on the wanton crew. This mental struggle is dramatised under the figure of his heart, jealous of his honour, barking or growling within his bosom at his forbearance. Striking his breast, he chides the rebellious organ of his pride and passion, telling it to bear, for it has borne more bitter insults, and to trust, as formerly, to his wisdom for delivery from disaster or disgrace: *Od. xx. 13.*

κραδίῃ δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει.
 ὥς δὲ κύων ἀμαλῆσι περὶ σκυλάκεσσι βεβῶσα,
 ἄνδρ' ἀγνοήσας' ὑλάει, μέμονέν τε μάχεσθαι,
 ὥς ῥα τοῦ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει ἀγαιομένου κακὰ ἔργα·
 στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ·
 τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης. . .
 ὥς ἔφατ', ἐν στήθεσσι καθαπτόμενος φίλον ἦτορ·
 τῷ δὲ μάλ' ἐν πείσῃ κραδίη μένε τετληυῖα,
 νωλεμέως. . . .

This brilliant passage illustrates also the advantage of ancient over modern art, in the range of imagery which the former allows. The comparison of the hero's heart growling at the pollution of his household, to a bitch in her lair snarling at the stranger approaching her whelps, appropriate and spirited as it is in the artless mood of the primitive bard, would,

in the page of a modern poet, be taxed, no doubt, as coarse or inelegant.¹

In the Iliad the heart of Achilles is made the subject of a similar, but less detailed, personification :
I. 188.

Πηλείωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
ἦ ὅγε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ. . .

Among the more expressive terms above noticed as peculiar to the ethic vocabulary of Homer, is *πορφύρω*. It denotes in its primary sense a lurid darkening or louring, more especially the dark heaving of the sea on the approach of a storm ; and, by an appropriate metaphor, the fluctuations of the human breast when filled with gloomy forebodings. The finest example, both of its direct and figurative use, is where Nestor, while nursing a wounded comrade in his tent, alarmed by the tumult of battle thickening around the camp, goes forth to reconnoitre. The effect produced on the old hero by the scene of national disaster that presents itself is thus described : XIV. 16.

ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῷ,
ὀσσόμενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψήρᾳ κέλευθα . . .
ὡς ὁ γέρων ᾠρμαινε, δαϊζόμενος κατὰ θυμόν.

The natural phenomenon here described is familiar to voyagers in the narrow broken seas of Greece. The wind freshening after a calm, behind some projecting headland, or at such a distance as to be

¹ No less graphic and spirited, while still less compatible with modern poetical refinement, is the ensuing simile (v. 25. sqq.) ; where the tossing of the hero on his feverish couch, amid the fierce struggle in his bosom between boiling indignation and stoical self-command, is likened to the tossing of a haggis, (for such, in fact, is the dish described,) in a boiling cauldron.

unobserved by the navigator, will frequently send across the otherwise smooth surface of the sea a heavy rolling swell, as the precursor of an approaching squall. This phenomenon is dramatised by the poet under the admirable figure of the sea itself darkly presaging the coming disturbance of its waters, as Nestor forebodes the adverse tide of war.¹ The phrase *πορφύρω* also occurs thrice in the *Odyssey*, to express the anxious meditation by the way, of a person embarked in some hazardous enterprise: *iv.* 427. 572., *x.* 309.

ἦϊα· πολλὰ δέ μοι κραδίη πόρφυρε κίοντι

and once in the strikingly parallel verse of the *Iliad*: *xxi.* 551.

ἔσθη· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη πόρφυρε μένοντι.

Observe too with what propriety the imagery is varied in the case of Penelope. Unlike the turbulent excitement of the stern warrior, the flittings of anxious thought which agitate her gentle bosom in the stillness of the night, are compared, in a simile of singular richness and delicacy, to the varied note of the nightingale, pouring forth her plaintive song at the same hour of darkness and solitude.²

Homer's power of embodying in words the freedom and rapidity, apart from the subject, of thought, is finely exemplified in his comparison of the swift

¹ A closely analogous figure, borrowed from a more advanced stage of the same phenomenon, is the comparison of the distraction of councils among the Greeks, after a lost battle, to the waves agitated by conflicting winds: *Il.* ix. 6.

ὡς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα, . . .

ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης

ὡς ἐδαίξετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

² *xix.* 515.

execution of the will of heaven by its ministers, to the imagination of a far-travelled man passing in review the scenes he has visited: II. xv. 80.

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀΐξῃ νόος ἀνέρος, ὅστ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν
γαῖαν ἐληλουθὼς, φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι νοήσῃ·
ἐνθ' εἶην, ἧ ἐνθα· μενοινήσῃ τε πολλὰ·
ὥς κραιπνῶς μεμαυῖα διέπτατο πότνια Ἥρη.

The freedom of thought is indeed a natural, and long since hackneyed figure for swiftness of motion. But Homer alone has found means of dramatising the simile; and the faculty, itself endued with personality, asserts and rejoices in its boundless liberty.

Affection of
sympathy.

3. The poet's knowledge of human nature is no less effectively displayed, in his treatment of the more prominent passions or affections as common to mankind in the aggregate, than as peculiar to individual characters. Attention will first be directed to his singularly delicate sense of the affection of sympathy. Whoever has known grief must have experienced, how readily our own distresses find vent in the tears we shed for those of others; how often, in what appears at the moment but the effect of commiseration, we are influenced as much or more by a selfish as a purely compassionate impulse. Let any one cast his eyes over an audience intent on an eloquent funeral oration, and observe down whose cheeks the tears flow most copiously, or from what bosom the most convulsive sobs proceed. Will it be found in every case that the persons so affected are those most remarkable for the tenderness of their hearts? Will it not rather appear that they are such as have themselves smarted most recently and severely under affliction? It is therefore their own sorrow, rather

than that of the bereaved widow or orphan, which so deeply affects them. But although this excess of sympathy may be selfish, it is not without its moral value. Every impulse which softens the heart towards distress is in itself amiable. As a general rule, those who have suffered most themselves most readily feel for the misfortunes of their neighbours; and, were it possible, in any such case as that above supposed, to analyse the component elements of grief, it would probably be found that, even deducting those of a purely selfish nature, such as remained would be greater on the part of the afflicted than of the light-hearted portion of the audience.

Nowhere does the moral ingredient of Homer's poetry assume more marked features of individuality, than in his deep sense and beautiful treatment of this delicate affection. A striking example is in the scene in the quarters of Achilles, after the death of Patroclus, where the chorus of captive females respond to the lament of Briseïs: XIX. 301.

ὡς ἔφατο κλαίουσ', ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες,
Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν¹, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἐκάστη.

The simple conciseness of the expression, as compared with the fulness of the idea conveyed, renders this one of the most exquisite touches of its kind in either poem.

¹ It may be proper to caution the less experienced scholar against taking this phrase in the sense of "pretext," which it familiarly bears in later Greek prose. It must here be understood in its simpler primary import of "apparent cause" or "motive," which elsewhere attaches to it with Homer. Heyne's notion that the females, selfishly absorbed in their own sorrows, were indifferent to the death of their benefactor, is a proof, among many, of the deficiency of the faculty of taste, which disqualified that learned commentator, like so many others of his nation, for a competent critic of any such work as the Iliad.

In the supplication of Priam to Achilles, every thing depended on a first impression. The suddenness and boldness of the intrusion, the vindictive bitterness of the Myrmidon chief against every thing Trojan, and his fierce impetuosity of temper, imperatively required that the commencement of the old man's address should be so conceived as to work at once on his generous sympathies. One less deeply read in the book of nature, might have made Priam open his suit with a touching picture of his domestic woe, or a flattering appeal to the generosity of the Greek champion, and the fulness of the vengeance already exacted. Homer's Priam directs the attack on a far more vulnerable quarter. He tells Achilles, simply and abruptly, to "remember his own father, standing, like the wretched parent who knelt before him, on the brink of the grave; oppressed perhaps, like him, by some foreign invader; and lamenting, if not the death, the absence at least in a distant land, of his darling son, the hope and support of his declining years." This argument is kept in view from first to last. The heart of Achilles melts before it like wax beneath a burning sun, and a burst of sympathetic emotion at the close completes the triumph of the royal suppliant's eloquence: II. XXIV. 486.

μνήσαι πατρὸς σοῖο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ!
τῆλίκου ὥσπερ ἐγὼν, ὅλοῦ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.

ὥς φάτο· τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἡμέρον ὥρσε γόοιο·
τῷ δὲ μνησαμένῳ, ὃ μὲν Ἑκτορὸς ἀνδροφόνιοι,
κλαῖ' ἀδινὰ, προπάραιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλλῆος ἐλυσθείς,
αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς κλαῖεν ἐὼν πατέρ', ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
Πάτροκλον· τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει.

Nothing can be more admirable of its kind, either in point of conception or execution, than this whole scene.

In the previous picture of family mourning in the Trojan palace, it is not for Hector alone that Priam's daughters weep so bitterly, but: xxiv. 167.

τῶν μιμνησκόμεναι, οἱ δὲ πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ,
χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων κέατο ψυχὰς ὀλέσαντες.

In the Lament of Patroclus, the allusion of Achilles to his absent father is responded to by his fellow-mourners with an outbreak of the same mixed emotion: xix. 338.

ὥς ἔφατο κλαίων, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γέροντες,
μνησάμενοι τὰ ἕκαστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπον.

In the Odyssey, where Menelaus mourns over the disasters and supposed death of Ulysses, the emotion of Pisistratus is similarly described: iv. 186.

οὐδ' ἄρα Νέστορος υἱὸς ἀδακρύτω ἔχεν ὅσσε,
μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος Ἀντιλόχοιο,
τόν ῥ' Ἡοῦς ἔκτεινε φαεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

4. The same penetrating insight into the finer sensibilities of our nature is displayed in the poet's treatment of the simple affection of grief, of which that above illustrated is a modification. One favourite mode is, to describe the indulgence of sorrow as an enjoyment. That there is a pleasure in the overflowings of an afflicted heart is as certain¹ as that the cruellest of all sufferings are those which cannot or dare not find vent. The delight which the poet takes in this image is as exclusively peculiar to him-

Affection
of grief,

¹ Aristot. Rhet. i. xi.: καλὸν τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ θρήνοις ἐγγίγνεται τις ἡδονή.

self as his method of adorning it. The parallel texts here, as elsewhere, frequently assume a conventional form. Sometimes the affection is described simply as an enjoyment. Among the most effective passages of this kind are those allusive to the woes of Penelope, as in the subjoined example of her own plaintive eloquence: XIX. 512.

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον πόρε δαίμον,
ἤματα μὲν γὰρ τέρπομ' ὄδυρομένη γόωσα . . .

and in the account of her weeping over the bow of Ulysses: XXI. 57.

ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο . . .

This line occurs in the Odyssey on two other similar occasions; and, slightly varied, in the address of Pelides to his men before the funeral of Patroclus: II. xxiii. 10.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κ' ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο . . .

also in his interview with Priam: xxiv. 513.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα γόοιο τετάρπετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς . .

The following passages of each poem, the one from the interview of Achilles with the ghost of Patroclus, the other from that between Ulysses and the shade of his mother, supply a curious example of the poet's happy tact of varying the letter of substantially the same expression, to suit the variety of the case:

II. xxiii. 97.

ἀλλὰ μοι ἄσσον στῆθι, μίνυνθά περ ἀμφιβαλόντε
ἀλλήλους, ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο.

Od. xi. 211.

ᾧφρα καὶ εἰν Ἀῖδαο, φίλας περὶ χεῖρε βαλόντε,
ἀμφοτέρω κρυεροῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο.

The parallel extends to the whole neighbouring texts.

At other times, afflicted persons are described as inspiring each other with a desire or lust of grief. Here also the parallel passages often assume a conventional form, as in the scene between Priam and Achilles: Il. xxiv. 507.

ὦς φάτο· τῷ δ' ἄρα πατὴρς ὑφ' ἱμερον ὄρσε γόοιο,

repeated in the interview between Menelaus and Telemachus in the Odyssey, and, with slight variation, in other passages of both poems.¹

Sometimes, the full indulgence of sorrow, like that of any other pleasurable sensation, is described as producing satiety; as in the account by Menelaus of his habitual state of feeling towards his departed companions in arms: Od. iv. 102.

ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
παύομαι· αἰψήρως δὲ κόρος κρυεροῖο γόοιο.²

With this may be compared the two following texts similarly illustrative, in their variety of form, of unity of conception:

Il. xxiv. 522.

ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπησ
ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν, ἀχνύμενοί περ.
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο.

Od. x. 201.

κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες·
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγένετο μυρομένοισι.³

The same association of ideas is embodied by Priam in a still more touching form in Il. xxiv. 226.

¹ Conf. Il. xxiii. 108.; Odyss. iv. 183., xvi. 215., xix. 249., xxiii. 231.

² Conf. Il. xxii. 427.; Od. iv. 541., x. 499. ³ Conf. Od. x. 568.

αὐτίκ' ὃ γάρ με κατακτείνειεν Ἀχιλλεύς,
ἀγκὰς ἐλόντ' ἱμὸν υἷδν, ἐπὴν γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἴη ν.¹

The spirit of these forms is modified in an interesting manner by the varied power of their principal term γόος. Sometimes this word expresses the simple affection of grief, sometimes its indulgence, sometimes any species of tender emotion producing the same outward effect. The phrase may, in such cases, be well rendered by the French term "attendrissement," to which the English tongue has no equivalent. Among other examples may be cited the description of the scene where the Ithacan mariners, delivered from the degrading effects of Circe's enchantment, are restored to the society of their comrades: Od. x. 398.

παῖσιν δ' ἡμερόεις ὑπέδν γόος, ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα
σμερδαλέον κανάχιζε, θεὰ δ' ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτή.

What they really felt was joy, though tempered by the remembrance of their late calamity.²

Another delicate shade of this class of emotion is the pleasure derived even from bygone sorrows, as viewed through the refining medium of the memory. This sentiment is finely embodied in the rustic eloquence of Eumæus, when referring to the disasters of his own early life: Od. xv. 400.

¹ Conf. Il. xxiii. 157.; Od. xix. 471.

² How little of commonplace there is in the spirit at least of these passages, whatever may be the case with their wording, cannot be better evinced than by the fact, that throughout the whole volume of Shakespeare, who is generally held to have probed every nook and cranny of human passion or feeling, no allusion can be found, in so far at least as the author's researches extend, to the pleasurable ingredient of sorrow, or to satiety in its indulgence, offering the remotest parallel to any one of the above copious series of examples.

μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνὴρ,
ὅστις δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πάθῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῇ. . . .

The grief of Achilles for the death of his friend finds vent in a similar train of association: II. xxiv. 6.

Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀδροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἦϋ,
ἦδ' ὅποσα τολύπευσε σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ πάθεν ἄλγεα.

The very miseries suffered in his friend's company are now objects, not of memory alone, but of longing desire.¹

5. Of the more ordinary effects of grief, as displayed in different characters, both poems also abound in descriptions marked by the same fine perception of its sources and influence. A favourite mode of illustrating the sorrow of Penelope is, to describe her as giving vent to it when awaking in the night from her disturbed and dreamy slumbers.² That this image was equally familiar to the author of each poem, although opportunity for its direct introduction occurred in the *Odyssey* alone, appears from the passage of the *Iliad* where Venus, when wounded by Diomed, is consoled with the prospect of a speedy revenge by her mother Dione, who assures her that, "ere long Ægialea, the fond wife of her impious assailant, will start in her sleep, and rouse her maidens with lamentations for the husband of her youth."³

as displayed
in different
characters.

The copious but silent flow of tears, under calm but desperate anguish, is twice expressed in the *Iliad*, in slightly varied terms, by the simile of a

¹ Shaksp. Rom. and Jul. :

All these woes shall serve
For sweet discourses in our time to come.

² Od. xx. 58., xix. 515.

³ II. v. 412.

fountain dripping from a rock.¹ Parallel is also the beautiful figure in the *Odyssey*, of Penelope's mute placid sorrow, where the tears trickling down her pale cheek are likened to snow melting beneath the balmy zephyrs.²

The distracting effects of a first announcement of disastrous intelligence supply two powerful passages of the *Iliad*, as interesting in their parallel as in their contrast. The one is where Achilles is apprised of the death of Patroclus; the other where Andromache descries on the plain the corpse of Hector.³ The common features of each description are finely varied to suit the variety of characters. In both cases the faculties of the sufferer are enveloped in a "cloud or night of grief;" in both they sink prostrate on the ground. The afflicted queen strips her head of its ornaments, and strews them wildly around her. Achilles tears his hair, and scatters the dust in which he rolls over his head and person. The attendant females raise and support the heroine, lest the violence of her convulsions prove fatal to her. Antilochus grasps the hands of the hero, lest he should attempt self-destruction. How familiar this representation of his heroes rolling on the earth, under an overwhelming pressure of affliction, was to the poet, appears also from various examples in the *Odyssey*.⁴

Terror.

The influence of grief and terror combined, is finely expressed in the account of Penelope's first reception of the news of her son's departure: *Od. iv. 703.*

τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ.
δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίῃ ἐπέων λάβε, τῷ δέ οἱ ὄσσε
δακρυόφι πλῆσθεν, θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ὄσχετο φωνή.

¹ *ix. 13.*; *conf. xvi. 3.*

² *xix. 204.*

³ *xviii. 22. sqq., xxii. 466. sqq.*

⁴ *iv. 541., x. 499., xvii. 525., conf. ii. xxii. 221. 414.*

The passage occurs, slightly varied, in the Iliad, where Antilochus hears of the death of Patroclus: XVII. 694—696.

κατίστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας,
δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίῃ ἐπέων λάβε, κ.τ.λ.¹ . .

The effects of furious indignation on the frame are *Anger*. twice described in the respective cases of Agamemnon and Antinoüs, in a graphic formula, which, if employed by different authors, would imply a servility of imitation no way reconcilable with the genuine originality of each description: II. I. 103., Od. IV. 661.

μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι
πίμπλαντ', ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκτην.

Suppressed rage, brooding future vengeance, is indicated by the silent tremor of the head: Od. XVII. 465.

ἀλλ' ἀκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσοδομεύων.

and Od. V. 284.

ὁ δ' ἐχώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον·
κινήσας δὲ κάρη προτὶ ὄν μυθήσατο θυμόν· . . .

Compare also the two strikingly parallel passages, describing the ordinary effects of anger:

II. IX. 553.

χόλος ὅστε καὶ ἄλλων
οἰδάνει ἐν στήθεσσι νόον πύκα περ φρονέοντων.

II. XVIII.

καὶ χόλος, ὅστ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπή-
ναι, . . .
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται ἥύτε καπνός.

¹ Similar in spirit is the description of the speechless terror of Eurylochus on escaping from the cave of Circe: Od. X. 246.

οὐδέ τι ἐκφάσθαι δύνατο ἔπος, ἰεμένος περ,
κῆρ ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβωλημένος. . . Conf. XXIII. 106.

Vanity of
human life.

6. One so familiar with the passions and foibles of human nature¹ could not fail to be deeply sensible of its vanity. The vanity of human life and its pursuits is indeed, in all ages, a trite axiom of elementary philosophy. The primitive moralist has at least the advantage of inculcating it in its native freshness, while in the page of his successors it is apt to appear but hackneyed and second-hand. Homer's lively sense of this standard truth, with the importance he attached to it, is evinced by the prominence given to it throughout both poems, and the variety of imagery by which it is adorned. The unity of conception, amid much diversity of form, in these passages, as spread in nearly equal proportions over both works, suffices almost in itself to guarantee their unity of origin.

The general rule, as it may be called, is concisely laid down in the following pair of strikingly parallel texts :

Il. xvii. 446.

οὐ μὲν γάρ τί πού ἐστιν οἰζυρώτερον ἀνδρός,
πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

Od. xviii. 130.

οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο,
πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

"Of things that breathe and creep upon the ground,
No vainer thing than mortal man is found."

The latter passage is followed up by a moral commentary, distinguished by a terseness of expression and a depth of sentiment which would do honour to Aristotle or Bacon. It closes with two other equally remarkable lines, describing the absolute dependance

¹ Another important head of Homer's poetical ethics has been examined in connexion with the character of Agamemnon.

on the Deity of every thought of his ephemeral creatures :

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οἷον ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. . .

The rule is beautifully illustrated by the comparison of successive generations of men to the annual changes of the leaf: Il. vi. 146.

οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίηδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν·
φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἅλλα δέ θ' ὕλη
τῆλεθόωσα φύει, ἕαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη,
ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή, ἣ μὲν φύει ἣ δ' ἀπολήγει.

elegantly varied in the contemptuous language of Apollo: Il. xxi. 464.

δειλῶν, οἱ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες, ἅλλοτε μὲν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν, ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἅλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι.

The poet especially delights in this figure of ephemeral humanity. Hence the leaves of the forest, and the flowers of the field, are among his favourite similes for armies going forth to battle, where the fragile tenure of existence in the mighty multitude is so prominently brought into view:

Il. ii. 800.

λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἢ ψαμάθοισιν,
ἔρχονται πεδίοιο.

Il. ii. 468.

μυρίοι, ὅσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρη.

Od. ix. 51.

ἤλθον ἔπειθ', ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρη.

The groups of maidens sitting at the loom in the palace of Alcinoüs, are compared to aspen leaves; a

figure singularly expressive, in the spirit of the episode, both of the levity of the company and the briskness of their movements : ¹ Od. vii. 105.

αἱ δ' ἱστοὺς ὑφώσσι καὶ ἡλάκατα στρωφῶσιν,
ἤμεναι, οἷά τε φύλλα μακεδνῆς αἰγείροιο. . . .

The falling or drooping of trees or flowers is also a favourite image for the fate of slain or wounded heroes. The most beautiful of this class, often imitated by Homer's successors ², is the comparison of the young and tender Euphorbus to a fair olive plant suddenly rooted up by the fury of the storm. ³ In the same plaintive spirit the dying Gorgythion is likened to a withering flower. ⁴ The comparison of the growing youth of either sex to fair young plants is also a favourite image of Homer. As parallel passages may be compared two lines of the lament of Thetis over the premature fate of her son : Il. xviii. 56.

¹ This image, like many others in Homer, can be rightly appreciated by those alone who are familiar with the existing manners of Southern Europe. In modern Italy, as in antient Greece, weaving is performed by young women, frequently collected in large halls fitted up for the purpose. Whoever may happen to visit one of these establishments will recognise, in the busy sitting of the shuttles, and the appearance and gestures of the lively and often wanton crew who handle them, a counterpart of the scene here described by the poet.

² By none more beautifully than by Petrarch, tom. ii. canz. iii.

³ Il. xvii. 53. The somewhat similar comparison of the fall of Simoïs to that of a poplar tree, shows the antiquity of the practice, still common in Southern Europe, of trimming up the stem of that tree to within a few feet of the top, which, left untouched, presents the appearance of a bushy tuft. The resemblance between this tuft and the plummy helmet of the warrior here forms the main point of the figure : Il. iv. 482.

πέσεν, αἰγείρος ὅς,
ἥ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμένῃ ἔλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκει,
λοιή· ἀτὰρ τέ οἱ ἔζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύσιν. . . .

⁴ Il. viii. 306.

ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος,
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα φυτὸν ὥς γουνῶ ἀλωῆς . . .

with the delicate flattery of Ulysses to Nausicaa : Od.

VI. 162.

Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῶ
φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.¹

Similar illustrations of large bodies of men are derived from the more ephemeral class of animals. The Greeks mustering for battle are likened to summer flies swarming round the milk-pails : Il. II. 469.

ἡὔτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά,
αἵ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἡλάσκουσιν
ᾠρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει·

as are also, with still more pointed effect, the combatants around the corpse of Sarpedon : XVI. 641.

οἷδ' αἰεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὁμίλειον, ὥς ὅτε μυῖαι,
σταθμῶ ἔνι βρομέωσι περιγλαγέας κατὰ πέλλας,
ᾠρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει.

The troops flocking from quarters to the council are compared to clusters of bees buzzing from flower to flower.² This passage, with the ensuing figure of Ossa, commonly dignified with the title of Fame, but who may rather be considered as the personification of popular garrulity flitting from group to group, and generally the whole first portion of this book, is a spirited picture of the genius and habits of the giddy populace. In the same spirit, the battalions taking up their position on the field are compared to flocks of cackling water-fowl feeding on a meadow³; the noisy advance of the Trojan phalanx to the

¹ Conf. VI. 157., XIV. 175.

² Il. II. 87.

³ Il. II. 459.

clamour of a flight of cranes.¹ The twelve wanton damsels, suspended in the palace court of Ithaca, are likened to a flight of thrushes caught by the neck in the snare of the fowler²; the Trojan elders seated on the city wall, to a group of crickets, proverbially the most ephemeral and garrulous of animals, chirping their brief summer song upon the trees.

Force of
ethic con-
trast.

7. Homer's skilful employment of contrast to heighten the effect of his images has already been incidentally noticed. Among the most tangible examples is the line descriptive of the gesture with which Achilles accompanies his lament over the corpse of Patroclus: *Il.* XVIII. 317., XXIII. 18.

χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους θέμενος στήθεσσιν ἑταίρου.

How finely the terror of the arm is contrasted with the tenderness of the act! A still more striking while closely parallel text, is that descriptive of the mode in which the suppliant Priam propitiates the mercy of the fierce Myrmidon: *xxiv.* 478.

*χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα, καὶ κύσε χεῖρας
δεινὰς, ἀνδροφόνους, αἳ οἱ πολέας κτάνον υἱας·*

a combination of images conveying, in their very uncongeniality, the most powerful impression of the aged sufferer's heroic devotion. How highly the poet himself appreciated the value of this contrast appears from its reintroduction, with a new power of dramatic effect, in Priam's own words at the close of his address to the Greek hero: *xxiv.* 505.

*ἔτλην δ', οἷ' οὐπω τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος,
ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνιοις ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι.*

¹ *Il.* III. 2.

² *Od.* XXII. 468.

This figure of poetical rhetoric also enters largely into the humorous descriptions of both poems, especially the tragi-comic scenes of the *Odyssey*. Among the examples formerly cited are, the combination of giant ferocity and cannibalism with primitive simplicity of pastoral manners in the character of the Cyclops; the blending of the same horrible attributes with the refinements of social life in the *Læstrygonians*; and the happy set-off which the martially significant names of the *Phæacian* princes offer to the frivolity of their own genius. It is the contrast between the divine majesty of Jove and his Olympic court, and the human vices and weaknesses fastened on them by the popular superstition, which, in the *Iliad*, constitutes the whole point of the satire in the description of their domestic squabbles. The burlesque turn given, in the concluding lines of the episode of *Diomed* and *Glaucus*, to the act of chivalrous courtesy which otherwise so gracefully terminates their encounter, though conceived in the spirit of *Homer*, is not so favourable a specimen of his art.

Comic element of *Homer's* style.

Among the other modes in which *Homer's* facetious vein displays itself, is his fondness for a play of words, or, in familiar language, a pun. From the gravity of the subjects selected, and the subtlety of their treatment, his object would seem, in some of these cases, as much a display of etymological ingenuity as a mere jest. This kind of wit is not very commendable in itself, nor perhaps has *Homer* shown any marvellous skill in its exercise. It has however, like some other less dignified features of his style, the advantage of illustrating the unity of his genius even in its defects.

Play of words, or "pun."

The broadest and liveliest of these sallies is the assumption by Ulysses of the name of Utis, or Nobody, in his adventure with Polyphemus. Here however the most delicate point of the joke, which few readers probably take into account, is the series of mutual references, running through the sequel of the poem, between the term Utis and its ambiguous cognate Metis, as the latter occurs, sometimes in the synonymous sense of Nobody, sometimes in that, which also belongs to it, of Wisdom or Sagacity.¹ The hero is thus made, in the same punning mood, to describe himself as outwitting the giant as much in his real capacity of Sage as in his assumed character of Nobody.

As a specimen of the etymological pun may be cited the description, in the *Iliad*², of the spear of Achilles, the gift of his father Peleus. Here the play of words is threefold, between Pelai, to brandish; Peliada, "received from Peleus;" and Mount Pelion, in the forests of which the shaft of the weapon was cut. Another very similar case occurs in the *Odyssey*³, in the account of the two gates through which Dreams pass from heaven to earth. The one is of ivory, Elephas, from which issue visions of a delusive character, elephai-rontai; the other is of horn, Keras, through which are sent such as make good or fulfil, krai-nousi, their warnings. Equally palpable, in the same poem⁴, is the play of words between the name of the monster Scylla, and that of the Scylax, or whelp, to the cries of which animal her own are likened. Another occurs in the same context, between the

¹ Od. ix. 366. sqq., 405, 406. 410. 414.; conf. xx. 20., xxiii. 125., ii. 279.

² Il. xvi. 143. sqq.

³ Od. xix. 562. sqq.

⁴ Od. xii. 85. sq.

latter element of the name Cha-rybdis and rhoibdeo, to suck up or engulf, the phrase employed in the immediate sequel to describe the fierceness of the whirlpool.¹ In the Iliad² we have what may be called a mythological pun, in the application of the term Laos, in its twofold sense of stone and people³, to the petrification of the astounded multitude on witnessing the fate of Niobe's children. A still more subtle series of quibbles is in the passage descriptive of the Aloïdæ, between the words Orion, Enne-oroi⁴, Enne-orgyioi, and Ennea-pechees.

Another form in which the poet's burlesque vein finds issue, and which, in modern vernacular usage, might be defined as "conversational slang," is the sort of quaint parabolic commonplace, occasionally

Conversational
humour.

¹ Od. xii. 104. sqq., 236. Add: Il. ix. 137.; Od. ix. 460., xviii. 6., xxiii. 343.

² xxiv. 611.

³ This quibble runs through the whole later mythology, in the legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Conf. Hesiod. frg. 135. Marcksch. ad l.

⁴ Od. xi. 310. This epithet *ἐννέωπος* is, there can be little doubt, an archaic word, obsolete but in Homeric usage. The first element is formed from *ἔννος*, or *έννος*, the primitive Pelasgo-Greek term for year, annus; the second, of cognate import, connects itself with *ἔσρα*, season, figuratively, youth or beauty. The whole epithet thus indicates, "of mature years," either as regards intellect or stature. But the poet has brought the former element of the word, as of the succeeding epithets, into punning connexion with the number nine, *ἐννέα*; and has thus magnified the prowess of the heroes, by characterising them as giants at nine years of age. He throws in, at the same time, another play of words between *ωπος*, the latter half of this enigmatical epithet, and the name of Orion, a hero celebrated for youthful strength and beauty. *Ἐννέωπος* has been generally rendered "nine years old," by the commentators; not merely in its punning etymology, but its ordinary literal signification; an interpretation as inapplicable to the various texts where it occurs, as that here preferred is natural and appropriate. The notion of a nine years old cow or hog (Od. x. 19. 390.), of nine years old oil (Il. xviii. 351.), or of Minos as a nine years old king (Od. xix. 179.), is as extravagant as that of a nine years old giant. Substitute "of mature age" in each case, and the epithet becomes both intelligible and expressive.

preferred to the direct mode of shaping a question or answer regarding some ordinary matter. Telemachus, for example, when asked by Mentès whether he is the son of Ulysses, replies¹: "that his mother tells him so; but that for his part he cannot be sure; as no man can vouch from personal knowledge to his own paternity." Similar is the question familiarly put to strangers² on their arrival in Ithaca, "What ship had brought them? for it is to be presumed they had not arrived in the isle by land." In the same half-jocular sense must be understood another query, also habitually addressed³ to strangers arriving by sea: "Whether they are pirates or honest men?" Amid the general blindness of commentators to the facetious element of the poem, this inquiry has usually and very uncritically been assumed to be made in sober earnest. It has been often cited accordingly, in illustration of the barbarous state of society in Homer's time, when piracy was considered so honourable an occupation that no discredit attached to the suspicion of being engaged in it. The passage may indeed prove, as quoted by Thucydides, that piracy was then common. It must however be evident, that even in times when the practice prevailed ever so extensively, those exposed to its ravages would not be likely on that account to look with such indulgence on its professors, as that it should be a matter of indifference whether a guest approach their habitation in a spirit of peace, or for the purpose of robbery and plunder. Even in the most piratical age therefore, no such question

¹ Od. i. 215. ² Od. i. 173., xiv. 190., xvi. 59. 224.; conf. xi. 58. 159.

³ Od. iii. 73., ix. 254.

could have come into vogue, but as a quaint mode of asking a strange guest who and what he was.

These specimens of conversational drollery, with others that might be added, if of no great merit in themselves, nor perhaps always introduced on the most appropriate occasions, are valuable, as manifesting the unity of the poet's genius even in its weaker points. They also exemplify the fondness of the Greeks, at this early period, for sly repartee, and their irresistible tendency to convert even the gravest matters into subjects of ridicule.

8. There remains to be considered one more characteristic feature of Homer's ethic mechanism, which, if it cannot strictly be classed under the head of humorous, is at least of analogous tendency. It is one of so subtle a nature, and so exclusively peculiar to himself, as to be not easily apprehended but by aid of examples; and hence, as equally common to both poems, it supplies the more pointed evidence of their unity of origin. The poet himself defines it by the general term of a Trial, or Test, of his heroes by each other: *πειρᾶν, πειρᾶσθαι, πειρητίζειν*. Sometimes this trial amounts to little more than what we call bantering; an experiment, as it were, on the temper or patience, by sarcastic or tantalising allusions to tender subjects. Elsewhere the phrase in its various forms denotes, to sound or fathom a man, by some subtle or insidious proposal relative to matters of interest to the inquirer. At other times it may be interpreted, to deceive or beguile by false promises or pretences; and occasionally expresses the preparation for, or breaking of, some delicate piece of intelligence. In ranking this among the eccentricities, rather than the

Homeric
"test" or
trial.

merits, of Homer's style, it is not meant to characterise it as altogether devoid of poetical value. It contributes at times to the spirit of the dialogue, especially where of a satirical turn, and occasionally also heightens the effect of pathetic scenes. Its relative advantages or defects will be best appreciated by means of the subjoined examples.

The first and most remarkable, in the Iliad, is the experiment practised by Agamemnon on the temper of his troops. Before executing Jove's order to lead them out to battle, he determines to put their zeal for the service to the test (*πειρήσεσθαι*), by an oration expressing his despair of the success of the expedition, and proposing their immediate reembarkation for Greece. His fellow-chiefs are at the same time instructed, should their men respond to this suggestion, to restrain them from carrying it into effect. Upon any recognised principle, either of political or poetical tactics, this seems one of the most defective portions of the Iliad. It is difficult to see what possible advantage could ever have accrued from such an "experiment¹," while, if successful, it was certain, as the event showed, to be attended with serious inconvenience.

The reply of Hector to the defiance of Ajax, previous to their single combat, provokes the following retort from the Greek hero : VII. 235.

μήτι μιν, ἥντε παῖδός ἀφ' αὐροῦ, πειρήτιζε,
ἥν γυναικός, ἥ οὐκ οἶδεν πολεμήϊα ἔργα.

¹ II. II. 73. sqq. Aristotle (Schol. Venet. ad loc.) abandons all hope of solution, with better judgement than some modern commentators, who are so ready in other cases to sneer at the occasional over-subtlety of the Stagirite.

Here, as in some other parallel passages of the poem, the term signifies to taunt, or trifle with, rather than prove or tempt.¹

The examples of this indirect mode of conducting the action are, as might be expected, still more frequent in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*. In the recognition scene between Ulysses and Laertes, the "trial" of the old king by his son is another instance of the poet's partiality for this kind of figure, little more favourable or intelligible than the test of the troops by Agamemnon in the *Iliad*.² The scene contains no doubt some fine passages; but it was surely neither natural nor probable that an affectionate son, on first meeting, after twenty years of separation, with a beloved parent bowed down to the brink of the grave by grief for his loss, should take pleasure, before disclosing himself, in practising on the feelings of the old man by the subtle process here resorted to.

When Telemachus, in his first interview with Menelaus, and as yet unknown to him, appears affected by some allusion to the fate of Ulysses, the courteous king, it is said, hesitated: IV. 118.

ἦέ μιν αὐτὸν πατὴρ ἐάσειε μνηστῆραι,
ἢ πρῶτ' ἐξερέοιτο, ἕκαστά τε πειρήσαιοιτο.³

"Whether he should allow him undisturbed to indulge his feelings, or should test him by cross-questioning."

The mode in which Polyphemus⁴ attempts to

¹ Conf. II. ix. 345., x. 444., xxiv. 390. 433.

² Od. xxiv. 238. sqq.

³ Conf. xxiv. 238.

⁴ Od. ix. 281.; conf. xix. 215.

"pump out" of Ulysses where he had left his ship, is similarly described; as is also the sly parabolic harangue¹ by which the hero in his mendicant disguise, solicits the loan of a cloak from the swineherd. The same phraseology, in its several varieties, is used both by Ulysses and Telemachus², with reference to their plan of "sounding," or "fathoming" the fidelity of the members of their household; and Minerva, in describing the wily cautious genius of Ulysses, characterises him as one "who would not trust even his own wife, without first submitting her fidelity to some species of test."³

This figure of poetical rhetoric, under its various phases, is of so marked a character, as naturally to have suggested itself to the poet's imitators as a good expedient for imparting Homeric spirit to their text. There is, however, no trace of its employment by any other representative of the primitive epic genius.

¹ Od. xiv. 459.; conf. xv. 304.

² Od. xvi. 305. 313. 319.

³ Od. xiii. 336.

CHAP. XIV.

HOMER. STYLE. ITS DRAMATIC, DESCRIPTIVE, ILLUSTRATIVE, AND METRICAL ELEMENTS.

1. HOMER'S DRAMATIC FACULTY, AS EXERCISED IN THE PORTRAITURE OF CHARACTER. — 2. HIS DESCRIPTIVE FACULTY. BATTLES. — 3. STORMS. LANDSCAPE PICTURESQUE. — 4. HIS FACULTY OF CONDENSATION AND AMPLIFICATION. — 5. EPITHETS, AS COMMON TO THE RACE OF HEROES. — 6. TITLES OF COURTESY. EPITHETS JOINTLY APPROPRIATED TO THE PROTAGONIST OF EACH POEM. — 7. EPITHETS PROPER TO SINGLE HEROES. — 8. CONSISTENT APPLICATION OF HOMER'S EPITHETS. — 9. SIMILES. — 10. A REMARK OF BURKE. — 11. HOMER'S PARENTHETIC ENLARGEMENT OF HIS SIMILES. — 12. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS SIMILES. — 13. SYNTACTICAL AND METRICAL ELEMENTS OF HOMER'S STYLE. — 14. HEXAMETER VERSE. — 15. ADAPTATION OF SOUND TO SENSE, IN THE CHOICE OF PHRASES. — 16. IN THE POSITION OF PHRASES. — 17. ALLITERATION AND RHYME IN HOMER.

1. HOMER'S faculty of dramatising his narrative, of transferring from himself to his heroes the duty of developing both the action of the poem and their own characters, is one of the most prominent peculiarities, as well as beauties, of his style. As such it has been pointedly noticed by most of the great critics of antiquity, from Plato¹ and Aristotle² downwards; and his superiority in this respect to all other epic poets, antient or modern, still remains undisputed. The faculty itself cannot be more clearly defined than in the words of Aristotle: "Homer, commendable as he is on so many other accounts, is especially so in that he alone among poets has rightly understood what belongs to his own office.

Homer's
dramatic
faculty,

¹ De Repub. iii. p. 393. sq., x. p. 595 c. 598 d. 607.; Theæt. p. 152.

² Poetic. xxv.; conf. Dion. Hal. de Struct. orat. xx.; Quintil. x. i. 46.

For the poet himself ought to say as little as possible, otherwise he would not be, as he ought to be, an imitator of nature. Other poets are accustomed to appear in their own person, as managers of the whole action, leaving little or nothing to imitative art. But he, after a short proœmium, at once introduces a man, woman, or some other personification of nature, and always in the most natural and characteristic manner." There is scarcely a page of either work but what supplies illustration of this criticism. In the *Iliad*, the exordium itself, though necessarily delivered in the poet's own person, is in so far dramatised that it is couched in the form of an address, first to his Muse and then to his reader. Even here his personal announcement is limited to a general idea of the great subject on which he is about to embark; and immediately a purely dramatic turn is given to the action, by the introduction of Chryses addressing his petition to Agamemnon. The remainder of the book is an almost continued succession of dialogue or debate; often with little more of explanatory matter than some editors of tragedies are wont to append to their scenes, in order to render them intelligible.

In the *Odyssey* this characteristic is exemplified still more extensively, owing partly to the greater opening afforded by the subject to the portraiture of familiar life; partly to the preponderance in the *Iliad* of adventures, the battles for instance, which could hardly be described but in a narrative form. A more complete dramatic illusion in epic poetry can scarcely be imagined than the twentieth canto of the *Odyssey*, comprising, according to its antient title, "the events prior to the death of the suitors."

The scene opens with the striking self-dialogue already cited, between Ulysses and his own heart, as he lay tossing on his anxious couch. His subsequent interview with Minerva, and the soliloquy of the equally sleepless Penelope in the thalamus above, are also pure drama. The sound of Penelope's voice, reaching his ear, calls forth his prayer to Jupiter for some token of sympathy with their woes. The answer is a peal of thunder, followed up by the touching episode, where the hapless maiden, condemned to toil through the night at the mill, is heard complaining, in another part of the palace, of the hardships entailed on the household by the profligacy of the suitors, and hailing the prodigy as an omen of speedy relief. The morning now dawns, and the gradual increase of bustle in a large patriarchal establishment is not described, but acted. Telemachus rises, and after conversing with the housekeeper on the hospitalities of the day, proceeds to the forum. Euryclea enjoins on her maids especial diligence in setting in order the palace halls, as the religious festival in preparation would attract the guests early. The dependants of the family now drop in one by one, and resume their daily functions. The men heap wood on the hearth; the women draw water from the fountain. Eumæus and Melanthius arrive with their customary supply of live stock. The former enters into friendly converse with his disguised master, who is made the butt of the goatherd's insolence. Another faithful rustic enters, and joins in the dialogue. At length come the suitors, who exhibit their own characteristic levity and scurrility in the usual lively colours; and the picture of life and manners concludes with the scene between Theoclymenus and

the reckless crew, the powerful effect of which episode has already been noticed. This whole book is, in fact, little else than a continued drama, or act of a tragedy. The illusion is perhaps still more complete than in a theatrical composition, from the variety of events brought on the scene, without either a sacrifice of the "unities," or a conventional assumption of their existence.

as exercised
in the por-
traiture of
character.

One great advantage certainly of this method of treatment is the aid it affords to portraiture of character. Elaborate commentaries on the vices, virtues, or eccentricities, of any remarkable personage, are always comparatively ineffective. Let him however be made to exhibit himself in a few well-managed scenes, and we obtain a better acquaintance with him than through volumes of studied description. Homer accordingly, seldom vouchsafes any more special definition of his leading characters than their familiar epithets. Even in respect to those qualities of his heroes, a knowledge of which could less easily be communicated by themselves, such as their stature or personal appearance, he shifts the burthen from himself by making them describe each other. Of this expedient, the dialogue between Priam and Helen on the Trojan wall is a prominent example. Much is also managed by means of illustrative imagery; as where Ajax, retreating before the crowd of Trojans, is likened to an ass driven out of a corn field by the cudgels of a troop of boys. Perhaps the most remarkable specimen of this indirect portraiture is the picture of Polyphemus in the Odyssey. All that the poet, "in his own person," tells us concerning the monster is, that "he was more like a woody mountain top than

a man." Every further impression of him is derived from the particulars of the action. Such are the immensity of the burthen he bears, and the stone he rolls; the noise of his entry into the cave; the flight of Ulysses and his comrades, on beholding him, terror-struck, "like bats," into its recesses; the sinking of their hearts within them at the sound of his voice; and the facility with which he seizes, kills, cooks, and swallows his victims. Hence, while in the whole cycle of marvellous adventure there is probably no giant who is so little described, there is none of whose person and character we have so full and clear an apprehension.

How little pleasure Homer took in appearing, as Aristotle defines it, in his own person, is evinced by sundry other elegant expedients, to which he resorts in order to give a dramatic turn to the text, where it could not conveniently be embodied in the form of an ordinary dialogue. A favourite one is to share his functions with his heroes¹, his Muse², his reader³, or even altogether indefinite persons, by addressing himself to the one or the other, as it may happen, instead of pursuing the usual train of discourse to a

¹ Il. xvi. 20. τὸν δὲ βαρυστενάχων προσέφη, Πατρόκλεις ἱππεύ.
Od. xiv. 55. τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαιε συβῶτα.

It is remarkable that this particular form of personal allocution, of which there occur in all eighteen examples, three in the Iliad, fifteen in the Odyssey, is limited, in the former poem exclusively to Patroclus, in the latter to Eumæus. Conf. Il. xvi. 693.

Menelaus is similarly addressed in numerous passages of the Iliad: iv. 127., vii. 104., xvii. 679. 702.; Apollo, in Il. xv. 365., xx. 152.; Melanippus, in xv. 582.; Achilles, in xx. 2.

² Il. i. 1., ii. 484., xii. 176., xiv. 508., xvi. 112.; Odyss. i. 1.

³ Il. iii. 220. 392., iv. 223. 429. 539., xv. 697., xvii. 366.; Odyss. iii. 124. Conf. Il. i. 8.; Od. xxii. 12. alibi.

general audience. Public opinion, or the sentiments of classes or groups of men upon interesting topics, is similarly dramatised, by the introduction of nameless speakers mutually expressing their views to each other.¹ Another fertile resource is that peculiarly Homeric self-dialogue above examined, where, on occasion of any great emergency overtaking one of his actors, the poet, instead of himself explaining the difficulties of the crisis, exhibits the hero debating the matter with "his own soul" personified within his breast for the occasion.

His descriptive faculty.

2. Any detailed analysis of those broader features of Homer's descriptive style which have in all ages formed trite subject of eulogy, such as the splendour of his battles or his storms, could involve little more than a repetition of much that has been often and better illustrated in popular treatises on the subject. The following few observations have been framed therefore, more with the object of throwing light on the personal unity of the poet than the character of his compositions.

As a general rule the heroic enterprise of the Iliad may be described as martial, that of the Odyssey as maritime. Each poem, however, supplies occasional instances of the kind of adventure more immediately proper to its rival.

Battles.

There is perhaps no feature of the Iliad which more broadly distinguishes it from other works of its class, than the large portion of the text allotted to

¹ Of this the most remarkable form is that commencing with the verse :

ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον,

repeated, under sundry varieties, ten times in the Iliad, eighteen in the Odyssey.

actual fighting; to the simple operation of killing and wounding; the anatomy, as it were, of warfare. That Homer's battles are accumulated to an excessive degree, and that they often present a sameness and minuteness calculated to move the spleen of even a not over-fastidious reader, cannot be denied. Yet it is remarkable, that while there are few properties of the Iliad more frequently dwelt on by critics of all ages than the fire and spirit of its battles, the imputation of tediousness is seldom seriously pressed. The severity of criticism would seem to have been disarmed by the poet's skill in enlivening his subject; by the tact with which he successively brings forward the different heroes as principal objects of attention, and by the novelty which their different modes of acting impart to the reproduction of the same performance; by the interesting notices interspersed of their families or fortunes; and by the rich variety of supernatural agency or figurative imagery in which he dresses up the particulars of each adventure. Much also of his circumstantial minuteness of description, such as the surgical accuracy with which wounds are inflicted, may be considered as an indulgence to that peculiarity of taste above examined, which leads a primitive audience to delight in detailed descriptions even of petty matters possessing an immediate hold on their personal sympathy or curiosity.

The martial element of the Iliad therefore supplies, in its defects as in its merits, an obvious argument in favour of substantial integrity in the composition of the poem. The greater the power of imparting spirit to such a redundancy of monotonous occurrences, the more improbable that so eccentric a com-

bination of taste and talent should have been common, under such pervading features of resemblance, to any number of authors. As regards again the supposed subordinate integrity of the parts or cantos of the poem, it were certainly nothing unlikely in itself, that different poets should select, each as the subject of a separate song, the exploits before Troy, of Diomed, Ajax, or Menelaus. But that an artificial compiler, qualified to construct an Iliad out of such materials, in endeavouring to impart the highest degree of epic finish to his work, should have studiously accumulated so overwhelming a mass of military details, is infinitely less probable, than that such a combination should have spontaneously emanated from a single fervid and eccentric genius, inspired by a single great and exciting subject.

While the military element of the Iliad is thus profusely varied, comprising the collision of armies, the siege and defence of cities and camps, the flight, the pursuit, the rally, the single combat, that of the Odyssey offers no such variety. The only battle described at any length in the latter poem, that between Ulysses and the suitors, is marked indeed by the same general style, and by many of the same traits of merit and defect, as those of the Trojan plain. It is, however, on the whole, a far less favourable specimen of the poet's art, owing chiefly to the defective materials which both the adventure and the locality supplied for such descriptions. A better parallel will be found in passages of a more incidental character. Among these the most remarkable is the account given by Ulysses of his adventure with the Ciconians, which, in order to be rightly appreciated, must be quoted entire: Od. ix. 39.

- Ἴλιόνθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσευ,
 Ἴσμάρῳ· ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς.
 ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες
 Π. xi. } δασσάμεθ', ὡς μήτις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.
 705. } ἔνθ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ διερῶ ποδὶ φευγέμεν ἡμέας
 ἠνώγεα· τοὶ δὲ μέγα νήπιοι οὐκ ἐπίθοντο.
- Π. ix. } ἔνθα δὲ πολλὸν μὲν μέθυ πίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα
 466-9. } ἔσφαζον παρὰ θίνα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βοῦς.
 τόφρα δ' ἄρ' οἰχόμενοι Κίκονες Κικόνεσσι γεγώνευν,
 οἱ σφιν γείτονες ἦσαν, ἅμα πλέονες καὶ ἀρείους,
 ἡπειρον ναίοντες· ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων
 ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι, καὶ ὅθι χρὴ πεζὸν εἶντα.
- Π. ii. } ἦλθον ἔπειθ', ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρη,
 468. } ἡέριοι· τότε δὴ ῥα κακὴ Διὸς αἴσα παρέστη
 ἡμῖν αἰνομόροισιν, ἴν' ἄλγεα πολλὰ πάθοιμεν.
- Π. } στήσάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσι,
 xviii. } βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχεῖνσιν.
 533.
- Π. xi. } ὄφρα μὲν ἡὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἡμαρ,
 84. } τόφρα δ' ἀλεξόμενοι μένομεν πλεονάς περ εἶοντας,
 sqq.; } ἦμος δ' ἡέλιος μετενίσσετο βουλευτόνδε,
 conf. } καὶ τότε δὴ Κίκονες κλῖναν δαμάσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς.
 xvi. } ἐξ δ' ἀφ' ἐκάστης νηὸς εὐκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι
 777. } ὄλονθ'· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φῦγομεν θάνατόν τε μόρον τε.
 sqq.

This narrative, in native simplicity and originality, in condensed power, spirit, and vivacity, in the number and variety of the events as compared with the concise perspicuity of the language, stands unsurpassed, perhaps unrivalled, by any other passage of either poem. It is in fact a miniature of a martial epopee, as complete in its beginning, middle, and end as Aristotle himself could have desired. Yet it will be found, by reference to the marginal citations, to be made up in a great measure of verses common to

the Iliad. Although one or two of these parallel texts are of a nature to entitle them, possibly, to a place in the public stock of epic phraseology, in regard to the rest this cannot, among other reasons, be supposed, from their occurrence being confined to the two occasions here referred to, in the page of either work. The passage of Iliad II. has already been quoted among the images employed to enforce one of the poet's standard moral maxims; and the two noble lines of II. XVIII. will be hereafter cited in equally pointed illustration of another prominent characteristic of his style. That a genius qualified to produce this description might avail himself, at times, of the current commonplace of his profession may be granted; but it is incredible that he should have condescended to botch up his own finest passages, by plagiarising verses and ideas remarkable for spirit and beauty from the stores of a neighbour.

The Odyssey offers numerous other texts evincing, wherever the subject involved the introduction of military affairs, a mode of treating them essentially the same as in the Iliad. The greater part of the hero's narrative to Eumæus is but an abridgement of one of the military rhapsodies of the latter poem, delivered with much of the gossiping quaintness of Nestor.¹

Storms. 3. In its own proper sphere of hazardous adventure, the storm or the shipwreck, the Odyssey in its turn maintains its superiority to the Iliad. That this too was owing to difference of subject, not of genius in the author, is proved by many passages in the illustrative portion of the Iliad, where the phenomena of the ocean, or the habits of seafaring

¹ XIV. 216. sqq.; conf. XVII. 427. sqq.

life, are described in language not only marked by the very same spirit, but embodying, often to the letter, the most delicate images and expressions of the more finished pictures of the *Odyssey*. This will abundantly appear from the following series of parallels:

II. IV. 422.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεΐ κῦμα θαλάσσης . . .
 χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
 κυρτὸν ἐὼν κορυφοῦται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἀλὸς ἄχνην . . .

Od. v. 401.

καὶ δὴ δοῦπον ἄκουσε ποτὶ σπιλάδεσσι θαλάσσης·
 ῥόχθει γὰρ μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείροιο
 δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενον, εἴλυτο δὲ πάνθ' ἀλὸς ἄχνη·

II. XVII. 264.

βέβρυχεν μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ῥόον, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκραι
 ῥιόνες βοῶσιν, ἐρευγομένης ἀλὸς ἔξω·

Od. v. 411.

ἔκτοσθεν μὲν γὰρ πάγοι ὀξείες, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
 βέβρυχεν¹ ῥόθιον.

II. XI. 306.

ἀργέσταιο Νότοιο βαθείῃ λαίλαπι τύπτων,
 πολλὰν δὲ τρόφι κῦμα κυλίνδεται, ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη²
 σκιδνᾶται.

Od. III. 289.

λιγέων δ' ἀνέμων ἐπ' αὐτμένα χεῦν,
 κύματά τε τροφόντα πελάρια, ἴσα δρεσσιν . . .
 ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ, αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἄλα πέτρῃ . . .
 ἐνθα Νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαιὸν ῥίον αἰθεῖ.

II. XV. 618.

ἥύτε πέτρῃ
 ἡλίβατος, μεγάλη, πολίῃς ἀλὸς ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα,

¹ Conf. Od. XII. 242.

² Conf. Od. XII. 238.

ἦτε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψήρὰ κέλευθα,
 κύματα τε τροφόντα¹, τὰ τε προσερεύγεται
 αὐτήν.

Il. i. 481.

ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ἰστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
 στέρῃ πορφύρεον μέγaal' ἴαχε, νηὸς ἰούσης·
 ἦ δ' ἔθεεν κατὰ κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον.

Od. xiii. 81.

ἦ δ' ὥστ' ἐν πεδίῳ τετράοροι ἄρσενες ἵπποι, . . .
 ὑψόσ' αἰριόμενοι, ῥίμφα πρήσσουσι κέλευθον·
 ὥς ἄρα τῆς πρύμνῃ μὲν αἰείρετο, κῦμα δ' ὀπισθεν
 πορφύρεον μέγα θῦε πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
 ἦ δὲ μάλ' ἀσφαλέως θέεν ἔμπεδον. . .

It were difficult to imagine stronger internal evidence of unity and originality than is afforded by this series of descriptions, whether in the identity of their spirit, or the happy choice and delicate interconnexion of so rich a variety of expressive terms, scattered, under a corresponding variety of combination, over widely separate portions of each poem.

Landscape
 picturesque.

A question has been raised by speculative critics², concerning Homer's faculty of apprehending or appreciating the picturesque in landscape scenery, apart from the animal creation by which it is enlivened. On the negative side has been urged the absence of

¹ Attention is here specially due to the peculiar modifications of the root *τρέφω* (*τροφή*, *τροφόντα*) in this passage, and in Od. iii. 290., Il. xv. 621. 625., to express the swelling or "fattening" of the surge; of which these texts are, it is apprehended, the only examples in the primitive epic vocabulary. The idea recurs however in the fable of Trophonius, the "Water-Jove" of Libadea. See the author's *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, vol. i. p. 237. sqq.

² Coleridge, *Introduction to the Study of Greek Classics*, 2d ed. p. 239.; Copplestone, *ibid.*; Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. ii. init.

finished landscape description from his poems, unless in so far as incidental to his general course of figurative embellishment. A want of taste for such description, even if observable in Homer, could hardly be considered as a peculiarity of his individual genius, still less as proof of his indifference to sublime or beautiful scenery. It is a feature common to the primitive art of every country. The Muse of poetry, like the Muse of painting, in her early more genial age, selects exclusively, or by preference, animate subjects, mind not matter, as food for her inspirations. There were no landscape painters in the earlier purer stages of the Italian school. Inanimate nature is there too altogether secondary: yet it is neither neglected nor ill-understood. The landscapes which form the framework of Raphael's living groups are models of excellence in their kind. The analogy holds closely in respect to the more genial days of epic poetry. It occurred as little to Homer as to Raphael to embody his conceptions of mere locality in elaborate pictures. Yet his incidental sketches convey as clear an impression of the scenery of the Troad, or of Ithaca, as if the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had each been prefaced by a chapter on its own geography. The allusions also to the more striking phenomena of nature, interspersed, chiefly in illustrative forms, over the text of both poems, are unsurpassed in graphic spirit by the descriptive poetry of any period. In their very conciseness, and the scope they leave to the imagination, they represent objects perhaps more effectually than if extended into closer detail. Such, for example, are the description just quoted, of the breakers dashing on the sea beach between two rocky headlands¹; that of the

¹ IL. IV. 422.; conf. XVII. 263.

distant storm seen darkly rolling over the sea, by the shepherd from the hill side on the shore¹; of the snow fanned by the vernal zephyr, silently melting on the mountain top, and trickling down its sides to swell the torrent in the vale below²; of the thunder cloud clearing off some lofty mountain range, and unfolding to the view, in the bright sunbeams as they struggle through the still lurid atmosphere, the grand outline of peaks, and chasms, and projecting ridges.³ But in fact, various portions of the geographical narrative of the *Odyssey* offer a near approach to more regular, if not very elaborate, landscape composition. Such are, among others, the descriptions of the island of Lachea, the port of Læstrygonia, and the bower of Calypso.

Faculty of
condens-
ation and
amplifica-
tion.

4. The individuality and excellence of Homer's descriptive art, are further displayed in his joint faculty of condensation and amplification, according as the spirit of the subject might require the one or the other mode of treatment.

It may be held as a general rule, in poetry as in other elegant arts, that the nobler the object to be described, the less detailed should be the description. It is certain that every hair on the head or brow, every grain in the skin, of a beautiful woman, combines in producing the full effect of her charms. But the Dutch painter, who scrupulously copies each minute trait, furnishes neither so agreeable nor so true a portrait, as the bolder artist of the Venetian school. The reason is that those details, although they help to fill the eye, do not come home to the imagination. The eye itself, in dwelling on the whole image, takes as little account of them as

¹ *IV.* 275.

² *Od.* *xix.* 205.

³ *Il.* *xvi.* 297.; *conf.* *viii.* 555.

a person reading a book of each letter, point, or accent, of its text. This rule applies even more forcibly to the descriptive than the graphic branches of imitative art. The destruction of a city by earthquake or fire, or any other dire catastrophe involving the fate of heroes or multitudes, if analytically set forth in every petty detail of action or suffering, would less forcibly strike the apprehension, than were the narrative confined to the few broader features of the disaster, such as would alone or chiefly engross the attention of an actual observer. The converse of the rule holds equally good. As the full effect of a painting of fruits or flowers depends greatly on its imitative preciseness, so, in the parallel class of poetical composition, a want of grandeur in the general subject requires to be compensated by graphic delineation of detail. Here, as elsewhere, Homer's practice does but exemplify the fundamental principles of his art.

In the first book of the *Iliad*, Apollo, enraged at the insult offered by a haughty monarch to his favourite priest, descends from heaven, armed with his bow and arrows, emblems of his destructive powers, and spreads death and dismay through a mighty army. The whole formation and execution of his fatal purpose occupies barely ten lines. For the interval between the prayer of the priest and the arrival of the god in the camp, two suffice. "The suppliant spoke, the god heard, and wrathful in heart descended from Olympus, his bow and quiver rattling on his shoulders."¹ No elaborate description could convey such an impression of the terror and suddenness of divine anger as these few abrupt

¹ *Il.* i. 43.

sentences. Still more striking is the notice of the final catastrophe, contained in a single verse: "He smote; and the funeral piles burnt incessantly." The havoc of the pestilence is here far more vividly expressed, than by the most pathetically minute particulars of the forms in which it raged, or the sufferings of the victims.

With the above may be contrasted another feat of archery in the same poem. Pandarus, the Lycian bowman, is selected by Minerva as her agent for bringing about a renewal of hostilities, by a treacherous attempt on the life of Menelaus. This adventure, however momentous in its consequences, offers in itself nothing grand or terrible. The chief actor is comparatively insignificant. The same goddess who instigates the outrage provides for its harmlessness. The poet therefore avails himself of this opportunity to enliven his narrative, by dressing up with the graces of descriptive detail the exercise of a popular branch of the military art. The account of the shot alone, here occupies more than double the space devoted to the whole visitation of Apollo and funeral obsequies of his victims. These twenty-two lines¹ form, in fact, a little epic poem on a feat of archery. The preparation of the bow is first described. The material of which it is made, a chamois' horn, suggests an episode descriptive of the hunting party in which the chamois was killed. Another excursion describes the manufacture of the horn into a weapon of war. The stringing of the bow, and other preliminaries to the shot, are next detailed, with the particulars of place and circumstance; the bowman crouching behind the shield of his

¹ Il. iv. 104. sqq.

comrades, accomplices of his treachery. The lifting up of the lid of the quiver; the extraction of the arrow; the description of it; the fitting of the groove to the bowstring; the solemnity with which the Lycian archer, like the Calabrian brigand, invokes the divine aid for the success of his crime; the grasping of the string and the arrow nick with the fingers; the stretching of the bow; the approach of the string to the breast, of the barb to the horn of the bow, are all distinctly particularised. After being gradually led by these successive stages to the decisive moment, a sort of pause ensues, in a verse indicating that "now all was ready;" and then follows the catastrophe of the piece in two brilliant lines, bringing home the very twang of the bowstring to the ears, and exhibiting the shaft flying to its destination with the ardour and eagerness of an animated being.

The description, in the tenth book of the *Odyssey*, of the destruction of the Ithacan fleet by the Læstrygonians, with masses of rock from the cliffs that overhung their port, offers the closest parallel to Apollo's pestilence in the *Iliad*. Volumes of pathetic detail could never shadow forth the terrible size and ferocious acts of the monsters, the crash of the wrecks or the screams of the mariners, with half the effect of these five lines of simple statement. The analogy both of sound and spirit, in the verses descriptive of the actual catastrophe in the two passages, is very remarkable:

Il. i. 52.

He smote; and the funeral piles burnt continually.

Od. x. 122.

They smote; and the sound arose of dying men and shattered vessels.

Again, in the account of the cannibalism of Polyphemus : *Od.* ix. 290.

He smote; and the men's brains were scattered on the ground.

In the *Odyssey*, the fabric of the raft of Ulysses¹, the clothes-washing of Nausicaa², and the hero's own first and bloodless display of archery prior to the assault on the suitors³, supply apt parallels to the above description of the shot of Pandarus.

Among the specimens of Homer's descriptive faculty, familiarly cited by both antient and modern critics, is the comment passed by the Trojan elders on the beauty of Helen, as she is seen approaching their seat on the ramparts: "that it was neither matter of surprise nor blame, that nations should wage long and bloody wars for the possession of so divine a woman." This is the only description ever vouchsafed in the *Iliad* of this type of female loveliness. But the simple fact that these hoary sages should be so spell-bound by her beauty, as to consider her presence within their city an equivalent for all the crime and misery she had caused, conveys a deeper impression of her charms than pages of glowing enlargement. In the *Necromancy* of the *Odyssey*, the same means are employed to impart to the portrait of Ajax a supplementary trait, for the introduction of which the *Iliad* offered no opportunity. The morbid sensibility of his character, and his sullen resentment against Ulysses, are there jointly shadowed forth by a single graphic touch. When the other spirits flock eagerly around the royal sorcerer, Ajax alone stands aloof. To the affectionate

¹ v. 243. sqq.

² vi. 85. sqq.

³ xxi. 405. sq., 416. sq.

address of his generous rival he replies not a word, but stalks sternly and silently away into the deepest recesses of Erebus. With the description of Helen may be compared, in the way both of parallel and contrast, that of the Læstrygonian ogress: "They found a woman of mountain stature, and were horror-struck."¹

5. Homer's nice perception of the qualities of Epitheta. objects, in their correspondence or their difference, their beauty or deformity, could not fail to insure his selection of appropriate Epithets to define or adorn his principal images; while his innate good taste proved a sufficient safeguard against abuse or excess in the employment of such aids. His text, accordingly, has ever been a standard model in regard to this as to other departments of poetical style. In one respect however these expletives form, with the primitive Muse, a more characteristic feature of epic mechanism than in later times, as constituting an important ingredient of her poetical commonplace. In this capacity they forfeit, in a great measure, their primary functions of defining the properties of individual objects, as distinct from others of the same class; and become a conventional adjunct of the class itself, extending or completing, as it may be, the general idea expressed by the substantive to which they are subservient. Such are, among other examples, *μῶνυχες ἵπποι*, "the hoofed horses;" *εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βοῦς*, *φίλον ἦτορ*, *κύνες ἀργοί*. This conventional use of epithets² is another of those idiomatic

¹ Od. x. 113.

² It is sometimes productive of curious but not inelegant anomalies; as for example where an epithet, conventionally common to the whole of a class, comes to be specially applied to particular individuals of that class, whose conduct may be the very reverse of the quality which the

properties of early epic art, which please in the spontaneous usage of the primitive bard, but would be offensive in a modern poet, if exemplified at least in the same manner and to the same extent; for, under certain limitations, the peculiarity has been inherited by subsequent schools of poetry.

The most important of Homer's epithets, whether in their specific or their conventional application, are those illustrative of the characters of his heroes; and through them of the unity of his own genius, as displayed in the highest attribute of his art, his portraiture of human nature. To these therefore the present commentary will be solely or chiefly confined; both on account of their own intrinsic value, and as furnishing the requisite criteria for judging of his practice in regard to the remainder. They may be subdivided under the three following heads:—
I. Those more or less common to the race of heroes at large; II. Those common to but a portion of them, whether collectively or individually; III. Those proper to a single hero.

as common
to the race
of heroes.

The greater or less frequency with which the more familiar epithets of the first or common class, such as *κρατερός*, *βοὴν ἀγαθός*, *μεγάρθυμος*, *δῖος*, and so forth, are connected with particular names, seems often to depend on causes of a very subtle nature, shedding, by their own obscurity, an interesting light on the unity of the poet's usage. The term *δῖος*, for ex-

phrase denotes. The term *ἑταῖρος* (comrade), for instance, has the conventional epithet *εὔρηπος*, denoting in a high degree the more valuable qualities which persons standing in that relation to each other can possess, attachment, fidelity, discipline. The phrase however having been once so appropriated, is frequently extended also to comrades whose conduct is of quite an opposite description; selfish, treacherous, or mutinous. Vide *Od.* xii. 397.; conf. *Il.* xxiii. 304. 310.

ample, literally "divine," is a customary epithet of individual heroes of various countries and characters. In a collective sense however it is restricted chiefly to the Greek army or nation. It is also occasionally given to the Pelasgians, in the comparatively rare cases where their name is mentioned; but never, in any case, is it awarded in the same national sense to the Trojans or Dardanians. This distinction might, on first view, appear a special compliment to the divine origin of the Helleno-Pelasgic race. It may however be further observed, that while the phrase is habitually applied to the Greeks under their collective title of Achæans, in no case is it conjoined with the titles of Danaan or Argive, equally common to the whole nation. This limitation again might seem to imply some superior antiquity or dignity of the former, as representing the old Hellenic stock, while the other two were held to date from the comparatively recent epoch of the Danaïd or Pelopidan ascendancy. That much however is due here, as in other similar cases, to metrical causes, or the mere caprice of vernacular usage, may be inferred from certain other subtle distinctions in the application of the term. It can hardly be the result of mere chance, that of the twenty varieties of form of which the word is susceptible, several should be constantly employed: *δῖοι*, for example, ten times, *δίω* twenty times; while others, such as *δίων*, *δίοισι*, *δίους*, never once occur. Yet there is nothing in the excluded forms essentially less poetical than in the others, nor were the opportunities for their introduction less frequent.

Some epithets signifying qualities more or less common to every chief, and hence habitually used in

that general sense, will yet be found so much more frequently and pointedly connected with certain names, as to prove them in these cases to be pregnant with a more specific power. Ποιμήν λαῶν, for instance, "shepherd of the people," ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, "king of men," and κρείων, "royal," denote the office of any king or chieftain, but more particularly that of a supreme ruler or commander. Hence, while several other heroes occasionally receive them in the more universal sense, with Agamemnon they assume the form of proper characteristic epithets. The last phrase of the three offers another curious example of the subtle law of euphony by which the poet was occasionally guided. Κρείων, on the forty occasions of its occurrence in either poem, invariably precedes a word of the same metrical value as Ἀγαμέμνων, and commencing like that name with a vowel; nor, with one single exception¹, does it occur but as the penultimate word of a verse.

Titles of
courtesy.

6. In other cases, the frequent connexion of certain epithets with particular names, apart from any apparent claim to such distinction, seems to originate in some local or family courtesy, or in that popular caprice which loves, especially in primitive times, to fasten on individuals surnames or sobriquets, often little warranted by any extraordinary amount of the qualifications implied. The term ἀντίθεος, "god-like," furnishes an example, shedding a curious light on the consistency of the poet in such minor points of descriptive detail. This title, in its general application to ordinary persons, is perhaps still more of a com-

¹ Il. xxi. 194. The vocative, κρείων, occurs six times as the habitual title of Alcinoüs. The epithet is rarely used in the oblique cases, except in Jove's title of θεῶν κρείωντων.

monplace than *ḡios* "divine." The much greater frequency however of its bestowal on the Lycian chief Sarpedon, than on any other hero, suggests its having been pregnant in his case with more than ordinary import. This view receives confirmation from two other circumstances: first, that the warrior who, next to Sarpedon, is most frequently honoured with it, is Pandarus, chief of a kindred tribe of Lycians on the Hellespont, but far from deserving it in a literal sense; secondly, that its only application throughout the *Iliad*, as a national epithet, is to the Lycians, subjects respectively of these two princes.

A like importance, as illustrating the court phraseology of the heroic age, attaches to the epithet *διοτρεφής*. This was evidently a title of homage, familiarly, perhaps exclusively¹ applied to royalty or rank, corresponding to the modern phrases, "your highness," "your excellency." Hence, of the fifty-five times that it occurs, it is used thirty-five in the vocative case, in addresses by one hero to another, or by persons of inferior rank to their betters; and in this form frequently stands alone, without any substantive. But although in so far common to royalty or rank in general, it is, throughout both poems, so much more frequently coupled with the name of Menelaus than of any other individual hero, as to imply that in his case it was not a mere incidental,

¹ The only three apparent exceptions are, *Il.* ii. 660., iv. 280., and *Od.* v. 378. The second of the three (*διοτρεφῆων αἰζηῶν*) is a false reading, preferred by Wolf, for *ἀρηιθῶων* of the older editions, in repugnance to the true spirit of the epithet. That the verse of the catalogue where the term is also coupled with *αἰζηῶν* should be the only remaining exception in the *Iliad*, is at least ground of suspicion of the genuine origin of the passage. In the *Odyssey* the phrase *διοτρεφῆων ἀνθρώπων* may contain a sarcastic allusion to the divine blood of the Phæacians.

but a proper title. Similar is the case with *διογενής* and *δαιμόνιος*, terms of cognate signification, also used, the former chiefly, the latter exclusively, in the vocative case, in a like independant capacity. *Διογενής* is also as habitual an epithet of Ulysses, as *διοτρεφής* of Menelaus.

Another similar phrase is *ἡθεῖος*.¹ This word, untranslatable by any single English term, expresses the mixed feeling of veneration and affection, entertained by one person towards another standing to him in the joint relation of parent, friend, and benefactor. It occurs altogether but six times. Four times it is used as an independant vocative; addressed, once by Menelaus to Agamemnon, and once by Paris, twice by Deiphobus, respectively, to their elder brother Hector. On a fifth occasion it is applied, still in a vocative form (combined, according to the familiar epic periphrasis, with *κεφαλῇ*), by Achilles to the shade of Patroclus. That it was usually if not exclusively vocative, there is further curious proof in the only exception to the rule, where Eumæus, in describing the constancy of his affection for Ulysses, and how unceasingly present his absent lord was to his memory, sums up with the following line: *Od. xiv. 147.*

ἀλλὰ μιν ἡθεῖον καλέω, καὶ νόσφιν ἔοντα.

The last clause of this verse plainly intimates that the

¹ In the language of the *Zakones* of *Maïna*, the basis of which Professor F. Thiersch conjectures to be a remnant of the primitive ante-Dorian Æolic of Peloponnesus, *ἀθῆ* denotes brother, *ἀθνα*, sister. Thiersch, *üb. d. Sprache der Zakonen*, 4to, 1832. These, together with *θεῖος*, uncle, and Homer's familiar phrases *ἄττα* and *ἔτης*, are all probably, in their origin, cognate terms with *ἡθεῖος*, significant of affection or veneration. The familiar Spartan form of polite address, *ὦ θεῖε*, may perhaps be another remnant of the same archaic usage.

word was applied, in familiar custom, only to persons present, and that the old man's actual use of it was a species of solœcism.

The unity of the poet's usage also appears in the epithets *θεῖος* and *πολίπορρος*, enjoyed in common, to the exclusion of their fellow-warriors, by Achilles and Ulysses, the respective protagonists of each poem; by the latter hero with equal frequency in both. These are the only examples of a similar joint appropriation. The former phrase in its literal sense is little more than a synonyme of *δῖος*. That it is however the more honourable epithet, appears, both from its limitation to the poet's two leading heroes, and by reference to the other objects, animate or inanimate, who receive it in a conventional sense, all of which, in their various kinds or degrees, are more or less remarkable for dignity or sanctity.¹ Here may also be noticed another curious peculiarity of Homer's usage. Various epithets of this honourable class, while set apart as exclusively proper to one or more distinguished living persons, are also found connected with the names of deceased heroes, often of such as possess little apparent title to such a mark of respect. *Θεῖος* for example, though enjoyed by no other living chief but the two of highest celebrity, is allowed, not only to Hercules, but to Thoas king of Lemnos, to Oileus, and to Mynes king of Lyrnessus. Similar is the case with the proud martial epithet of *πολίπορρος*, which occurs, slightly varied on two occasions into *πολιπόρριος*, in all eighteen times; ten in the Iliad,

Epithets jointly common to the protagonist of each poem.

¹ Such are, besides the gods in the proper sense, dreams, bards, heralds, the towers of Troy, royal palaces, and the royal office, sea salt, old wine, &c.

eight in the *Odyssey*. Of these it is assigned four times to Achilles, and ten times to Ulysses: to the former, as the destroyer of upwards of twenty cities on the coast and islands of the Ægean; to the latter, as the special instrument, under Jupiter, of the fall of Troy itself.¹ In the remaining four cases, it is given once to Mars, once to Bellona, and once each to two deceased heroes, Oïleus and Otryntes, distinguished, it may be presumed, in the tradition of the poet, by some special claim to the mural crown of military honour.

Epithets
proper to
single
heroes.

7. The epithets exclusively proper to single heroes of either poem must, to be rightly appreciated, be considered in connexion with the previous analysis of their characters. Those set apart for Achilles are, *πόδας αἰὺς*, *ποδάρκης*, *ῥηξήνωρ*, *θυμολέων*, and *μέγα φέρτατος Ἀχαιῶν*.² The first four embody the chief attributes of military prowess, activity, strength, and courage; the last asserts the hero's general superiority to all rivals. The third in the list, *ῥηξήνωρ*, "crusher of men," is, among all those in the poet's vocabulary, the most powerfully expressive of destructive irresistible prowess. The fourth, *θυμολέων*, "Lion-heart," which Achilles enjoys in common with the deceased hero Hercules, is remarkable for its identity with that of *Cœur-de-lion*, borne by the warrior of modern chivalry whose character most nearly resembles that of Achilles. This term, it is true, is also twice connected with the name of Ulysses, but under circumstances which no way warrant its being classed among his legitimate titles. Here another distinction presents itself, indispensable to a right estimate of the spirit of Homer's epithets: whether

¹ II. ix. 328. sqq., xviii. 342. alibi; Od. i. 2., xi. 524., xxii. 230.

² See the parallel passages: II. xvi. 21., xix. 216.; Od. xi. 478.

they are applied by himself to his heroes, or by his heroes to each other. A near relative, friend, or favourite vassal, may without impropriety be made, in the enthusiasm of his love or gratitude, to speak of a patron in terms no way corresponding to his character as conceived by the poet himself. For such expressions Homer can as little be made responsible, as for all the other sentiments placed in the mouths of his actors. Of this distinction numerous examples might be cited, among which the one here in point will suffice. It is Penelope who, on both the occasions here adverted to, in the warmth of her affection and admiration, styles her husband the "Lion-hearted." Although therefore the hero may not be undeserving of the title, it can no more be considered as authorised by Homer, than the phrase "detested Ilium," κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν, by which the same devoted spouse is wont to stigmatise the main source of her domestic sorrows, can be considered as the poet's chosen epithet for the city of Priam.

The exclusive epithets of Ulysses, while of a totally different description, exceed those proper to Achilles, both in number and variety, in the ratio of the former hero's greater variety of talents.¹

Those appropriated to Agamemnon, κύνιστος and εὐρυκρείων, are significant simply of his high functions as chief of the confederacy. The value of the former is enhanced by its being applied with nearly equal

¹ They are nine in all: πολέμης, occurring eighteen times in the Iliad, sixty-six in the Odyssey, also common to Vulcan; ποικιλομήτης, once in the Il., six times in the Od.; πολυμήχανος, seven times in the Il., fifteen in the Od.; ταλασίφρων, once in the Il., eleven times in the Od.; πολύτλας, five times in the Il., thirty-five in the Od.; πολέαινος, once in the Il., thrice in the Od.; τλήμων, twice in the Il.; πολύφρων, thrice in the Od., also common to Vulcan; πολύτροπος, twice in the Od.

frequency to Jupiter, the supreme regulator of the divine, as Agamemnon was of the human affairs of the Hellenic world.

The only exclusive epithet of Ajax is ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, the "bulwark of the Greeks," finely expressive of his solid ponderous attributes, moral and physical. Those of βουγᾶϊός, "blusterer," and ἀμαρτοπής, "blunderer," also enjoyed by him alone, are to be taken, however appropriate, in a satirical rather than a proper sense, as occurring solely in the taunting addresses of Hector.

Nestor's proper titles are ἵππότης, "horseman¹," and οὔρος Ἀχαιῶν, the "guardian" or "watchman of the Greeks." The former phrase will demand a few remarks in the sequel. The propriety with which the other is allotted to the zealous and provident old chief requires no comment.

Diomed and Menelaus were formerly described as distinguished, among the Greek heroes of rank, rather by general merit and martial accomplishment than by any salient peculiarities. Hence may be explained, that while honoured, perhaps more frequently than their peers, with titles expressive of military excellence in the aggregate, they are the only two who cannot claim a single one as their exclusive property. The occasions, for example, where the epithet βοὴν ἀγαθός, "good at need,"² perhaps the

¹ Exclusively proper to himself among the heroes of the siege, but common also to Peleus and four warriors of the past generation.

² The accuracy of the above rendering has been questioned by a reviewer of this work, on the ground that the phrase means properly "good at the shout of war." But the connexion between βοή, βοηθός, βοηθῶ, abundantly proves, that in the spirit of Homer's language the compliment was not merely to the hero's lungs; and that to be good at the shout of war, was to be "good at the rescue," in the moment of difficulty and distress, which caused the shout to be raised.

most complimentary of its class, is connected with their two names, greatly exceed the whole collective number of those on which it is assigned to the rest of their fellow-warriors. That of *κρατερός*, a little less pithy title of prowess, is also allotted far more frequently to Diomed than to his comrades. The only personal epithet of Menelaus is *ξανθός*, the "yellow-haired."¹

The titles proper, among living warriors, to Hector, are *κορυθαίολος* and *ἀνδροφόνος*.² That the latter, the only martial distinction of the Trojan champion, should be one of such very equivocal honour, is in keeping with the poet's design of exalting the character of his own countrymen at the expense of their rivals. The members of the Trojan royal family are the heroes chiefly, though not exclusively, honoured in the Iliad with the title *θεοσιδής*, significant of the personal graces for which they were so highly distinguished.

8. The evidence of a substantial unity of author afforded by so much harmony and consistency in this delicate head of illustrative detail, as carried through each poem, is almost too apparent to require to be formally summed up. One or two points however, of more marked coincidence, deserve a few special observations.

Homer's
consistent
application
of his epi-
thets.

The most broadly significant of the titles above cited as restricted to Achilles alone, is *ρηξήνωρ*, "crusher of men." Of the five occasions on which it is applied to him, four belong to the Iliad one to the Odyssey. The term however, as we have already seen, also occurs in the Odyssey as the proper

¹ Common to Meleager and Rhadamanthus.

² Once also given to Mars, and once to the ferocious Thracian chief Lycurgus.

name of a Phæacian prince, brother of king Alcinoüs. This variety of its application furnishes even more pointed evidence of unity of conception, than the sameness of the other five examples. Attention must here be recalled to the broadly satirical import of the high-flown appellatives of these Phæacian patriarchs, as contrasted with the giddy effeminate character of the race they represent. Judged therefore in the spirit of that lively episode¹, this transformation of a term, elsewhere the exclusive title of a hero really preeminent for the ferocious attributes it denotes, into the proper name of one of the poet's popular types of levity and effeminacy, is a stroke of genuine Homeric irony, which it is hardly credible could proceed from any but the author of the Iliad.

Homer's employment of the epithet *ἵππόδαμος*, "horse-tamer," also exemplifies in a curious manner the consistency of his usage in the subordinate details, both illustrative and historical, of the two poems. On a superficial view this title may seem to be, and has accordingly been classed by critics of high authority as, a mere military commonplace, similar in value to the modern term "chivalrous," and equally applicable to all heroes distinguished by courage or activity in battle.² This however is a complete misapprehension. There is perhaps no epithet of more precise literal import, or partaking less of a conventional character. It is, throughout both poems, appropriated exclusively to individuals, families, or tribes, celebrated, not so much perhaps for equestrian skill, as for the pleasure they took in rearing horses, or the excellence of the breed they

¹ See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 411.

² See an article "On the Homeric epithets *δαίμων* and *ἵππόδαμος*," by the author of this work, in the *Rheinische Museum*, 1839, p. 491. sqq.

possessed. This will appear at once by reference to the passages in which it occurs. They are, in all, forty-five in the Iliad, three in the Odyssey. In no less than twenty-four cases in the former poem, the phrase is the national distinction of the Trojans, whose claims to it are specially enforced in numerous passages.¹ It is also given once to their neighbours the Phrygians. The Greeks collectively never receive it. The number of living heroes to whom it is assigned is but six; of these, as was to be expected, the larger portion are Trojans: Hector, Antenor, Hyperenor, and Hippiasus. Among Greek warriors it is confined to Diomed, and Thrasymedes son of Nestor. Diomed receives it seven times. His claims rest on his constant use of the chariot in battle, on his victory in the hippodrome in the twenty-third book, and on his often expressed fondness for the animal. As it is also given to his father Tydeus, it may be presumed to have been a family distinction. The same inference is justified in the case of Thrasymedes, by his father's habitual title of *ἰππότης*, and by various other incidental notices of the equestrian zeal of the Neleïd family.² The only other

¹ See more especially, II. v. 222. 268., viii. 105., xxiii. 348. 378. sqq.

² Hence their devotion to the worship of Neptune, the patron deity of the horse, is repeatedly mentioned in the poems. (II. xi. 728., xxiii. 307.; Od. iii. 6.) That the Neleïd family however, merited, with Homer at least, their distinctive titles of Horsemen, rather from their zeal for the equestrian art, than from its successful cultivation or the excellence of their breed, appears from several of the same passages in which they are honoured with those epithets, but where the qualifications both of their steeds and of their charioteers are very lightly spoken of. Diomed, during the panic in the Greek lines, when offering Nestor a place in his chariot, reminds him that "his own horses were slow and their driver inexpert." (II. viii. 104.) The justice of the stigma is afterwards admitted by the Pylian chief himself (II. xxiii. 309.), and is further borne out by the ill success of Antilochus in the chariot race.

personages styled horse-tamer in the *Iliad* are, Atreus lord of the "horse-breeding" Argos, and Castor the tutelar hero of the equestrian art. In the *Odyssey*, amid a total difference of subject and locality, the epithet occurs but three times, and observe with what singular consistency: once as a title of the same Castor, once of Diomed, once of the "Gerenian horseman Nestor."

And here another delicate proof of unity presents itself, in the minor links of historical connexion between the poems. In the *Odyssey*, stress is laid on the fact that the dominions of Ulysses were unfavourable to the breeding or use of horses, and that the royal family had no taste for equestrian pursuits. On these grounds Telemachus¹ declines the present of a noble pair offered him by Menelaus; and, in the catalogue so proudly given by Eumæus of his royal master's wealth, no mention occurs of horses.² Most consistently therefore throughout each poem, is no title connected with horsemanship ever allotted to either an Ithacan or a Cephallenian hero. Ulysses, so greatly distinguished in the other athletic exercises at the funeral of Patroclus, takes no part in the chariot race; and from the details of his exploits in the field of battle, it appears that he invariably fought on foot. No allusion ever occurs to either chariot or charioteer of Ulysses.

From these passages it further results, that skill in the management of the horse was far from being so essential a military accomplishment in the heroic age of Greece as in that of modern Europe; and for obvious

¹ *Od.* iv. 605. sqq. Noëmon, an Ithacan merchant, keeps a small stock of mares on the plains of the "horse-breeding" Elis, but merely for the purpose of rearing mules. *Od.* iv. 635., xxi. 347.

² *Od.* xiv. 96. sqq.

reasons. Homer's heroes fought, not on horseback, but from their chariots, the use of which was rather locomotive than combative, affording comparatively little scope for the display of chivalrous prowess. The most distinguished warriors dismount for single combat, or during any more desperate conflict between the two lines. The duties of a cavalier were not so much those of the chiefs as of their charioteers, the value of whose services, and of the vehicle they directed, is more largely exemplified in retreat or flight than in successful assault on the enemy. The epithet *ἱπποδάμος* consequently, in its more general sense, far from implying the same high distinction as our term "chivalrous," indicates rather a fugitive skirmishing mode of warfare, as contrasted with the *σταδὴ ὑσμῖνη*, or "steady assault" of the man-at-arms. Its limitation consequently, as a national title, to the Trojans, and denial to the Greeks, is a virtual homage by the poet to the martial genius of his own countrymen at the expense of their rivals. The distinction is also pointedly enforced by the recurring line, in which the "chivalrous" character of the Trojan race is most prominently put forward :

Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,

and by other passages where the contrast is drawn in perhaps still less complimentary terms.

9. Homer's favourite species of illustrative imagery, his partiality for which has led him at times to accumulate it even to an excessive degree, is the simile. In this excess however there is method, exhibiting his usual tact in adapting his means to his object. It has already been remarked that the number of similes in a given portion of his narrative is, as a general rule, in the inverse ratio of that of the facts

Similes.

or occurrences. Where these are copious and varied the illustrations are comparatively limited; where the events are meagre or uniform, the figurative matter often constitutes a principal ingredient of the text. Hence the similes of the Iliad, as a consequence of the greater simplicity of its action, are more numerous than those of the Odyssey. The same rule extends to the integral portions of each poem. The first book of the Iliad is remarkable above the rest for the number and diversity of its historical details: it contains accordingly not one simile, being the only book distinguished by this peculiarity. The same is the case, obviously from a similar cause, with the three opening cantos of the Odyssey. The battle pieces of the Iliad, on the other hand, where the action, however turbulent, is uniform even monotonous in its details, offer the greatest profusion of similes. This may also in part be owing to the exciting nature of the subject. In like manner, the portions of the Odyssey where they are most frequent are, the description of the battle in the twenty-second, and of the storm and shipwreck in the fifth book. In conformity with the same general law, the poet's similes are almost exclusively confined to the narrative or descriptive element of the two poems. The dialogue, as possessing its own peculiar sources of variety or embellishment, ought to be comparatively independent of such adventitious expedients. Set figures of speech are always of doubtful propriety in conversational intercourse, especially where it assumes a more impassioned tone. Those emotions, one is apt to reason, which admit of the mind wandering in search of tropes or metaphors can hardly be very deep or powerful. Homer accordingly, seldom in-

dulges in these embellishments on such occasions; and the few exceptions are as remarkable for their simplicity as for the easy propriety of their introduction.

The occasional redundancy of these figures, especially in the *Iliad*, while scarcely justifiable on strictly critical grounds, has yet rarely given serious offence to commentators. This may be owing to the beauty of the images themselves, to the evidence of genial inspiration which their very exuberance brings along with it, and to the sympathy with which their author's own enthusiasm for his subject inspires his readers. The sight of some sublime or terrible object, of armies in battle array, or the war of hostile elements, seems to transport him, almost against his better judgement, into a profusion of equally vivid illustrations.¹ In such cases he does not hesitate to borrow several figures in succession from the same class of natural phenomena; as if his mind, once powerfully arrested by the aptness of the parallel, had fondly dwelt on it until the aid it supplied was exhausted. Nor does he disdain to avail himself of the same simile, on a recurrence of matter which it was equally calculated to elucidate. Besides the many which are reproduced in substance under slight varieties of detail, several are repeated nearly word for word on separate occasions, and become, in so far, an element of his "commonplace."²

10. Burke has remarked, in treating of the ascendancy of the fancy over the judgement in primitive ages, that "the most ignorant and barbarous nations,

A remark
of Burke.

¹ Il. II. 455. sqq.; conf. 144. sqq.

² Il. XI. 548., XVII. 657.; XII. 167., XVI. 259.; XI. 155., XX. 490.; VI. 506., XV. 263.

in proportion as they are backward in sorting their ideas, have excelled in similitudes, metaphors, and allegories." This rule he illustrates by the case of Homer, who, he observes, "while often striking out similitudes truly admirable, seldom takes care to have them exact; he is taken with the general resemblance and paints it strongly, but takes no notice of the difference."¹

Although the general principle here inculcated may be correct, its application to the poet's case is evidently founded in great part on misunderstanding. The ascendancy of the imaginative over the discriminating faculty may explain an excess of illustrative matter in the *Iliad*: but it may be questioned whether any such cause could have the effect of deadening Homer's power of appreciating that just amount of resemblance in objects, which is essential to the propriety of a poetical similitude. It is not so much in the aptitude of the parallel itself, as in the precision with which it is drawn, that the superior "exactness" of the more intellectual stage of art displays itself. Burke's doctrine therefore may be in so far just, that while the main scope of Homer, in his similes, is to delight the fancy by a variety of elegant images, that of the modern poet is often rather to gratify the understanding of his readers by studied and elaborate parallels. The real question however, in any such case, is not so much whether the simile be exact, as whether it be happy and effective. No such figure can, strictly speaking, be exact. A poetical simile may be defined, the illustration of one object with which the reader is assumed to be less familiar, by a comparison with some other of which he is supposed

¹ Essay on the Subl. p. 19. ed. 1776.

to have a better knowledge. This definition presupposes, together with the resemblance affording the illustration, a difference in other respects. But it is to the resemblance alone that the comparison applies: nor is it easy to see with what propriety a poet of any age, in painting that resemblance strongly, could, as Burke expresses it, "take notice of the difference." Where, to take a familiar example, the poet, wishing to magnify the extraordinary courage or strength of a hero, likens him, when rushing on the hostile ranks, to a lion rushing on a herd of oxen, the figure is both appropriate and exact in respect of the matter to be exemplified, the fury of the assault, and the superiority of the assailant to his adversaries. Still however there is, both in the mode of attack and in the nature of the assailant, a great preponderance of difference over resemblance. But Homer was certainly quite as much alive to that difference as any poet of the most refined period of art would be in a similar case.

11. It is therefore not so much in the essential character of the similitude, as in the mode of stating it, that the liveliness of an imaginative or the precision of an intellectual age is here to be sought; and that liveliness displays itself in Homer in a peculiarity of his mode of working up his images, which constitutes certainly one of their greatest excellences: "the extension namely, or enlargement of the ornamental element of the comparison, beyond the limits of the comparison itself." It is this elegant feature, there can be little doubt, which Burke himself had really in view, in his allusion to the poet's want of exactness. For its better understanding it will be proper, before subjoining examples, to advert to one

Homer's
parenthetical
enlarge-
ment of his
similes.

or two general principles of some importance as bearing on this whole branch of poetical embellishment.

There are two main purposes for which similes may be introduced: first, that of illustrating the mode, secondly, that of marking the degree, in which an action or object is exhibited. In the latter case any close correspondence between the two members of the parallel is the less to be expected. The figure here in fact often becomes rather a poetical hyperbole than a comparison; and a very large difference is not only consistent with, but in some degree essential to, the propriety of the illustration. The danger lies not so much in a want of resemblance, as in exaggeration. When, for example, Achilles sweeping the flying enemy before him is compared to a fire ravaging a forest, the figure is purely hyperbolical. Still however it is appropriate, as enhancing the irresistible ardour of the hero, and the rapidity of his destructive power; nor surely was Homer less sensible of the difference than any modern reader. A large proportion of the poet's similes are of this description, especially in his battles. In such cases where the actual resemblance is so slight, the species of Homeric enlargement here under consideration is less observable than in similes of a more strictly apposite class, where the mode rather than the degree is to be illustrated. In regard to these a further distinction must be drawn, between such circumstantial details as are incidental and such as are essential to the comparison. When, for example, a hero struggling single-handed against a crowd of enemies is compared to a lion keeping at bay a pack of dogs, had the poet said, as the lion fights with paws and teeth, so the hero combats with sword

and shield, the impropriety would be obvious; because the circumstances which extend beyond the similitude are so linked with those that contain it, as to seem to be put forward as essential parts of it. But if, in restricting the immediate point of the comparison to the valour of each combatant, the poet were to enlarge separately, or by parenthesis, on the mode or place in which the valour of the lion was displayed, with the object merely of enriching his description, the result would be different. The following examples from each poem will place the matter in a clearer light.

II. XIII. 471.

ἀλλ' ἔμεν', ὡς ὅτε τις σῦς οὔρεσιν ἀλκι πεποιθώς·
 ὅστε μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολὺν ἀνδρῶν
 [χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, φρίσσει δέ τε νῶτον ὑπερθεν·
 ὀφθαλμὰ δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον· αὐτὰρ ὀδόντας
 θήγει], ἀλέξασθαι μεμαῶς κύνας ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρας.
 ὡς μένεν Ἰδομενεύς . . .

Examples
from each
poem.

Here the comparison is complete in the two first and two last verses of the passage. The lonely spot, the bristling of the back, and whetting of the teeth, relate exclusively to the animal, and are foreign to the case of the hero.

II. II. 394.

ὡς ἔφατ'· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ὡς ὅτε κύμα
 ἀκτῇ ἔφ' ὑψηλῇ, ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών,
 προβλήτι σκοπέλῳ· [τὸν δ' οὔποτε κύματα λείπει,
 παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ' ἂν ἐνθ' ἡ ἔνθα γέωνται].

Here the substance of the simile ends with the likening of the shout to the roaring of the sea. The parenthetic description of the rock, while it greatly aug-

ments the beauty of the figure, adds nothing to its precision; the dashing of the waves being described as perpetual, while the shout of the Greeks was but of short duration.

Od. xxiii. 233.

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπάσιος γῇ νηχομένοισι φανήη,
 ὣν τε Ποσειδάων εὐεργέα νῆ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ
 ῥαίσῃ, ἐπειγομένην ἀνέμῳ καὶ κύματι πηγῶ·
 [παῦροι δ' ἐξέφυγον πολὺς ἀλὸς ἡπειρόνδε,
 νηχόμενοι, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ χροὶ τέτροφεν ἄλμυ·]
 ἀσπάσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης κακότητα φυγόντες·
 ὥς ἄρα τῇ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἰσορώσῃ.

The sad condition of the shipwrecked mariners, so graphically described, finds no analogy whatever in the case of Penelope.

Examples abound of this parenthetic extension of Homer's similes, in which the judicious critic will discover one of their most ornamental features. It imparts to them richness and variety, while it guards against the insipidity apt to result from a formal juxtaposition of closely parallel images. It also affords a field for the play of the poet's fancy, and for the introduction of many spirited traits of life and nature, exhibiting often in more concise and distinct forms than the ordinary descriptions of his text, the actual mode of his observation of men and things. In the simile of the shipwreck for example, the account of the few surviving mariners, emerging, drenched with sea water, from the breakers on the beach, seems wrung from him by his remembrance of a personal share in some such disaster.

Other characteristics of

12. Where the image selected offered more than one point of resemblance, this elegant license of extending

and varying the simile displays itself in another mode. Sometimes the analogy to which prominence had been assigned at the commencement gives place, in the sequel, to another of a different but equally appropriate character : XIII. 796.

Homer's
similes.

οἱ δ' ἴσαν ἀργαλείων ἀνέμων ἀτάλαντοι ἀέλλη,
ἧ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς εἴσι πέδονδε,
θεσπεσίῳ δ' ὁμάδῳ ἀλὶ μίσγεται· ἐν δέ τε πολλὰ
κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα, πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα·
ὥς Τρῶες, πρὸ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀρηρότες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι. . .

The figure here commences by likening the rushing of the host along the field of battle to that of a tempest across the sea. It concludes, by a graceful transition, with the equally appropriate comparison of the successive charges of the battalions to the reiterated dashing of the surf on the beach. Here again the anomaly, if such it be, is in the statement not the conception of the image.

Among the few similes of Homer chargeable with real impropriety, perhaps the most defective is that illustrative of the death of Patroclus by the hand of Hector : II. XVI. 823.

ὡς δ' ὅτε σὺν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβίησατο χάρμη,
ὦ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον, κ.τ.λ.

The parallel here fails completely. No combat whatever had taken place between the two heroes. Hector was not the conqueror, but merely the executioner, of Patroclus, who had already been wounded and disabled by Euphorbus. It must be matter of surprise, how a figure so palpably foreign to the sub-

ject could ever have suggested itself. Equally inappropriate and inconsequent is the comparison¹ of Hector marshalling his troops for the assault on the Greek rampart, to a wild beast encircled by a troop of dogs and huntsmen. In the *Odyssey*, the comparison of Penelope² circumvented by the wiles of the suitors, to a lion hemmed in by a host of pursuers, is also somewhat startling. A gentler victim of the hunter's snares were more appropriate. The otherwise strongly marked partiality of the poet for the lion as a source of figurative illustration, is nowhere certainly more broadly exemplified.

There is one class of similes of favourite employment in both poems, which still deserves a few words of special notice ; where the object is, not so much to enhance or adorn the subject of comparison, as to define more exactly its relative position or circumstances, in respect to distance, proximity, motion, dimension, or the like. Such definitions, in the page of other poets, rarely assume the form of a comparison ; with Homer they furnish matter for a number of a highly characteristic nature. In *Iliad* xvi. 589., for example, another poet would have been contented with saying that the Trojans retreated a spear-shot. Homer dramatises the comparison, as it were, by a parenthetical picture of the circumstances under which such a shot may take place :

ὄσση δ' αἰγανέης ριπή ταναοῖο τέτυκται,
 ἦν ῥά τ' ἀνὴρ ἀφείη, πειρώμενος, ἡ ἐν ἀέθλῳ,
 ἡ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δῆϊων ὕπο θυμοραϊστέων,
 τόσσον ἐχώρησαν Τρῶες. . . .

In the *Odyssey*, instead of simply describing Ulysses

¹ *Il.* xii. 41.

² *Od.* iv. 791.

as constructing his raft of the same width as the deck of an ordinary ferry-boat, he says : Od. v. 249.

ὅσπον τίς τ' ἔδαφος νηὸς τορνῶσεται ἀνὴρ,
φορτίδος εὐρείης, εὖ εἰδῶς τεκτοσυνάων,
τόσπον ἔπ' εὐρεῖαν σχεδίην ποιήσας Ὀδυσσεύς.

Similar is his mode of treating the parallel ideas of a stone's throw, a plough-gate, a quoit-shot, and many others. The likeness is almost always embodied as a small descriptive picture, or poetical hieroglyphic. Some of these figures are of surprising elegance and ingenuity.¹

The intimate connexion of much of Homer's imagery with his native climate and manners renders it difficult, in some cases perhaps impossible, for the modern, the foreign, and still more the Northern student of his poems, thoroughly to apprehend its spirit. The classical traveller in Greece or Southern Italy must have experienced, in frequent instances, how greatly a familiarity with the topography or social habits of those countries, under every change of times and circumstances, has helped to convey to his mind the force of figurative allusions which he had never before understood or appreciated. This remark applies to many of the more spirited of Homer's comparisons cited in these pages. Such is that of the meteor which crowned the head of Achilles, to the beacon-fire of war on the distant island ; of the fluctuations in the breast of Nestor, to the swell of the sea in a calm ; of the damsels at the loom, to aspen leaves ; of the fall of a well-plumed hero, to that of a bushy-topped poplar ; of the Trojan

¹ Conf. Il. III. 10., IV. 130., V. 770., XV. 410., XXIII. 431. 760. 845. ; Od. v. 249., VIII. 124.

elders on the city wall, to the wood crickets chirping their summer song on the trees. The habits of rustic and pastoral life still prevalent in Greece supply other curious commentaries on Homer's imagery; to enlarge upon which, however amusing or instructive, would be an undue encroachment on the just limits of the present subject.¹

Syntactic
and me-
trical ele-
ments of
Homer's
style.

13. The properties of Homer's style which it yet remains to consider, belong rather to the form than the essence of his poetry, to that mechanism of language and expression in which the merit of all poetical composition, apart from its intrinsic ethic, or imaginative properties, must always greatly consist.

The first and simplest element of good writing is Perspicuity, comprising a just distribution of the entire subject, a lucid exposition of its parts, equally free from dryness or diffuseness, and a clear method of syntactical construction. In these respects the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are unsurpassed, if not unrivalled, by any other work of their class. In no other narrative of the same length or variety of matter is the general thread of the adventures more easily followed; nor can there be a better evidence of harmony in the subordinate links of the chain of connexion, than the fact that Homer, amid all his maze of dialectical peculiarity, is to the young Hellenist the easiest of Greek poets.

Much here depends on the poet's skilful employment of the metrical resources of his art. Epic poetry, in the wider sense, is the art of amplifying and embellishing certain elementary materials

¹ Conf. the author's *Journal of a Tour in Greece, &c.*, vol. i. p. 64. sqq., 69. 83. 94. sqq., 232.; vol. ii. p. 17. sqq., 129. sqq., 261. 299.

of historical fact or popular fable, with the graces of diction and imagery. The term comprises consequently, in this sense, many works not classed in more familiar usage under the same head. Such are various portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, the erotic tales of lower Greek literature, and other similar prose fictions of modern times. With most nations however, it has been customary to embody such compositions in a metrical form, partly from a desire to combine elegance of conception with harmony of sound, partly as an aid to the memory. Metre has thus become an essential ingredient of poetical style, and to metrical works alone, in familiar language, has the title of poem been restricted.

The various kinds of measure employed by epic poets of different ages, may be classed under two general heads: first, those which consist of a uniform succession of single verses of similar form and numbers; secondly, those which offer a variety of verses, distributed into clauses or periods recurring in a like regular succession. The former class may be exemplified by the Greek hexameter, and the blank verse of modern poetry. To the other class belong the Greek elegiac or pentameter verse, which though originally proper to other branches of composition, was also, in later times, frequently used in narrative works. But the finer models of this kind are supplied by modern Italian literature, the *terza rima* of Dante, and the octave stanza of Ariosto and Tasso, which last has acquired an extensive popularity with English and German poets. The measures of the former class, while much the noblest, are also those in which it is most difficult to excel. An unbroken succession of single lines, of the same

length and character, is essentially monotonous. It hence requires, in order to secure the degree of variety indispensable to the charm of all composition, a full command of other resources to be noticed in the sequel, which are only at the disposal of the great epic masters. In the hands of inferior artists the hexameter consequently becomes, like its counterpart the blank verse of the present day, languid and spiritless.

The metres of the second class, on the other hand, while affording to the second-rate poet a factitious mode of enlivening his productions, shackle in a proportional degree the higher efforts of genius. The spirit of every narrative depends greatly on its being distributed into appropriate clauses or paragraphs, involving, from time to time, a pause or rest between the conclusion of one head of the subject and the commencement of another. What such paragraphs are in prose, the stanza is, or rather ought to be, in metrical composition, a pause or rest in the delivery corresponding to one in the subject. It were an obvious absurdity in a prose writer, to subdivide his discourse by a pause before he had arrived at the close of the matter in hand, reserving the words or sentences required to complete it for the commencement of the next paragraph. The case, if not precisely the same, is closely analogous with the poetical paragraph or stanza. Hence, authors who adopt that measure study, as a general rule, that the sense should run on without serious interruption through each stanza, and be brought to a more or less decided rest at its close. But as it is impossible that the subordinate heads of an extensive subject should all spontaneously adapt themselves to any such artificial

clauses, this coincidence can only be obtained by cramping the free course of the narrative. Where on the other hand the poet is obliged, by the necessities of his subject, to carry on the connexion of the text from the end of one stanza to the beginning of another, we cannot but be sensible of a serious incongruity between arrangement and sense; although one to which habit may, as to other defects, in some degree reconcile us.

It is plain therefore, without detracting from the real excellence of the great writers by whom this species of measure has been preferred, that it owes its origin to the efforts of an inferior order of genius to impart adventitious liveliness to a poetical text, and evade the monotony resulting from an unskilful use of the simpler mechanism of the antient masters. These remarks apply still more pointedly to that other expedient of modern poetry, rhyme, the habitual accompaniment of the modern epic stanza; in its origin the resource of a barbarous age, but similarly ennobled by the practice of many excellent poets. Rhyme in the modern sense was unknown to the Greeks, although, as will presently appear, they were not insensible to the effect of a recurrence of unison terminations in poetry.

14. The origin of the hexameter verse, the earliest and noblest monument of Greek metrical invention, is lost in the mists of antiquity. To Homer however may safely be awarded the honour of having carried it to perfection. Its limits are a just medium between the undue extension which produces languor, and the opposite extreme of brevity which tends to cramp the freedom of a continuous text. While its facility of combination into masses offers every scope

Hexameter
verse.

for prolongation of the textual clauses, its varieties of cæsure supply equal facilities for subdivision and conciseness of expression. The free alternation of dactyl and spondee, while admitting in each verse every modification of which the dactylic metre is capable, imparts also to different verses, or parts of verses, as occasion may require, the varied character of the anapæstic, choraïc, and indeed almost every other variety of measure. Of these expedients Homer has availed himself with his usual tact. No conceivable arrangement of words could produce a more vivid expression of rapidity, ardour, impetuosity, than the succession of his dactylic feet; of tardiness and laborious effort, than the long-drawn continuity of his spondees; of alternate energy and languor, activity and repose, than the skilful combination of the two; or of suddenness, abruptness, hesitation, than the apt disposition of his cæsures. With Homer therefore, the hexameter verse not only does not interfere with the just amount of individuality in the separate heads of his narrative, but may even tend to give him an advantage in this respect over the prose writer, by the additional means it supplies of rounding off the subdivisions of the text, and allotting to each its own characteristic flow of numbers.

The value of these combined properties of the hexameter verse, in imparting emphasis and precision to the more strictly dramatic element of the poems, to the turns of the grave debate, the fierce altercation, or the familiar dialogue, is too obvious to require any specific illustration. In the purely narrative department of the text, the same effects may be exemplified, among other passages of the *Iliad*, by the description of the shield of Achilles. This brilliant

episode subdivides itself, in the natural order of its materials, into separate sections or heads, each comprising a new picture of life and manners. But the spirit and individuality of those pictures are greatly due to the metrical arrangement, aided by the usual recurrence, under slight varieties, of expressive epic forms. The whole series thus partakes somewhat of the symmetry, free from the formality, of a choric ode. Its clauses offer, as it were, a succession of strophes, of which the introductory and closing paragraphs are the proœmium and epode. In the *Odyssey*, the *Necromancy of Ulysses* is, in its essential features, closely parallel. The descriptions of the successive objects of wonder or terror presented to the view of the Tartarian voyager, are subdivided and rounded off with the same distinctive propriety of expression and numbers, and the same recurrence of emphatic forms. The several stages and vicissitudes of the hero's terrestrial voyage, are similarly marked out and distinguished by this ingenious exercise of poetical rhetoric.

15. Homer's faculty of adapting, not only the measure, but the sound of his language, to the idea to be expressed, is a characteristic of his Muse to which attention has frequently been called in the course of this analysis. It is one, the closer consideration of which connects itself naturally with that of the mechanical aids on which it so mainly depends; among which, unquestionably, the most important are those above noticed as inherent in the genius of the hexameter verse.

Adaptation
of sound to
sense in the
choice of
phrases,

The most familiar modes in which this faculty may be exercised, are those classed under the technical head of onomatopœia, where certain words convey,

by the smoothness or harshness, languor or liveliness, of their sound, a corresponding impression of the object they denote. By a more extended application of the same means, whole sentences or paragraphs may be invested with a like power of reflecting the character, not merely of individual objects, but of events, scenery, or moods of mind. Among the examples of the latter more rare and delicate exercise of this species of poetical mechanism, may be cited the contrast between the exordium of the narrative of Ulysses in the banquetting-hall of Alcinoüs, and that with which the old peasant Eumæus introduces a similar tale, addressed to the disguised hero on the night of his arrival at the hut. In the former, how finely do the smooth flow and elegant amplitude of construction and measure, harmonise with the festive pomp of the royal board, and the character of the guests who sat around it: Od. ix. 2.

Ἀλκίνοε κρείον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,
 ἦτοι μὲν τόδε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἐστὶν αἰδοῦ,
 τοιοῦδ', οἷος ὅδ' ἐστὶ, θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος αὐδῆν.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι,
 ἢ ὅτ' ἂν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κάτα δῆμον ἅπαντα,
 δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται αἰδοῦ. . .

In the other passage, every word and sentence breathes the homely placidity of the fireside dialogue, in the still seclusion of the landward cottage: Od. xv.

390.

Ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ ἄρ' δὴ ταῦτά μ' ἀνείρεαι ἥδ' ἐ μεταλλάξ,
 σιγῇ νῦν ξυνίει καὶ τέρπεο· πῖνέ τε οἶνον
 ἤμενος· αἶδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὐδειν,
 ἔστι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀκούειν· οὐδέ τί σε χρή,
 πρὶν ὥρῃ καταλέχθαι· ἀνίη καὶ πολὺς ὕπνος. . .

A striking illustration of the effect of letters and syllables in enhancing the idea of scorn and contempt, has already been cited from the Iliad, where Achilles compares the dependance of Atrides on his services, to that of the unfledged nestling on the nurseful care of the parent bird: II. IX. 323.

αῖς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσι
μάστακ' ἐπεὶ κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἷ πέλει αὐτῇ.

The reiteration of low sibilant sounds here adapts itself with singular effect to the spirit of the figure.¹

It were difficult for any words more forcibly to express the fierce collision and determined conflict of hostile bands, than the following two noble lines from the "Shield of Achilles,"

στυγόμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας,
βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχεῖσιν.

repeated under appropriate modification in Od. IX. 64. Nor could the "rushing of the rapid river over its reedy bed," be better brought home to the ear than in the neighbouring verse: 676.

παρ ποταμὸν κελάδοντα, παρὰ ῥοδανὸν δονακῆα. . . .

The bustle of a galley getting under weigh and issuing from port, is painted rather than described in the familiar passage of the Odyssey:

οἱ δ' αἶψ' εἰσβαίνον, καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι κάθιζον,
ἐξῆς δ' ἐζόμενοι πολὺν ἄλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς.

Some of the texts adduced by the antients in illustration of this peculiarity are almost too trite for citation. Such is the line,

βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

¹ Conf. II. v. 778.

contrasting the silent indignation of the old priest with the boisterous roaring of the surge. The whole series of passages quoted in a former page from the poet's maritime descriptions, is little else than a running commentary on our present text. In the account of the giants' attempt to scale heaven by heaping mountains one upon the other, *Od. xi. 315.*

Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὅσση,
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

the tardy swell of the first line, succeeded by the impetuous flow of the second, expresses, with equal effect, the laborious effort and the reckless audacity of the rebellious project. Similar is the contrast, in the account of the punishment of Sisyphus, between the painful exertion of the sufferer slowly toiling up the hill with his burthen, and the rapidity of its headlong career backwards from the summit to the bottom : *Od. xi. 594.*

ἦτοι ὁ μὲν, σκηριπτόμενος χερσὶν τε ποσίν τε,
λαῶν ἄνω ὥθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον· ἀλλ' ὅτε μέλλοι,
ἄκρον ὑπερβαλέειν, τοτ' ἀποστρέψασκε κραταίῃς·
αὐτίς ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λαῶς ἀναιδής.¹

The initial phrase of the last line, slightly varied into αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα, as the opening of a pure dactylic verse, is in both poems a favourite mode of expressing sudden and energetic motion :

II. xx. 138.

εἰ δέ κ' Ἀρης ἄρχωσι μάχης, ἦ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, . . .
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἄμμι παρ' αὐτόφιν νεῖκος ὀρεῖται.

Conf. II. xiii. 139. :

ρήξας ἀσπέτῳ ὑμῖν ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης . . .

Od. xi. 636.

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ νῆα κίων ἐκέλευσεν ἑταίρους. . . .

Il. xix. 242.

αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ἄμα μῦθος ἔην τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον.

The idea of succession, repetition, vicissitude, is represented in the same lively manner, in a number of passages, by the adverb ἄλλοτε; as in the description of the alternate life and death of the twin heroes, Castor and Pollux : Od. xi. 302.

ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθνᾶσιν, τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασ' ἴσα θεοῖσι.

and the busy motion of the self-acting bellows in the forge of Vulcan : Il. xviii. 473.

ἄλλοτε μὲν σπεύδοντι παρέμμεναι ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε,
ὅπως Ἥφαιστός τ' ἐθέλοι καὶ ἔργον ἄνοιτο.

or the rushing to and fro of Hector on the battle field : Il. xviii. 159.

ἄλλοτ' ἐπαΐξασκε κατὰ μόθον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε,
στάσκει μέγα ἰάχων

and the alternate ebb and flow of grief in the breast of Menelaus : Od. iv. 102.

ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
παύομαι. . . .

These passages, the list of which might be infinitely extended¹, are those characterised by Aristotle² as "living phrases," or "phrases of motion."

16. The nice association between sound and sense in the mind of Homer, is further exemplified in his

in the position of phrases.

¹ Those here selected are chiefly such as illustrate the identity of usage in the two poems.

² ἐμφύχους λέξεις· κινούμενα ὀνόματα. Schol. Venet. ad Il. i. 303. 481.

mode of enhancing the power of certain expressive words by the place allotted them in the verse. The positions most favourable to this object are the beginning and end of a line. In the beginning, terms of a lively emphatic character, at the close those of a more languid or placid description, are adapted respectively to produce their full effect. Of the former class the term βάλλω may here be taken as an example. The sound of this word, in its simple bisyllabic form, is singularly adapted to its primary signification, "smite," or "strike." Accordingly, on the numerous occasions of its occurrence in this emphatic form and sense, it is placed, with scarcely an exception, if indeed one can be found, at the commencement of the line. The two following passages, one from each poem, are as remarkable for the illustration they afford of this rule, as for their parallel with each other. In the first act of the Iliad, the wrathful Apollo,

βέλος ἔχευε κῆρ ἐφ' ἑστέρας,
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυρὰ νευύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

where the emphasis is greatly augmented by the pause which succeeds. Compare the account of the fleet of Ulysses destroyed by the Læstrygonians : Od. x. 121.

ἀνδραχθῆσι χερμαδίοισι
βάλλον· ἄφαρ δὲ κακὸς κόναβος κατὰ νῆας ὀρώρει.

The verb κόπτω, of cognate sense and power, is also habitually, if not invariably, assigned the same post of honour, and, in the description of the butchery of the Ithacan sailors by Polyphemus, is supported by the same emphatic pause : Od. ix. 289.

ὥστε σκύλακας ποτὶ γαίῃ
κόπτ'· ἐκ δ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέει

Similar is the case with *πλήγω*, and the imperatives *ἔρρε*, *ἔρρέτω*, *ἔρδ'*, *ἔρξον*. The reproachful epithet *σχέτλιος*, usually employed with vocative power, occurs thirty-three times at the beginning of the line, with scarcely an exception in favour of any other position.

On the other hand, it can hardly be the result of mere accident, that various words expressive of repose, unconcern, and the like, should with equal constancy be placed at the close of the verse. The adjective *ἔκηλος*, for example, out of nineteen times that it occurs in either poem, is found no less than seventeen in this position. In ten out of these seventeen it is also preceded, especially where it takes a contemptuous turn, by a particle of kindred tone, as in the scornful anathema of Achilles against Agamemnon : Il. ix. 376.

ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
ἔρρέτω ! ἐκ γὰρ εὖ φρένας εἴλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.

and in the injunction of the insolent Antinoüs to the disguised Ulysses : Od. xxi. 309.

ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
πῖνέ τε· μὴδ' ἐρίδαινε μετ' ἀνδράσι κουροτέροισι.

The verb *πειρητίζειν*, above illustrated, invariably occurs at the close of the verse; the position most favourable to the idea of doubt or hesitation which it expresses.

In this, as in other features of genuine Homeric style, the harmony of spirit and method which pervades the two poems finds no correspondence in the other primitive representatives of the epic minstrelsy. Even where the phrases employed are not altogether peculiar to the Iliad and Odyssey, yet the mode of

their employment is so exclusively so, as the more convincingly to prove both the sameness and the singleness of genius in the two poems.

Alliteration
and Rhyme
in Homer.

17. It yet remains to consider a peculiarity of verbal mechanism in Homer's style, which may be classed in its several varieties under the technical term of Alliteration. It will here be necessary to enter at greater detail than were otherwise desirable, on a somewhat technical head of metrical analysis, owing to its having received less attention on the part of professional critics than its real curiosity and importance deserve.

The term Alliteration, in the wider sense, comprehends every correspondence in sound between the letters or syllables of words, either contiguous, or so little remote from each other, that the sameness strikes forcibly on the ear.¹ In the nicer definition of the schools however, the phrase is usually restricted to such coincidences between initial and medial letters or syllables. The same correspondence of sound in the endings of words, whether at the close of neighbouring verses or of rhythmical clauses of the same verse, falls under the more familiar denomination of Rhyme, or, in the technical language of Greek cri-

¹ Another figure of speech, occasionally though improperly comprised under the general head of Alliteration, is that known by the technical name of Epanalepsis, or the emphatic reiteration of certain more prominent phrases of a sentence, for example :

Il. xxiii. 641. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν δίδυμοι· ὁ μὲν ἔμπεδον ἠνιόχευεν,
ἔμπεδον ἠνιόχευ', ὁ δ' ἄρα μάστιγι κέλευεν.

Od. i. 22. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίωπας μετεκίθε τεγλόθ' ἰόντας,
Αἰθίωπας, τοὶ δὲ δίχθ' ἀδεδαίεσται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν.

This, however, is a rhetorical expedient common to writers in prose and verse of every age, and which here demands no separate share of attention, as being neither employed by Homer to such an extent, nor with any such peculiarity of method, as to constitute a distinctive feature of his style.

ticism, "homœoteleutic metre." Avoiding this latter scholastic definition, we shall here consider the two classes under the titles of Simple Alliteration, and Terminal Alliteration, or Rhyme.

The examples of Simple Alliteration in Homer and in Greek composition generally, are rare. With the poet, the greater part of the few that occur may be said to affect the sense as much as the sound, and hence rank more properly under the head of etymological pun, or play of words, already illustrated. Such are *νηήσας εὖ νῆας, πῆλαι Πηλιάδα μελίην*, and other similar cases formerly cited. It seems doubtful whether Homer has ever resorted to this expedient¹ for the purpose of adding, through the medium of sound alone, an emphatic quaintness to his text. The phrases: *πόλεμον πολεμίζειν, βουλὰς βουλεύειν, ἐμάχοντο μάχην*, and others similar, can hardly be taken into account, as suggested, in the few instances in which they occur, by the ordinary flow of epic language.

Far more prevalent in Homer is the Terminal class of Alliteration, or Rhyme. Although this mode of imparting harmony to metrical composition, was never countenanced in classical Greek poetry on the systematic principle of the present day, there is reason to believe that the Greek ear was not insensible to its effect. How far this may have been the case with Homer or his audience, is a question of great nicety. That rhyming verses or cæsures are numerous, almost innumerable in both poems, is a fact which

¹ With Latin poets of all ages, especially the early comedians, it was very popular. Perhaps the nearest approach to pure alliteration in Homer is in *Od. xi. 613. sq.*

*μη τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιο,
ὅς κ' αὖτον τελαμώνει ἐγ' ἐγκάτθετο τέχνη.*

must be familiar to every more careful student of their text. That such passages were, however, intended by Homer to produce the effect of rhyme in the modern sense, is by no means clear. The grammatical flexions of the Greek tongue, especially of its epic dialect, in their infinite variety of forms and metrical cadences, to which no modern language offers the remotest parallel, so inevitably involved coincidences of this nature¹, that it might have been detrimental to the native simplicity of the poet's style, had he attempted, in every case, studiously to file down or eject them. It is however no less certain, that they occur in such number and in such palpable forms, that had there been on his own part, or that of his audience, the same consciousness of sameness or tautology as the modern reader experiences in similar cases, it were hardly conceivable that they would have been allowed to remain; easy as it would have been, in many instances, to evade them by a slight modification of the text.² It may be presumed therefore, either that Homer took at times pleasure in such reiterations, and hence if he did not intentionally introduce them, was satisfied to leave them where they spontaneously occurred, as adding emphasis or harmony to his verse; or that he was altogether unconscious of, or indifferent to, their rhyming effect. In order properly to judge between these two modes of explanation, it will be necessary to adduce a few examples out of the numbers supplied by the text of each poem. The forms here subjoined

¹ Such are, to cite a few more prominent examples: in the flexion of nouns, the endings *αι, αων, οιο, οισι, αισι, εσσι, ουσι*, &c.; in the conjugation of verbs, *ουσι, οντο, εσθε, ησι, ηκε*, &c. Hence a great preponderance of the cases of rhyming alliteration in both poems are of this nature.

² In II. XVIII. 46., for example, where the transposition of *ἰδνασσα* and *ἰδνασσα*, in contiguous lines, would have sufficed.

are such where the homophone sound is in the endings of contiguous verses :

II. II. 87.

ἥν τε ἔθνεα εἴσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων.

Od. v. 113.

οὐ γάρ οἱ τῇδ' αἴσα φίλων ἀπονόσφιν ὀλέσθαι,
ἀλλ' ἔτι οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι.

II. VIII. 18.

εἰ δ' ἄγε, πειρήσασθε θεοί, ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες,
σειρήν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες.

Od. ix. 185.

ὑψηλὴ δέδμητο κατὰ ρυχέεσσι λίθοισι,
μακρῆσιν τε πίτυσσιν, ἰδὲ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισι.

II. ix. 236.

Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων
ἀστράπτει· Ἐκτωρ δὲ μέγα σθένει βλεμμαίνων.

Od. ix. 481.

ἦκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλιοι,
καὶ δ' ἔβαλε προπάροιθε νεὸς κυανοπρώροιο.

In the following, the concurrence is in the metrical clauses of the same verse :

II. II. 800.

λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν εἰκοῖτες ἢ ψαμάθοισιν.

Od. II. 340.

ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο παλαιοῦ ἡδυπότοιο.

II. VI. 424.

βουσὶν ἐπ' εἰλιπόδεσσι, καὶ ἀργεννῆς ὄϊεσσι.

Od. XI. 357.

πομπὴν τ' ὀτρύνετε, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῖτε.

In all these cases, with a multitude that might be added, the coincidence of sounds falls upon the ear with the same effect as the rhyme of modern poetry.

Judging from them alone therefore, it might be reasonably conjectured that the poet had suffered them in his text from some similar sense of their harmonious cadence, rather than from accident or indifference. There are however two other kinds of reiteration of a less agreeable character: first, where the same rhymes are accumulated to an excessive degree; secondly, where they consist in a repetition of the same word. Both these cases involve, to modern ears, an offensive tautology. The examples of the former kind are comparatively rare; those of the latter are of frequent occurrence. Subjoined are specimens of each:

Od. vi. 63.

οἱ δὲ ὀψύοντες, τρεῖς δ' ἡῖθεοι θαλέθοντες,
οἱ δ' αἰεὶ ἐθέλουσι νέεσθαι εἴματ' ἔχοντες.

Il. xiv. 9.

ὥς εἰπὼν, σάκος εἶλε τετυγμένον υἱὸς ἐοῖο,
κείμενον ἐν κλισίῃ, Θρασυμήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο,
χαλκῷ παμφαῖνον· ὃ δ' ἔχ' ἀσπίδα πατρὸς ἐοῖο.

Il. xxi. 523.

ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο θεῶν δέ ἐ μῆνις ἀνῆκε·
πᾶσι δ' ἔθηκε πόνον, πολλοῖσι δὲ κῆδε' ἐφῆκεν·
ὥς Ἀχιλεὺς Τρώεσσι πόνον καὶ κῆδε' ἔθηκεν.

Od. iii. 12.

ἐκ δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος νηὸς βαῖν', ἦρχε δ' Ἀθήνη·
τὸν προτέρη προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Il. iv. 250.

ὥς ὅγε κοιρανέων ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν,
ῖλθε δ' ἐπὶ Κρήτεσσι κίων ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν. . .

Od. iii. 127.

οὔτε ποτ' εἰν ἀγορῇ δίχ' ἐβάζομεν, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ,
ἀλλ' ἓνα θυμὸν ἔχοντε νόῳ καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ.

II. XVIII. 500.

δήμῳ πιφαύσκων · ὁ δ' ἀναίνετο, μῆδ' ἐλίσσθαι.
 ἄμφω δ' ἰέσθην ἐπὶ Ἰστορί πεῖραρ ἐλίσσθαι.

That such repetitions could possess any actual merit in the poet's estimation, can hardly be supposed. Still less likely is it that, had they been as repugnant to his own as to modern taste, he would have put up with them in so many cases where they might easily have been obviated. The more natural conclusion must be, that his ear was not so susceptible as our own of the monotonous rhyming effect. It may, perhaps, seem strange to impute to Homer a less delicate sense of poetical harmony than is enjoyed by the modern reader. In the present case however, such more scrupulous nicety in the latter may be a consequence of that habituation to rhyme, as the established rule in the more popular branches of his native poetry, which naturally renders him more alive to the recurrence of rhyming verses, as a solœcism in prose or in blank measure. To Homer, on the other hand, who knew nothing of rhyme as a system, the occasional recurrence of rhyming verses or clauses, might not be more offensive than other incidental cases of repetition in sound or words, unavoidable in the general structure of his language. That he would have placed, not only the same sound but the very same word, in the ending of contiguous verses, had he been conscious of any thing displeasing in the arrangement, is scarcely credible. If, however, he be assumed to have been comparatively unconscious or indifferent in these more glaring cases, the same conclusion becomes imperative in regard to the others. It is probable therefore, that these rhyming forms were

in no case either intentionally introduced, or perhaps observed by him at all, unless in so far as they may have served, in occasional instances, to enhance the expressive power of his language. That such, apart from musical cadence, is their tendency in many cases, there can be no doubt; as, for example, in the simile of the bird and her nestlings, formerly quoted from the speech of Achilles, where it is not the rhyme, but the recurrence of certain sibilant sounds, which makes up the scornful expression of the passage: but in the great majority of cases, no such explanation is admissible.

This peculiarity, it may be observed, is common, under essentially the same features, and probably with as little consciousness of the rhythmical anomaly which strikes the modern ear, to the inferior productions of the primitive Epic Muse, to the *Works and Days*, *Theogony*, *Shield of Hercules*, and to the secondary poems of the Homeric school.

CHAP. XV.

HOMER. DOCTRINE OF THE "CHORIZONTES," OR SEPARATISTS.

1. HISTORICAL DATA. OPINIONS OF THE LEADING ANTIEN CRITICS.—2. HOW DISPOSED OF IN THE MODERN SCHOOLS.—3. INTERNAL DATA. GENERAL RULES FOR ESTIMATING THEIR VALUE. FALLACIOUS MODERN THEORY OF A "COMMON EPIC GENIUS."—4. VARIETY OF CHARACTER IN THE TWO POEMS HOW FAR TRACEABLE TO DIFFERENCE OF SUBJECT.—5. HOW FAR TO DIFFERENCE OF TIME OR PLACE OF COMPOSITION.—6. IMPUTED DISCORDANCES OF FACT. PAYNE KNIGHT.—7. ANALYSIS AND ADJUSTMENT OF HOMER'S CYCLE OF TROIC ADVENTURE.—8. HARMONY OF HISTORICAL ALLUSION IN THE TWO POEMS, AS COMPARED WITH OTHER ORGANS OF TROIC LEGEND.—9. IMPUTED DISCORDANCE OF MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE. MORALITY AND RELIGION OF THE ILLAD.—10. MORALITY AND RELIGION OF THE ODYSSEY.—11. INCIDENTAL POINTS OF CONFORMITY AND DISCREPANCY. WAR IN HEAVEN.—12. PREDESTINATION AND FREE-WILL. DECEITFUL OMENS. LAW OF HOSPITALITY.—13. GENERAL STATE OF SOCIETY IN THE TWO POEMS.—14. PHILOLOGICAL DATA.

1. THE question, whether the Iliad and Odyssey are by the same or different authors, must proceed upon an understanding that each in its substantial integrity is by a single one. The result of the foregoing researches will, it is hoped, authorise that conclusion. A portion, however, of the evidence in its favour still remains involved in the present inquiry. It is obvious that the distinctive peculiarities of the two works, to which by Separatist critics so much weight has been attached, are, in themselves, a proof and a virtual admission of unity at least in each poem. On the other hand, it need scarcely be remarked that a large, perhaps the largest portion of the internal evidence affecting the Separatist theory itself, has already been anticipated, especially in the three previous chapters on Homer's style, and must here consequently be taken into account.

Historical data ; opinions of the antiien critics.

The evidence on either side subdivides itself here, as in the general question concerning the origin of the poems, under the two heads of Historical and Internal. The historical evidence in favour of the antient opinion consists in the uninterrupted course of early tradition, the deliberate verdict of the best native critics, and the all but unanimous acquiescence of the Greek literary public of every period. The opposite opinion, if it cannot be said to have originated, must be admitted to have first acquired importance, in our own age. A concise summary of the general bearings of this strictly historical element of the question was given in a previous chapter. It was there shown that from a remote epoch, a number of heroic poems marked by a certain similarity of character were vulgarly ascribed to Homer; but that in the progress of the critical art this privilege was restricted to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Herodotus¹ questions or denies the claims of the *Epigoni* and *Cypria*, two of the most celebrated among the secondary aspirants to the honour. Passing over less weighty authorities, Aristotle² sets apart the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, not only as the exclusive productions of Homer, but as exclusively and jointly marked by those proper features of Homeric style in illustration of which he appeals to their text. He also, for the purpose of more broadly distinguishing them, contrasts the deficiencies of those the pretensions of which he sets aside.³ No other opinion seems to have found place prior to the second or third generation of Alexandrian commentators. Of Xenon, the first recorded proposer of the new doctrine, nothing

¹ IV. xxxii., II. cxvii.² De art. poet. passim.³ Ibid. xxiv. alibi.

is known beyond the fact of this priority.¹ With his name, in one of the notices concerning him, is coupled in the capacity of disciple or follower that of Hellanicus², a second-rate grammarian of the age of Aristarchus. No other Separatist critic is mentioned by name. Aristarchus however, the chief of the Alexandrian school, appears to have thought the doctrine worthy of special confutation in a treatise "against the Paradox of Xenon."³ Whether from his condemnation of that paradox, or from its own little popularity, it seems henceforth to have been consigned to neglect. The opinion of the "Chorizontes" is indeed frequently noticed in the extant scholia, but in the light of an exploded heresy. Amid the virulent disputes between the leading Homeric critics of subsequent ages, on almost every point where room existed for controversy, no notice occurs of further discussion upon this. Seneca⁴ alludes to it as one of the fruitless speculations which exercised the subtle minds of the Greeks; and Longinus⁵, in an elaborate disquisition on the characteristic properties of the two poems, on the usual basis of a common author, has not so much as hinted at the existence of a different opinion.⁶

The above facts, which exhaust the antient history of the question, comprise unfortunately, beyond

¹ Procl. Chrest. ap. Bekk. Præf. ad Scholl. Ven. p. i.

² Procl. loc. cit.; conf. Sch. Ven. ad Il. v. 269., xv. 651., xix. 90.

³ Schol. Ven. ad Il. xii. 435. There can be little doubt by reference to the "*αὐτὸς ἔφα*" style of the citation, that the author here alluded to is Aristarchus. Another work of Aristarchus, *Περὶ Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσεύας* (Schol. Ven. ad Il. ix. 349.), treated probably of the same subject.

⁴ Seneca De Brev. Vit. xiii.

⁵ De Subl. passim.

⁶ Conf. Grauert üb. die Homer. Choriz. Rhein. Mus. tom. i. p. 199.; Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssce in Hall. Encycl. p. 402.

the few indirect remarks of Aristotle, no notice of the precise grounds which induced the critical public of antiquity, so unceremoniously to reject a doctrine which has found so much favour in our own day. So unanimous an expression of opinion however, on the part of the best native scholars, must in itself possess weight as historical evidence. The simple fiat of any critic or school of critics cannot, indeed, be admitted as actual proof, apart from its own intrinsic merits. Yet it is not easy to divest oneself of a certain feeling of diffidence in adopting, on purely theoretical grounds, opinions relative to a nice point of speculative criticism in the literature of a foreign language, so different from those to which the profoundest authors in that language have recorded their unanimous adhesion; men too, whose refined taste and consummate sagacity have obtained for them an authority in the universal republic of letters, such as few of any other age or country can boast. These men certainly were as readily disposed to adopt new theories, as competent to uphold them. Their division, upon almost every other controvertible point of Homeric history, into factions animated by virulent hostility towards each other, is in itself a sufficient guarantee that Aristarchus and Crates, for example, could never have so cordially agreed in rejecting this doctrine, but after careful investigation, and on the firmest conviction of its fallacy. But we have a practical test of their impartial discrimination in the equally decided manner in which, while setting apart the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the joint productions of Homer, they discarded the pretensions of other once little less favoured claimants to that honour. The extent and subtlety of their speculations on the

genuine and spurious portions of either poem, also prove that they were as alive to the importance of internal evidence in such questions, as ready to turn it to polemical account.

2. These difficulties are apt to be disposed of by the plea, that the enlarged genius of modern taste and critical science, renders the inquirer of the present day a more competent judge in such matters than either Aristotle or Aristarchus. This is a doctrine which is not confined to the case of Homer, but extends to all similar questions of antient criticism. Nor can it be disputed that in many branches of classical pursuit, the advance of science at large, and of philological science in particular, gives the present race of scholars an advantage over the native Greek and Roman critics. The more penetrating researches of the moderns, in the purely technical or etymological department of linguistic knowledge, enable them to trace the origin and affinities of different tongues to a far greater extent, and with greater precision, than their predecessors of antiquity. In respect however to the more imaginative departments of criticism, it seems very doubtful, whether any of these advantages can counterbalance those on the side of the Greeks. It may even perhaps be a question, whether that extensive range of verbal philology which forms the boast of the modern schools, be not calculated to deteriorate rather than improve the judgement, as exercised on more delicate questions of elegant literature. Among the Greeks, on the other hand, the all but exclusive concentration of literary talent on the study and analysis of their own language, tended, within the limits of that language, to impart additional acuteness and precision to the discriminating faculty.

How disposed of in the modern schools.

That the Greeks were inferior in native subtlety or purity of taste to the moderns will hardly be pretended. There is, therefore, surely something palpably unreasonable in the supposition that Aristotle, Aristarchus, and Longinus, with the entire resources of the national library at their disposal, were less competent to judge of the relation which one portion of that library bore to another in style or merit, than foreigners toiling by dint of grammar and lexicon through its scanty existing remains. As well might in our own day a German or Dutch professor, on the strength of a deeper insight into the abstruser mysteries of general philology, claim a greater competence to pronounce on the authenticity of a play of Shakspeare or a passage of Milton, than Addison or Wharton. It were easy to point out instances of foreign linguists, with whom few British scholars could compete in the mere mechanical or antiquarian knowledge of the English tongue, who are yet insensible to defects and anomalies in the style of its popular authors, such as no well educated native lady would hesitate for a moment to detect and condemn.

Comparatively little weight, therefore, can attach to the speculations so rife among the last and present generation of classical grammarians, relative to the genuine or spurious character of works transmitted under the names of illustrious antient authors, unless conducted under the sanction, or at least not in the face, of standard native opinions. There can, indeed, be no doubt that much benefit has resulted from this branch of modern analytical criticism, where cautiously exercised; but as little can it be denied that the licentious excess to which it has been carried,

has tended both to pervert the taste and mislead the judgement of the classical public. Researches undertaken in such a spirit cannot fail to be prolific in discoveries. A mind morbidly bent on detecting flaws and blemishes in its objects of favourite study, will be at no loss to find ample food for its appetite even in their most characteristic excellences. Such a mind is like the habitually jealous lover, who discovers in the most artless looks or gestures of his mistress, often in those which, to the eye of the unprejudiced admirer, are replete with candour and innocence, the strongest confirmation of his own chimerical suspicions. The justice of this distinction may be tested by transferring the same rules, now so generally received in the case of Homer, to the literature of the present age. Were the most original writings of modern times to be judged by the same Separatist ordeal as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, who could believe that *Julius Cæsar* emanated from the same genius as the *Midsummer Night's Dream*; that the poet of *Zaire* was the satirist of *Candide*; that the miscellaneous poems of *Dante* were by the author of the *Divine Comedy*; or that the *Paradise Lost* and *Regained* were by the same *Milton*? If all historical notice of the origin of these pairs of works, or of numerous others that might be adduced, were extinct, no professor of the modern Separatist school could, without an entire abandonment of its principles, admit of their being assigned respectively to the authors whose names they bear.

3. The arguments from internal evidence, favourable to the antient opinion, have been in a great measure disposed of in the previous chapters on the joint properties of the two poems. In order the

Internal
data.
Rules for
estimating
their value.

better to appreciate such as have been adduced from the same source on the opposite side, attention must be directed somewhat more closely to a critical rule already noticed as essential to a right judgement in similar cases: "that the evidence of common authorship, supplied by any large amount of resemblance in works of the higher order of genius, is stronger on the affirmative side, than that resulting from a proportional amount of discrepancy on the negative side, of any such question."

First then it may be remarked, that there never yet has been an authenticated example of the same nation and language producing more than one genius of the rank and character of Homer. Italy, during the many centuries that her language has now existed, has produced but one Dante; England but one Shakespeare; the only two authors who, in modern times or perhaps in any age, offer what can properly be considered a parallel to Homer. Nor is this the mere result of accident or destiny, but depends on causes inherent in the intellectual history of our species. As one essential condition of the appearance of any great masterpiece of national art is, that it should be composed without deference to any prior equally distinguished model; so the natural effect of its promulgation is to preclude the chance of similar success in other quarters, by generating a spirit of imitation, and consequent mediocrity or mannerism. The only case to which this remark might seem not to extend would be, the simultaneous appearance of two or more equally gifted poets under the same favourable auspices. The improbability of such a coincidence is in itself great; that of so close a resemblance as should cause their productions to be unanimously

ascribed, by the first native critics, to the same author, amounts to a moral impossibility.

If the common authorship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* be admitted, they supply both an illustration and a confirmation of this fundamental law of historical probability. In considering their respective claims to excellence, although the one poem, from the advantage of its subject, may deserve the palm as an integral work of art, yet the varied powers of the author are still more extensively displayed in the other. Nor, amid so great a general resemblance, is there the slightest symptom of imitation. That the author of the *Odyssey* was familiar with the *Iliad*, has never been doubted. It were however difficult to show, from internal evidence, that the author of the *Iliad* was less familiar with the *Odyssey*. The previous analysis supplies a large body of evidence that the author of each was familiar with both; that the two poets therefore, by reference to the above law, were the same person. But the modern opinion involves as signal a violation of the same fundamental law. It assumes two poems by different authors, the one an immediate successor and close imitator of the other, to be equally distinguished by the same internal proofs of original genius; by the same unity of design, the same concentration of parts around the whole, the same preference of the dramatic to the exegetic mode of management; the same deep knowledge of human character and passion; the same tone of moral sentiment, style, imagery, and versification; the same high superiority in all these attributes to a host of emulators and imitators. No such phenomenon, it may safely be asserted, ever has been or will be exemplified.

Supposed
"common
epic ge-
nius."

The only argument by which it has been attempted to evade this difficulty, is the assumption that the similarity between the two works reflects the genius, not of the individual poet, but of the primitive epic minstrelsy, embodying the taste of the whole nation, under the same conventional forms, in all its popular organs. That any such community of excellence in the primitive epic genius is altogether chimerical, even were the fact not sufficiently clear from a comparison of the remains of the secondary organs of that genius¹, is abundantly proved by the recorded judgement of the great critics of antiquity who possessed their works entire. The declared, the only apparent, motive with those critics, for setting apart the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the sole productions of the genuine Homer, was the number and striking nature of the excellences, by which they were jointly and broadly distinguished from all the other poems of similar compass vulgarly comprised under the same title. Had those others been marked by any real community of epic genius, would not that community as readily have blinded the same critics to the difference between an *Iliad* and a *Cypria* or *Thebais*, as between an *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? But in fact, any theory which would ascribe the composition of two such works to the collective rather than the individual efforts of human intellect, is in itself as repugnant to sound reason as to experience. The mass of mankind are in all ages ordinary beings. The mere routine of popular usage could never originate any thing new or brilliant in art or literature. It is to the eccentric phenomena of our nature that, through a breach rather than observance of conventional prac-

¹ See Ch. xviii. *infra*, in fine.

tice, we are indebted for what is really great and admirable in human productions.

Let us however be content to pass from these more fundamental principles, and restrict the inquiry to the narrower limits within which it has been confined by Separatist commentators. The following question will then present itself. Is the actual amount of discrepancy or dissimilarity between the two poems sufficient, so far to counterbalance their pervading unity and harmony, as, even by reference to the more familiar and popular rules for our guidance in such cases, to justify our attributing those other opposite features to a difference of author, rather than explaining them as the result of different impressions on the mind of a single poet?

4. Before entering on any of the points of detail arising out of this question, a few special remarks are due to the last-mentioned or "personal" causes of dissimilarity, owing to the small share of attention which they have hitherto received in the course of the discussion. Of these, the most important certainly in the present case, and which may be said in some sense to embrace all others originating in the same source, is the difference of Subject in the two poems. Even where the varied powers of an author may qualify him to treat a variety of materials with equal success, their own peculiarity of character, such as tragic or comic, peaceful or martial, of high or low life, would necessarily involve a corresponding difference of style and vocabulary. If, in addition to this variety in the action, the scene of each poem were laid, and itself composed, in a different region, and at a different period of the author's life, the result of such a

Difference of character in the two poems, how far traceable to difference of subject ;

combination of influences, of time, place, and circumstance on his mind, could hardly fail to be largely displayed in his work. The operation of all or most of these causes will be pointed out in the sequel, as traceable in the distinguishing features of the two poems.

Here however the question may possibly arise: Whether, admitting the full value of such secondary influence, it is probable that any one poet of Homer's age and habits, should have possessed either the faculty or the inclination to conceive and mature two great works of so opposite a character. Do not the simplicity of design, sustained grandeur of treatment, and martial turbulence of the *Iliad*, as contrasted with the lively vicissitudes of events and scenery, and homely descriptions of life and manners in the *Odyssey*, bespeak in themselves a wide difference of genius in the respective authors? The best answer to this objection is, an appeal to the history at large of the poetical art, which proves both the power and the will to excel in its most opposite departments, to be the ordinary privilege of the higher order of genius.¹ The faculty of portraying nature and character depends on that of discerning and appreciating their varieties, and, by consequence, the modes and circumstances through the medium of which such varieties are displayed. If therefore, the author of *Macbeth* could write the *Wives of Windsor*; if the heterogeneous materials of the *Divine Comedy* proceed from the stores of the same Dante; the poet of the *Iliad* could plan and execute the *Odyssey*. But apart from foreign examples, the text of each poem supplies abundant evidence of the capacity of its author to excel equally in the style more immediately

¹ So Plato, *Sympos.* 223 D.; conf. de Legg. p. 816 D.

proper to its rival. The *Iliad* abounds in traits of the same ethic humour which pervades the *Odyssey*; while the *Odyssey*, in its turn, offers numerous specimens of the pathetic and sublime no way inferior to the parallel portions of the *Iliad*.

Let it then be assumed, that a single gifted poet had selected from the traditional annals of his race two distinct series of heroic adventure; the one from the events of the Trojan war, the other from the domestic annals of the Cephallenian princes: that he had preferred, as the protagonist of the one, the haughty impetuous warrior; of the other, the sagacious enterprising adventurer: had allotted to the one, as its distinguishing feature, simplicity of design and tragic pathos; to the other, complexity of action and ethic interest. Admitting such a plan to have been conceived, its successful execution were hardly compatible with less diversity in the details. The scene in the one poem is confined within the narrow limits of a naval station, a besieged city, and a field of battle; in the other it spreads over the whole Hellenic world, real or imaginary. The heroes of the one are exclusively princes and warriors, those of the other combine every variety of rank and vocation. The whole action of the one is made up of battles, councils of war, and funebral solemnities; the other embraces every species of adventure, foreign or domestic, by land or by sea, which the realities of life in those days, or the visions of mythology could supply.

5. As to the influence of time and place, it may safely be assumed that the two works must have been matured at different periods, and in different localities. Without therefore assigning specific weight to the speculations of Longinus¹, as based on

how far to
difference
of time or
place of
composi-
tion.

¹ De Subl. ix. 11. sqq.

the respective character of the poems, it seems at least a reasonable conjecture that the one must have been produced in the morning or noon, the other in the evening of the author's life. The extent and accuracy of Homer's geographical knowledge have been proverbial in every age. The region around which that knowledge, as common to each poem, is concentrated, is European Greece. With the localities of that region each work displays an equal familiarity. In each, however, the more detailed topographical notices relate naturally to the countries in which the scene of action is more immediately laid; in the *Iliad* to the Troad, the Hellespont, and the neighbouring shores and islands of Asia Minor and Thrace. The poet's manner is that of one speaking from the coast of Asia. The mountains, plains, rivers, seas, and atmospheric phenomena of that country all appear present to his mind. The same local impressions betray themselves in the mythological element of the poem. The popular deities combine a large share of Asiatic with their Hellenic attributes. Jove blends an Idæan with his Olympic character, and Apollo is a Lycian more than a Delian or Pythian god. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the poet, like his subject, lives and moves on the western shores of Greece. The Cephallenian islands, the plains of Elis and Messenia, the mountains of Peloponnesus, the coasts of Epirus and Southern Italy, with their respective modifications of manners and religion, take the place of the parallel regions of the Asiatic coast. Without here subtilising on the question whether Homer, considered either in the individuality or the multiplicity of his character, was a native of Europe or of Asia, this much at least may with some con-

fidence be asserted, that each poem must have been composed by one habitually resident in the region where the principal scene of action is laid. If the author of the *Odyssey* was a native of Asia, his work must have been composed under a preponderance of European associations. If the author of the *Iliad* was a native of Europe, he must have possessed similar means of identifying himself with the eastern shores of the *Ægæan*.

That the poet of the confederacy, in right of his office a citizen of each of its states, whose company would everywhere be welcome in its cities and palaces, and belonging to a race remarkable both in the mass and the individual for migratory habits, should, in the course of a long life, have been tempted to change his habitual place of abode, is certainly in itself a probable supposition. Nor, in that case, could his Muse fail to be affected by the new influences to which he would be exposed. If this probability be combined with the improbability already pointed out, of twin Homers flourishing independantly or simultaneously, the following suggests itself as the simplest mode of reconciling the conflicting elements of the inquiry: That the two poems were composed in their substantial integrity by the same author at a certain interval of time, and consequently at different periods of life; the one during a residence on the eastern, the other on the western side of the Hellenic world. That the *Iliad* is the older of the two ¹, is the opinion generally adopted by critics of all

¹ Yet it is remarkable, as acutely observed by Müller (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. I. p. 62.), that, among the numerous allusions occurring in the *Odyssey* to the events of the Trojan war, no specific reference can be detected to any adventure celebrated in the *Iliad*.

classes, much as they may differ on other points; and it is one reasonable certainly in itself, however little weight may attach to many of the arguments by which it has been supported. It results in some measure from the historical order of the subject. That Homer should have composed his *Odyssey* before his *Iliad*, is in itself as little likely as that Dante should have written his *Purgatory* before his *Inferno*, or Milton his *Paradise Regained* before his *Paradise Lost*.

Such being the grounds on which a substantial difference of character in two such works may be reconciled with a substantial sameness of authorship, it remains to be considered how far the specific discordances to which importance has been attached by Separatist critics, may exceed the just limits of such indulgence. These discrepancies may be classed under the following heads: I. Of historical fact or allusion; II. Of religious doctrine; III. Of manners, arts, and social condition; IV. Of language and phraseology.

Imputed
discord-
ances of
fact. Payne
Knight.

6. That discrepancy of fact, even in parts of the same poem, is quite compatible with sameness of author, has been abundantly shown in a previous chapter; and the same rule must be equally or still more valid in respect to different works.¹ Something however must, in every such case, depend upon the nature and degree of the anomaly. But little room, it must be admitted, is here afforded by the poems for sceptical objection. The simplest mode of testing the value of that little will be to adduce, in the words of Payne Knight², a leading Separatist commentator, almost the only case to which

¹ See Appendix A.

² Ad II. xix. 326.

serious importance has been assigned in any critical quarter.

"All that we learn from the poet of the *Iliad* concerning Achilles implies that, at the period of his death, he was yet so young that he could not have begotten a son before his departure from home. His father had sent him forth to the war under the tutelage of Phœnix and Nestor, a mere boy, inexperienced in the council or the field¹; nor could he at that period have passed the 15th or 16th year of his age. This is confirmed by the claim advanced by Ulysses in the *Iliad*² to a superiority over him in judgement, on the ground of more mature age and experience. But Ulysses himself, when he set out for Troy, was but lately married, and the father of one child, so that he could hardly have passed his 35th year at the period (ten years later) when he put forward the above claim; nor, consequently, could Achilles at the same period have been much above twenty-five. Yet in the *Odyssey*³, Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, is described as appearing immediately after the death of his father, as his successor in all the duties of the camp and the field. For this reason alone," concludes the commentator, "we should pronounce the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to be works of different authors."

It will be remarked that the above computation rests on the assumption, in the case of Ulysses, that the heroes married at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four; an assumption arbitrary in itself and repugnant to the poet's own authority. Setting however aside for the present the question of heroic marriages, and giving a somewhat more liberal

¹ *Il.* ix. 438.; *conf.* xi. 763.

² *Il.* xix. 219.

³ *xi.* 506. sqq.

construction to the texts directly bearing on the age of Achilles, let us assume him to have been thirty at least at the epoch of his death in the tenth year of the siege, twenty at its commencement, and not more than fifteen or sixteen at his final departure from his father's house to join the Greek armament: for that event, as will be shown, took place in the spirit of the same conventional chronology, several years before the actual formation of the siege; and while the hero, according to every version of the legend, was yet in the stricter sense of the term a boy.¹ Nor can it be said that thirty years were too mature an age to justify the complaint of premature death in a national champion. If then, as P. Knight's own argument assumes, Achilles was qualified at fifteen to stand forth as chief warrior of a great army, he may certainly, by the same law of heroic precocity, have been capable at a still earlier age of procreating a son. Neoptolemus would hence, upon this more reasonable adjustment, have reached, at the epoch of his father's death, the same age, fifteen or sixteen, which Knight himself allows Achilles on first entering military life; and would have been consequently, as the inheritor of his father's great qualities, equally competent for the duties devolved on him. There results therefore, upon Knight's own data, a singular harmony rather than incongruity between the two poems, in the adjustment of their mythical chronology.

In considering how far this arrangement, not certainly in a strictly historical sense a very probable one, is consistent with the general spirit of Homer's

¹ In the familiar phraseology of the day, he might perhaps have been called a boy, *νῆος παῖς*, even at twenty; as Telemachus, at that age, is called by Antinoüs, Od. iv. 665.; conf. *xxi.* 21.

school of epic art, we must once more guard against the fallacy of a hypercritical exaction from the poet of rigid historical probability in his legendary details. It is certain at least that whatever anomaly may here exist was not peculiar to Homer, but common to the whole system of facts and chronology of which he was but one of the organs. That this system was nowhere better connected than as embodied by himself, will appear from the subjoined analysis of its epochs, which will also tend to place in a distinct and compact point of view, the fundamental basis on which his great edifice of Troic mythology has been constructed.

It is clear from the incidental notices interspersed throughout both poems, that the adventures which supply their immediate subject form part of a great "Cycle of events," extending over a long period of time, and which were more fully treated in what were afterwards called the "Cyclic poems."¹ As those works were evidently composed as subsidiary or supplementary to the Iliad and Odyssey, there can be no reason to assume, unless where distinct proof exists of the fact, that the tradition of the disciples or imitators, whatever license may have been taken by them in matters of detail, differed in any essential point fundamentally or irreconcilably from that authorised by the acknowledged chief of the school. It will not here be necessary to recapitulate in detail, the numerous allusions contained in either poem to this extra-Homeric or Cyclic portion of the Troic series of adventures.² Our citations will be restricted to such passages as tend to illustrate the question of unity or duality of authorship.

¹ *Infra*, Ch. xviii.

² See *ap. Heyn. Exc. iv. ad ll. xxiv.*

Analysis
and adjust-
ment of
Homer's
cycle of
Troic le-
gend.

7. Helen, in her lamentation over the body of Hector¹, describes nineteen years as having then elapsed since her flight from her home and husband. She may, therefore, have been at this time about thirty-seven years of age, assuming her to have been married at sixteen, and allowing two for her cohabitation with Menelaus, during which was born their single child Hermione. The Homeric cycle of chronology, from the rape of Helen to the return of Ulysses, comprehends consequently a period of thirty years, which may be subdivided into three epochs of ten years each: 1. the preparation for the war; 2. the siege; 3. the wanderings and resettlement of the heroes in Greece. There is something in this threefold subdivision of a great poetical era into round decennial periods, singularly characteristic of the mixed spirit of hyperbole and method which marks the genius of heroic romance in every age.² The chief stumbling-block with fastidious commentators lies in the ten years of preparation. Yet this period hardly involves so great a real improbability as that of the siege itself. That an army of 100,000 men, and a fleet of 1000 ships, should have maintained themselves during ten years on an open coast in the midst of a hostile country, and during the first nine without any intrenchment; that not one of the chiefs should have absented himself from his quarters during this whole period, either for the purpose of visiting his home or recruiting his forces, are facts all formally vouched for by Homer and the unanimous voice of tradition, but which, if not physically impossible, are certainly not more credible, than that the same confederacy should have spent ten years in reflexion and preparation for so

¹ Il. xxiv. 765.

² Conf. Hes. Theog. 636.; Schol. Ven. ad Il. xxiv. 765.

superhuman an enterprise. The historical improbability of the first decennium is also relieved by its poetical details. Homer tells us¹ that Paris, instead of returning at once with Helen to Troy, sailed first to Phœnicia, as a blind doubtless to her pursuers. After his return came vain negotiations for her restoration.² Then follow the long and arduous exertions of the Greek chiefs to rouse the feelings and collect the forces of the confederacy.³ After the muster of the armada, notice occurs of further delays from contrary winds, and of desultory warfare on the coasts and islands of the Ægean (in the course of which another city was taken by mistake for Troy), before the final lodgement on the Troad was effected. These various adventures, narrated in detail by the Cyclic poets⁴, the Cypria in particular, were amply sufficient, in the conventional spirit of the system, to occupy a period of ten years. That the same round number in the third decennium, though often pointedly laid down by Homer himself, was yet purely conventional, results, as has been seen⁵, from the details of his own chronology in the *Odyssey*, where the sum total of the separate epochs specified in the action of the poem gives but eight years and seven months.

Let us then take this conventional cycle of thirty years as a basis for adjusting the respective ages of the heroes. Let Ulysses be supposed to have been twenty-four when he undertook the embassy to Troy described in the *Iliad*, twenty-nine at the epoch of his marriage, thirty when he finally left his home

¹ *Il.* vi. 292.

² *Il.* iii. 205., xi. 123. 138.

³ *Il.* xi. 769. sqq., *Od.* xxiv. 116.; conf. *Il.* iv. 27.

⁴ Diintz, *frigg.* p. 9. sqq.; conf. Schol. Bekk. ad *Il.* xxi. 765.

⁵ *Supra*, Vol. I. p. 461.

for the siege; forty¹ when he claims a superiority of experience to Achilles, and fifty on his resettlement in Ithaca. Helen, let it be assumed, marries at sixteen. Her flight took place at eighteen. She was twenty-seven at the commencement of the siege, thirty-seven at its conclusion, and forty-seven when Telemachus visited the court of Sparta.

Regarding Achilles the more popular fable is, that as the muster of forces approached, Peleus, forewarned of the fatal result of his son's participation in the war, sent him in female disguise, while yet a beardless boy therefore, to the Isle of Scyros, to be educated with the daughters of King Lycomedes; and the birth of Neoptolemus was the result of an amour with Deïdamia, the eldest of the princesses.² The Cypria and Little Iliad give another version of the story: that the hero's connexion with Deïdamia was formed during an expedition to Scyros, in the course of the desultory warfare of the first decen-

¹ This were little enough, by reference to v. 791. of II. xxiii., where Ulysses is described as "an elderly man" (*ἀμυρότατος*). Payne Knight would have had some difficulty in reconciling this epithet with his own assumption, that Ulysses was but five and thirty at the time when he is so addressed. He evades the dilemma, like so many others of the same kind, by expunging the passage. But this is not the only new anomaly which this critic would force upon Homer, in his hypercritical anxiety to dispose of such as really exist. Assuming Achilles to have died at twenty-five, and that the heroes habitually married at that age, (which forms the foundation of Knight's whole theory,) Peleus would have been about fifty at the epoch of his son's death. Yet throughout the Iliad the same Peleus is alluded to as a superannuated man, tottering on the brink of the grave. (xix. 334., xxiv. 486. alibi.) It is difficult indeed, even by a more liberal construction of the text, to reconcile the allusions to the extreme youth of Achilles, and the extreme age of Peleus, with each other; unless indeed the latter hero be supposed to have been already long past the prime of life when he espoused Thetis, which is not a very satisfactory alternative.

² Schol. II. xix. 326.; conf. Apollod. iii. 13. 8.

nium.¹ Whichever view be preferred, it results that Neoptolemus was born to Achilles while scarcely arrived at years of puberty, during the first decennium of the cycle.² If the young hero's birth be placed about the middle of that decennium, he would have been, at the epoch of his father's death and his own first appearance in the field, about the same age as his father was when he set out for the war. The whole cycle therefore may be distributed as follows :

I. Decennium.	{	1st year.	Flight of Helen, aged eighteen.
		2.	Arrival of Paris and Helen at Troy.
		3.	Embassy of Ulysses to Troy, aged twenty-four.
		4.	Commencement of desultory warfare.
		5.	Birth of Neoptolemus.
		8.	Marriage of Ulysses to Penelope.
		9.	Birth of Telemachus.
II. Decennium.	{	10.	Commencement of the siege.
		20th year.	Death of Achilles, aged thirty ; appearance of Neoptolemus on the field, aged fifteen ; taking of the city, and restoration of Helen, aged thirty-seven, to Menelaus.
III. Decennium.	{	28th year,	Return of Menelaus and Helen to Sparta. ³
		29—30.	Journey of Telemachus, aged twenty, to Peloponnesus ; return of Ulysses, aged fifty, to Ithaca.

¹ Diintz. p. 11. 19. ; conf. Welck. Ep. C. pt. i. p. 60. ; Eust. ad Il. p. 47. Schol. Ven. ad Il. xxiv. 765. This view seems also to be countenanced by Homer in Il. xi. 766., although the passage has been differently interpreted.

² Is not the fact that the same Little Iliad in one place distinctly describes Neoptolemus as born during the early stages of the war, and in another, like the Odyssey, makes him figure as the most distinguished hero of the concluding part of the siege, in itself sufficient proof how little offensive such anomalies were to the taste of the primitive public ?

³ Odys. iv. 82. alibi.

This series of events, if it cannot boast of much historical probability, can as little, if judged in its own poetical spirit, be taxed with inconsistency. Nor are its anomalies greater, or so great as occur in other epic poems of historical times. A poet whose whole machinery is regulated by supernatural agency, and whose warriors are described as threefold stronger than ordinary men, was surely at liberty to represent the flowers of this chivalry, the types of this super-human prowess, as possessing at an earlier¹ or retaining to a later age than their descendants, the brilliant qualities with which he invests them. That Payne Knight's fastidious rule was as little observed by other primitive organs of epic legend as by Homer, is clear, not only from abundant evidence that the representation of Achilles as simultaneously a boy in years, a father in virility, and a veteran in military prowess, was common to the whole body of Cyclic poets, but by still more glaring anomalies authorised by the same or other schools of primitive epic art, and no way repugnant, consequently, to the taste of the times. It was a favourite tradition in those schools, that Helen's charms were such even in her childhood as to have inflamed the desires of Theseus, and led to her rape and the birth of a child by that hero before her marriage to Menelaus. This legend, monstrous as it is, seems to have given no offence to the antient public of any age, and to be partially countenanced even by Homer.²

¹ A like precocity seems to be ascribed to Ulysses in *Od.* *xxi.* 21.

² *Il.* *iii.* 144.; *conf.* *Schol. Ven. et Bekk. ad loc.*; *Lesches et Arctin.* *ap. Düntz. frgg.* *p.* 19. *sq.* *Hellanicus (ap. Sturz. frgg.* *p.* 115, 116. *Didot, frg.* 74.) made Theseus fifty, Helen but seven years of age, at the epoch of this infant amour of the heroine; and *Stesichorus (ap. Pausan. ii. xxii. 7.)* described Iphigenia sacrificed at Aulis as its produce. *Conf.*

8. That, with the above exception, if such it be, no serious discrepancy of fact between the two poems has been urged in any authoritative quarter, may be considered as in itself a powerful argument against the Separatist view. Amid so great a mass of conflicting fables as were current relative to this cycle of events, any such accidental harmony in the adjustment of its details by two of its organs were scarcely conceivable. This improbability, and the consequent fallacy of the customary appeals to the "common genius" of the epic minstrelsy, may be placed in a still broader light, by a comparison of the discordances in the tradition of the other representatives of that genius, even as evinced by the scanty remains of their text, relative to the same facts where the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* so harmoniously agree.

Historical
unity of the
two poems,
as compared
with other
organs of
Cyclic tra-
dition.

According to the *Cypria* Helen was daughter, not of Leda as with Homer, but of the goddess Nemesis.¹ In the same poem, if Herodotus² may be trusted, Paris and Helen on their elopement sailed direct from Sparta to Troy, where they arrived after a voyage of three days. According to Homer³ they first sailed to Sidon, and seem to have been several months, or even years, in reaching the Troad.

In the *Iliad*, the first illicit intercourse between the fugitives takes place after their departure from Lacedæmon, in the island of Cranaë, where they land

Plut. Vit. Thes. In the Cyclic Nosti and Telegonia, Telegonus, son of Ulysses, marries Penelope after his father's death. In the former poem, the youthful hero is made his father's son by Circe; in the latter, by Calypso. In either case, his own bride might have been his grandmother. Conf. *infra*, Ch. xviii. § 16. See some valuable remarks of Welcker, (*Epic. Cyc.* pt. II. p. 7. sq.) on the chronological caprice of epic legend.

¹ Diintz. frg. v.

² II. 117.; Diintz. frg. vii.

³ II. vi. 292.

in the course of their voyage.¹ In the Cypria, the seduction takes place while Paris was a guest in the Spartan palace.² In the Iliad, the daughters of Agamemnon are described by himself as but three in number; the Cypria gave him four.³

In the Iliad, the omen of the snake and sparrows at Aulis relates solely to the ten years' war after the actual formation of the siege, and settlement of the camp on the shores of the Hellespont.⁴ In the Cypria⁵ the prophetic import of the prodigy comprehended a number of events belonging to the previous decennium; the abortive attack on the coast of Mysia, and sack of Teuthrania; the dispersion of the fleet by a storm, the marriage of Achilles at Scyros, the return of the fleet to Aulis, and remuster of the forces in that port; the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and various other adventures prior to the first lodgement on the Troad.

In the Iliad, Calchas by his divine inspiration guides the Greek fleet from Aulis to Troy. In the Cypria, Telephus an Asiatic chief is engaged for this purpose, after a vain attempt of the Greeks to find their own way.⁶

In the Cypria, Protesilaus is slain by Hector.⁷ In the Iliad⁸, he falls by the hand of an obscure Dardanian warrior.

Among the higher distinctive excellences of the one genuine Homer, attention was formerly directed

¹ III. 443. sqq.

² Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 10.

³ II. ix. 144.; Düntz. p. 14.

⁴ II. 313.

⁵ Ap. Procl. Chrestom. ed. Gaisf. p. 474. In the transcript of Düntzer this passage of the epitome, with another most important one relative to Palamedes, has been omitted.

⁶ II. i. 71.; conf. Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 11.

⁷ Proclus ap. Düntz. p. 11.; conf. frg. xiv.

⁸ II. 701.

to his ideal conception of the heroic character, as distinguished by common attributes of generosity and personal honour. Diomed, Ulysses, and Menelaus, especially, are, with the poet, each in their respective mode and degree, among the most excellent models of heroic virtue. Not only was no such principle recognised by the other representatives of the common epic genius, but the characters of those three heroes, in particular, are exhibited by several of the immediate successors of Homer in an odious or despicable light. The two former are represented in the *Cypria* as heartless assassins, basely circumventing and murdering, from motives of malice or sordid self-interest, their fellow-chief Palamedes¹, a person of some celebrity with these secondary organs of heroic legend, but one of whom Homer himself betrays no knowledge.

According to the *Cypria*, the anger of Ulysses against Palamedes was owing to the latter hero having been the instrument of unmasking the Ithacan chief's cunning schemes for evading his stipulated participation in the war. In the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon and Menelaus are described as having secured the coöperation of Ulysses by their own persuasive influence.² In the *Cypria* again³, Nestor, not Agamemnon, is made the companion of Menelaus on his visit to Ithaca on that occasion.

In the *Cypria*, Deïdamia, daughter of Lycomedes king of Scyros, is made the wife of Achilles⁴; in the *Iliad* Achilles represents himself as unmarried.⁵ In the *Cypria*⁶, Briseïs was described as captured by

¹ Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 12.; conf. frg. xvii.

² Procl. ed. Gaisf. p. 474.; conf. Od. xxiv. 116.

³ Procl. l. c.

⁴ Düntz. p. 11.

⁵ ix. 394. alibi.

⁶ Düntz. p. 12. frg. xv.

Achilles in the town of Pedasus; in the *Iliad*¹, as taken in the sack of Lyrnessus.

In the *Iliad* Jove reluctantly grants the prayer of Thetis to avenge the wrongs of Achilles, by favouring the Trojans at the expense of the Greeks. In the *Cypria* the quarrel between the two Greek heroes is described as preordained by Jupiter, for the express purpose of favouring the Trojan cause.

In the *Æthiopis*², Achilles is carried off immediately after his death, and installed as a deity in the island of Leuka. In the *Odyssey* he is found still in the realms of Pluto several years afterwards.

In the *Little Iliad*, Ganymede is son of Laomedon³; in the *Iliad*, he is brother of that king and son of Tros.⁴

The compensation made by Jupiter to the father of Ganymede for the loss of his son is, in the *Iliad*, a valuable breed of horses⁵; in the *Little Iliad*, a golden vine.⁶

In the *Little Iliad*⁷, Æneas, on the fall of the city, is taken and carried off captive by Neoptolemus. In the tradition of Homer⁸, he reigns over the Trojans after the destruction of Priam's empire.

In the *Nosti*⁹, Neoptolemus, returning home after the fall of Troy, meets Ulysses at Maronea, the city of the Ciconians. This account cannot be reconciled with that given by Homer in the *Odyssey*¹⁰, of the adventures of Ulysses on the same coast. In the *Nosti*¹¹, Neoptolemus, instead of returning to his father's native territory of Phthia, migrates by land to Molossia, where he finds his grandfather Peleus

¹ II. 690., XIX. 60. alibi.

² Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 17.

³ Frg. XII.

⁴ XX. 231.

⁵ V. 266.

⁶ Frg. XII.

⁷ Frag. VII.

⁸ II. XX. 307.

⁹ Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 23.

¹⁰ IX. 39. sqq.

¹¹ Procl. ibid.

already settled. No such migrations are known by Homer.¹

In the *Odyssey*², Tantalus is debarred from the enjoyment of the proffered dainties by their being drawn off beyond his reach; in the *Nosti*³ by the interposition of a large stone.

That the inferior Cyclic organs of the "common epic legend" were, in respect to its details, bound by no more rigid law of conformity towards each other than towards Homer, is also abundantly clear from their existing remains. A few examples are subjoined.

In the *Ilii-persis* of Arctinus, Æneas retires previously to the fall of Troy into Mount Ida, and escapes; in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, he remains in the city and is carried off captive by Neoptolemus. In the poem of Arctinus, Ulysses kills Astyanax; in that of Lesches, the infant hero is slain by Neoptolemus. In the former work, Priam is slain at the altar of Jupiter; in the latter, he perishes at the gate of his own palace. The deliverance of Æthra, the captive queen of Athens, is also differently narrated in the two poems. In the *Nosti*, Telegonus is son of Ulysses by Circe, in the *Telegonia* he is son of Calypso.⁴

If it be remembered that these discordances are but a sample of what the entire poems referred to may have presented, it must be evident that, far from uniformity, a wide latitude, at least in such matters of detail, was authorised if not enjoined by the primitive Epic Muse upon her different votaries. The

¹ *Od.* iii. 188. sqq., iv. 9. ² *Od.* xi. 591. ³ See *infra*, Ch. xviii. § 11.

⁴ Düntz. *frg.* p. 17. sqq.; *Clint. Fast. Hellen.* vol. i. p. 356. sqq.

evidence therefore of identity of author, supplied by the singular harmony observable in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is the more conclusive.

Imputed
discordance
of moral
and reli-
gious doc-
trine.

9. The second head of Separatist argument, and the one to which the greatest importance has been attached in the modern schools¹, is based on the religious element of the two poems.

"The gods," it is said, "are essentially better in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*." "In the former poem there is more religion, in the latter more mythology." "In the *Odyssey* the gods appear, not only superior to the race of men, but distinguished by many of the higher excellences which ought to adorn the representatives of the Deity. In the *Iliad*, they are exhibited as no way better than their own creatures, and influenced both in their relations to each other, and their management of mundane affairs, by caprice, sensual passion, or a spirit of arbitrary tyranny."²

This comparative estimate of the poems, apart from its intrinsic merits, offers a curious example of the different lights in which the same objects may present themselves to different minds, according to the medium through which those objects may be contemplated. The older more popular view of the religious moral of the *Iliad*, among both critics and philosophers, was quite the reverse of that above stated. By those authorities the *Iliad* was wont to be held up as the noblest Pagan illustration of the fundamental principles of divine justice. To such an

¹ Benj. Constant, *De la Religion*, tom. III. p. 316. sqq.; conf. 409. sqq. Nitzsch, *Artik. Odyssee in der Hallisch. Encyclopädie*; Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr.* vol. II. p. 509. sqq.

² Nitzsch, *Artik. Odyssee*, p. 407. sqq.

extent has the admiration of this feature of its composition been carried, even by some ingenious recent commentators, that it has been pronounced inexplicable by reference to any purely Pagan source, and an emanation, however disguised, from the genuine fountain-head of Scripture morality.

“The history of the guilty and devoted Troy,” we were wont to be told, “is but a mythical type of those vicissitudes of human offence and divine retribution, which mark in every age the course of earthly affairs. Ilium was a city celebrated of old for its vices and impieties, and the condign punishment with which, from time to time, they were visited. Her career of iniquity was brought to a climax by the crime of Paris, abetted by his family and nation. The peaceful overtures of the Greeks are contumeliously rejected. The divine vengeance, slow but unerring, finally overwhelms both city and nation. Æneas, who alone had discountenanced their iniquity, is spared to reign over a scanty remnant of the Dardanian race. The Greeks however, while asserting their just rights, are not themselves exempt from guilt and its attendant punishment. Their commander-in-chief, influenced by selfish passion, wantonly offends the deity in the person of his priest, and a destructive pestilence ravages the camp. On the remonstrance of the warrior to whom the offender chiefly owed the previous success of his arms, he propitiates the divine wrath and relieves the host from the calamity, but repays the author of this timely interference with outrage and contumely. The other chiefs tamely acquiesce in the injurious treatment of their champion. Jove, espousing his cause, turns the tide of war against the Greeks. Achilles, from whom alone they can expect relief, sternly refuses pardon or succour to his repentant countrymen. His vindictive spirit meets, in its turn, with well-merited punishment, in the loss of his dearest friend. All parties therefore, in so far as guilty, each in their respective mode or degree, of impiety to the gods or injustice to man, are subjected to their due share of castigation.”¹

Morality
and religion
of the
Iliad.

Such is the system of epic morality admired by former generations of Homeric commentators, as the

¹ See Granville Penn, *Examination of the Iliad* ; Williams, *Homerus* ; *Edinburgh Review*, Feb. 1843.

nearest approach to the pure Scriptural doctrine of retributive justice. By their Separatist successors the same system has been denounced as not only pernicious in itself, but greatly inferior to that of the *Odyssey*, which with the old school was no such object of warm eulogy. By these later authorities we are assured that :

“In the *Iliad* the whole theory of divine government is as corrupt, as in the *Odyssey* it is commendable. Had the author of the later poem sung the war of Troy, that genius of discord Juno, could never have been represented as exciting the passions of Olympus, and dividing its inhabitants into contending factions. The gods in the *Odyssey* no longer hate blindly and passionately. They are never, as in the *Iliad*, systematically introduced as promoters of evil. The Jupiter of the former poem would never, to gratify the mortified vanity of Achilles, have misled the Grecian commander by a delusive dream into a series of cruel disasters. The Atridæ indeed rest their hopes of success on the retributive justice of the Deity, but these hopes are not fulfilled ; nor is the crime of Paris ever seriously mentioned in the council of Jove, among the motives of his policy. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the hopes of the guilty are frustrated ; sure punishment visits their crimes ;”¹ and so forth.

Religion
and moral-
ity of the
Odyssey.

10. To the impartial reader it will perhaps already have occurred that the truth lies between these two extremes of theory. If the theology of the *Iliad* be not so immaculate as it appeared to its antient eulogists, it is certainly not so bad as described by the more zealous partisans of the *Odyssey*. The best mode of dealing justice to both sides will be, adopting the tone of a keen advocate of the *Iliad*, to try how far, by the same dismal style of colouring, the divine management in the rival poem might not be held up under still darker shades of iniquity.

¹ Nitzsch, locc. sup. citt.

"In the council of Olympus Ulysses is admitted to be a hero of irreproachable virtue, and a worthy object of divine favour. On his voyage home from Troy, where, during ten years he had proved a powerful instrument in forwarding the decrees of Fate, this same blameless hero is driven by the caprice of those same deities, upon distant inhospitable shores. On one of these he falls in with a race of bloodthirsty cannibals, whose chief boast is their disregard of every law human or divine, and with whom the gods themselves are especial objects of contempt. After seeing several of his comrades devoured by the patriarch of these monsters, he succeeds in effecting his escape by inflicting blindness on his enemy. The cannibal however was a favourite son of the great god Neptune, under whose protection he had hitherto carried on his practices. The god, enraged at the mishap of his beloved offspring, vows unrelenting vengeance against its author. Jupiter, though sympathising with the virtuous hero, consents to indulge Neptune in his vindictive schemes, and Ulysses is condemned to wander during nine years on the face of ocean. His fleet is destroyed. His brave company of warriors perish in the waves, or are massacred by other tribes of savages. After infinite hardships he lands, a solitary survivor, on his native island, but to witness still severer calamities within its bounds. For the vengeance of Neptune extended to his whole family, who are subjected, equally guiltless, to equally cruel afflictions. His mother dies of a broken heart. His father, borne down by age and sorrow, abandons himself to despair and a life of squalid misery. The domestic peace of his spotless queen is violated by a host of unprincipled vassals, who conspire against his life, occupy his palace, consume his substance in debauchery, and corrupt the morals and allegiance of his subjects. At length a tardy compassion visits the mind of Jove, and the hero in the end succeeds in destroying his enemies and reestablishing his authority."

The facts here too are warmly coloured ; but still they are undeniable facts ; and he must be a very nice casuist who, in the face of them, can maintain that "the gods in the Odyssey are never introduced as abettors of evil ; that they never hate blindly or passionately ;" and that "the Jupiter of that poem could never, for the mere gratification of the offended

pride of Achilles and his mother, have so afflicted the Greeks." It is indeed certain, that, while in the *Iliad* the general train of events, amid all the conflicting interests in heaven, is steadily guided by the laws of retributive equity, the same can hardly be said of the *Odyssey*. This forms in fact a serious defect of the latter poem. No reader of taste or judgement can fail to experience in its perusal a certain feeling of impatience, not only that the destinies of a blameless hero and an innocent woman, but that any important train of events, should hinge on so offensive a mechanism as the blind affection of a mighty deity for so odious a monster as Polyphemus.

Incidental
points of
conformity
and dis-
crepancy.

11. As a counterpoise to the contrast above traced in the divine agency of the two poems, attention may be directed to certain very curious points of conformity, or even sameness in this element of their composition, supplying no mean head of circumstantial evidence of identity of authorship. "In the *Iliad* Jupiter himself is impartial, or, as minister of the decrees of fate, leans to the cause of Agamemnon. That hero, however, offends the son of a deity possessing influence at the court of Olympus. The divine parent appeals to Jove for vengeance on the aggressor. The appeal is successful, and upon its consequences hinge the whole plot of the poem, and subsequent fortunes of Agamemnon." Substitute in the above passage the word "*Odyssey*" for "*Iliad*," and "*Ulysses*" for "*Agamemnon*," and the remainder applies letter for letter to the former work. Add to this that in each poem, at the outset of the action, the absence of a deity chiefly interested exercises a certain influence on the course of events; which absence is, in each case, among the *Æthiopians*. Now

here, as formerly, so obsequious an imitation as it would, on Separatist principles, be necessary to assume, by any one great original genius, of any other, in such peculiar features of his plot, were scarcely conceivable. But the parallel is quite in harmony with the operations of the same genius, availing himself instinctively and unconsciously of a similar foundation for a different superstructure.

Equally fallacious is the other head of Separatist argument, that "in the *Iliad* there is more mythology, in the *Odyssey* more religion." The very reverse of this assertion may indeed be demonstrated. In the former poem the whole train of events revolves on a properly religious agency, that of the great gods of Olympus, with Jupiter himself as their controller and director. In the *Odyssey* the action is swayed throughout by a host of petty mythological personages; Demigods, Nymphs, magicians, and sorceresses. Where can be detected in the *Iliad* an example of mythological, as distinct from religious influence, to be compared with that exercised by Proteus, Æolus, Circe, Scylla, Calypso, or Ino Leucothea, in the *Odyssey*. Nor are the defects of the divine morality in the *Odyssey* less plainly exemplified in these details than in the higher religious agency. What is to be thought of the morality of a pantheon, with one of whose leading members a favourite amusement was the conversion of her guests into hogs; and another of whom, instead of helping the distressed hero home to his family, detains him a prisoner for the gratification of her own passions, and does her best permanently to corrupt his fidelity to his wife!

Any inference as to the age or author of the poems,

grounded on this more reasonable estimate of their religious element, were as out of place as that based by the Separatist critics on their own fallacious theory. The whole distinction resolves itself, in fact, into a difference of subject. In the purely Olympic mechanism of the *Iliad*, as in the fantastic or monstrous mythology of the *Odyssey*, the poet's object was, not so much to inculcate lessons of moral instruction, as to entertain his audience by working on their wonder, curiosity, or terror. In each poem, however, the higher didactic principle is based on the doctrine of retributive justice, in a form which, though similar in both, is undoubtedly more simple and dignified in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*. To the same fundamental cause may, with equal propriety, be traced what is perhaps the only characteristic in which the religious element of the *Odyssey* appears superior to that of the *Iliad*, the absence of that spirit of dissension, occasionally resulting in personal encounters between rival deities, which pervades the latter poem. Little or nothing of this kind is observable in the *Odyssey*. Minerva, by Jove's authority, counteracts it is true the destructive schemes of Neptune against the hero. But she never ventures openly to attack or insult her uncle.

War in
heaven.

It cannot be doubted that the tradition of "War in Heaven," in all its varieties, was inveterate in Greece from the remotest period and familiar, consequently, to the author of both works, whether the same or a different poet. That tradition was indeed an essential element of Hellenic Paganism, in its primary physiological capacity, where different deities represent separate, and often conflicting agencies. It was natural therefore, that any great

conflict on earth should be attended by a parallel collision in heaven ; and that, in a poem celebrating such a conflict, the divine agency would participate in the martial spirit of the heroes. In a poem descriptive of a state of profound peace, the case was different. The gods could hardly with any propriety be there represented in a state of warfare. But during the action of the *Iliad*, Troy was the spot around which all the elements of discord in the Hellenic world, human or divine, were concentrated. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, there is no war upon earth, and no room for any, by consequence, in heaven. The scope of the author is not to awaken martial ardour, but to amuse by accounts of marvellous adventure, dark intrigue, and familiar scenes of domestic life. To have introduced the few deities who take part in the action pitted in mortal strife against each other, while the hero on whose account they were quarrelling was quietly following out his cautious schemes for the settlement of his affairs, would have been as great a breach of propriety, as to have represented the gods of the *Iliad* reclining at ease on their thrones in Olympus, while their respective favourites were engaged in fierce combat on the plain below.

12. If the substance of the Separatist theory as to an essential amelioration of the divine character in the *Odyssey* be fallacious, still less will its details bear any close examination. Great stress has been laid, for example, on the remark of Jupiter, "how wrongously the gods are accused of being authors of evil to men, who by their own sin and folly bring misfortune on themselves."¹ "Can any such noble

Predesti-
nation and
Free-will.

¹ *Od.* l. 32. ; conf. *Nitzsch*, op. cit. p. 407.

declaration," it has been asked, "be discovered in the *Iliad*?" This is no doubt a fine sentiment. It is however but a sentiment; and it were as reasonable to maintain that it represents the religious dogma of the *Odyssey*, in the face of evidence supplied by every portion of the poem of an entirely opposite practice, as to assert an entire freedom from superstitious weakness in the heroes of the *Iliad*, on the strength of the far nobler sentiment denouncing all such weakness placed in the mouth of Hector in that poem. But in fact the former sentiment is completely neutralised in a subsequent part of the *Odyssey*, by another of the poet's pithy philosophical apophthegms above quoted, to the effect that "mortals had no free-will whatever, but are mere machines in the hands of Jupiter."¹ Besides, it may be asked: Were all the calamities of the Laertian royal race the result of their own sin and folly rather than of divine dispensation? Was Neptune the author of no unmerited evil to Ulysses and his family? Did not Jupiter, the organ of the above noble sentiment, indulge Neptune in his vindictive malice, while acknowledging the virtue and innocence of the victim against whom that malice was directed? Is it not said, not only that Minerva hardened the hearts of the suitors and incited them to their crimes, but actually stifled the rising spirit of repentance in the breast of Amphinomus, and hurried him forward against his own better feelings in his career of perdition?² It were difficult to find in the *Iliad*, tools as men are even there in the hands of the gods,

¹ XVIII. 136.

² *Od.* XVIII. 346., XX. 284., XVIII. 155.; *conf.* XXIII. 222.

any thing so utterly subversive of all freedom of human will.

The further assertion that "no divine omen or prophetic announcement ever deceives in the *Odyssey*, as does the dream sent by Jove to Agamemnon in the *Iliad*,"¹ is altogether groundless. This will appear by reference to a previous chapter, where the two cases² of such divine treachery, occurring one in each poem, were shown to stand in so close analogy to each other, as to supply argument of harmony rather than discrepancy of religious mechanism. The circumstance that the falsehood involves more serious consequences in the one than in the other case, is merely accidental, and no way affects the principle of divine morality here in question.

Delusive
omens.

But perhaps the most singular shape which this argument has taken, is the appeal made to "the superior sanctity attached by the gods to the duties of hospitality in the *Odyssey*, as compared with the divine indifference to that virtue in the *Iliad*." "In the latter poem Jupiter," it is said, "neglects to fulfil the desire of the Atridæ for the punishment of Paris; nor does that hero's ungrateful violation of the domestic peace of his host seem to be an object of concern with the gods. How vitally, on the other hand, does the *Odyssey* bring home the duties of hospitality to the heart!"³ The case here adduced against the *Iliad* is not very intelligible. Surely the destruction of Troy was a judgement on the crime of Paris, and as such is distinctly promised to Menelaus,

Rights of
hospitality.

¹ Nitzsch, *ibid*.

² Il. II. 5. sqq.; *Od.* xv. 9. sqq.; *conf.* xix. 562. sqq.; *supra*, Vol. I. p. 492. sq.

³ Nitzsch, *op. cit.* p. 406. *alibi*.

and as distinctly denounced against the Trojans in numerous passages of the poem; while Æneas, as free from the national guilt, is expressly exempted from the national destruction.¹ But are there no offenders against the rights of strangers in the *Odyssey*; and how stands the divine morality in regard to them? Is not the favourite occupation of Circe, herself an "honourable goddess," the transformation of her confiding guests into swine? Is not the ordinary diet of Polyphemus, the favourite son of Neptune, the flesh of his guests? Do the gods punish him for this crime? Does not the well-merited chastisement inflicted on it by Ulysses, draw down the severest weight of divine vengeance on that virtuous hero? Are the Læstrygonians, who emulate the treacherous ferocity of the Cyclops, punished? How, on the other hand, is the most generous exercise of hospitality in the poem, or in the whole cycle perhaps of classical fiction, that of Alcinoüs to Ulysses, rewarded? By any special favour on the part of the gods? By the utter destruction of all concerned in it!²

General
state of so-
ciety in the
two poems.

13. The next class of discrepancies on which stress has been laid by Separatist critics, are those in the habits of social or political life described in the two poems. Here, as in the previous cases, the argument has been mainly directed to establish that the *Odyssey* exhibits a more advanced state of

¹ II. 324. 353., v. 715., vi. 448., XIII. 624., xx. 306.

² Od. XIII. 128. sqq. ; see further, Appendix B. In order to spare an accumulation of controversial details in the text, the remarks suggested by some of the more subtle objections to which importance has been attached by Payne Knight and Nietzsche, the two leading advocates of the Separatist doctrine, have both here and in the sequel been reserved for the Appendix.

society than the *Iliad*. The best evidence perhaps, of the weakness of the whole body of examples accumulated in favour of this view, is the readiness with which the cases of distinction most prominently put forward by one commentator, are dismissed as inapplicable or hypercritical by another, who as confidently directs attention to a fresh series, to be rejected¹ in its turn by a successor in the same arena. Of the few such distinctions which can be considered as involving a real difference, there is scarcely one but admits of the most obvious reference to a corresponding diversity of subject or locality; while several, in so far as they furnish any solid ground for speculation, might rather be urged in proof of a more advanced stage of culture in the *Iliad*.

Appeal has been made to the more extended knowledge of distant or foreign geography in the *Odyssey*.² But is not the *Odyssey*, in some sense, a geographical poem, the *Iliad* a local one? Could we reasonably expect the same variety of geographical allusion in a work the action of which is limited to a single narrow valley on the shore of the Hellespont, as in one which, in its very essence, was an epitome of the entire foreign navigation, fabulous or real, of the day? Suppose the parallel case of two English epic poems, the reputed works of a single author flourishing during the middle ages of Europe; the one devoted to the wars of Edward and Bruce, the other to the Crusades of Cœur de Lion. Could a greater knowledge of Oriental geography displayed in the latter be seriously urged as a proof of

¹ See P. Knight, *Prolegg.* § 47. *sqq.*; B. Thiersch, *Leben, &c.*, des Homer, p. 306. *sqq.*; Nitzsch, *Artik. Odyssee*, p. 404. *sq.*

² P. Knight, *op. cit.* § 47.

the more advanced intelligence of the author or his age? As a more specific argument has been adduced the occurrence in the *Odyssey* alone of the name Messene¹, denoting the south-western district of Peloponnesus, afterwards familiarly so called. But was it not quite natural that, in a poem immediately devoted to the affairs of Western Greece, and describing travels and adventures in that region, titles for its provincial subdivisions should occur, for which there would be no opening in a work involving mere general allusion, if any, to the same countries? Messene, in the *Odyssey*, is in fact a provincial title, Pylos being still the general term for the dominions of Nestor.²

Among the cases to which weight has been attached under the head of domestic manners, is the mention in the *Odyssey*, and not in the *Iliad*, of the primitive species of inn or tavern called *Lesche*; indicating, it is urged, a more advanced stage of social comfort.³ It may however safely be asserted that no people ever reached the degree of culture which the *Iliad* itself exhibits, without having made the discovery of some such expedient for supplying the wants of travellers or idlers. A sufficient reason for the mention of it being confined to the *Odyssey* is, that the actors of that poem comprise both travellers and idlers, while in the *Iliad* no individual of either class is introduced. Nor, had one accidentally made his appearance, was it likely that a

¹ Nitzsch, *op. cit.* p. 406.

² The consistency formerly noticed in the exclusion of the national titles, *Hellas*, *Hellen*, *Peloponnesus*, from the ethnographical vocabulary of both poems, speaks far more strongly on the affirmative side of the question than such trifling anomalies of local detail in an opposite sense.

³ P. Knight, *Proleg.* § 43.

camp, or a devastated country would have supplied him with such a place of refreshment.¹ The argument that columns² are mentioned in the Odyssey, and not in the Iliad, admits of being similarly disposed of. The column is an essential element of Greek architecture. The existence of the spacious primitive halls or porticoes incidentally described in the Iliad were inconceivable without the aid of this earliest and simplest mode of constructing them. It happens however that the scene, during more than one half of the Odyssey, is laid in the interior of buildings, to the minutest parts of which the action involved continual allusion; while in the Iliad the descriptions of domestic life are scanty and general.³

But if such arguments be valid at all, they ought

¹ One might as reasonably adduce the mention of military sutlers or commissaries in the Iliad (xix. 44.), as evidence of a more advanced state of society than in the Odyssey, where no such class is noticed.

² P. Knight, § 47.

³ Another example adduced by P. Knight (§ 47.) deserves attention, as a specimen of the singular kind of logic employed, even by acute critics, in the course of this discussion. "The terms *κίθαρς* and *φάρμυξ*, denoting a lyre, occur," he observes, "in both poems; but the word *κόλλοψ*, signifying the pegs or keys on which the chords were strung, is limited to the Odyssey. The author of the latter poem, consequently, was familiar with a more advanced stage of the musical art." It were essential to the full value of this syllogism that we should be informed how such an instrument could exist at all, without some kind of mechanism for fastening or tuning its chords. That mechanism was a *κόλλοψ*. Might it not as well be argued: "Chariots are indeed mentioned in both poems; but the term *ἄρτιξ*, for the framework of the vehicle, which occurs fifteen times in the Iliad, is not found in the Odyssey? If the want of columns to the porticoes, or pegs to the harps of the Iliad be a proof of barbarism, the like inference must result from the want of backs to the chariots of the Odyssey." In the Iliad the *ἵππον* of the lyre is mentioned, but not in the Odyssey. No allusion occurs in the Odyssey to statues of the gods. The Iliad however does contain such an allusion; and for the obvious reason, that in the Iliad alone mention happens to be made of worship in the interior of a temple. II. vi. 303.

at least to be consistently carried through. There might then perhaps be room, in reasoning at least on Separatist principles, for turning the tables, and maintaining the *Iliad* to be the more recent work, as abounding with notices of arts not mentioned in the *Odyssey*; some of these arts too, of a nobler description than any described in the latter poem. Such are the trades of the horn-dresser¹, tanner², leather-cutter³, and chariot-maker⁴; of the armourer in all its varieties; of the wool-carder with her scales⁵, weighing out and fixing the price of her work. The potter's wheel is also familiarly noticed in the *Iliad* alone⁶; while, in the department of agriculture, the winnowing-machine⁷ is mentioned, with the cultivation of beans and peas⁸; also threshing⁹, irrigation¹⁰, and other refinements of rural husbandry; and the professional voltigeur is described exhibiting his feats of horsemanship to the public.¹¹ Of none of these marks of advanced civilisation do we discover anything in the *Odyssey*, although that poem abounds far more than the *Iliad* in descriptions of rural and social life. Where shall we find in the former poem such indications of advanced culture as the account given in the *Iliad*¹² of the art of embroidery, comprehending, by obvious implication, also that of painting; or the description of the Lydian lady emblazoning ivory ornaments for the cheek-piece of her cavalier's bridle?¹³ where anything parallel to the Shield of Achilles, an episode which really does exhibit a state of the plastic art difficult to comprehend in the age and country of the poet? There

¹ IV. 110.² XVII. 389.³ VII. 221.⁴ IV. 485.⁵ XII. 433.⁶ XVIII. 600.⁷ XIII. 588.⁸ XIII. 589.⁹ XX. 495.¹⁰ XXI. 257.¹¹ XV. 679.¹² III. 126, XXII. 441.¹³ IV. 141.

can hardly indeed be a doubt, that the notices of arts connected with more advanced civilisation greatly predominate in the *Iliad*. Any counter-argument however, founded on this predominance, as to the later origin of that poem, were not only a sophistry, but would involve a blindness to a characteristic distinction in the poetical genius of the two works. The *Iliad*, as a natural consequence of the historical meagreness of its subject, is far richer in figurative embellishment than the *Odyssey*, where the necessity or propriety of any similar amount of such accessories was superseded by the variety of the general action. The allusions accordingly to elegant or interesting works of art are, in the latter poem, chiefly such as incidentally present themselves in the ordinary course of the narrative, and are comparatively rare. In the *Iliad*, on the other hand, they are for the most part introduced in the form of similes, or other illustrative details, and are proportionally more numerous and specific.¹

14. The objections to a common authorship derived from varieties of language in the two poems, may be equally met by reference to the corresponding variety of their subject. New or different objects and ideas require new and different names to denote them, with new modes of thought and expression. In so far, however, as the question has been made to hinge on the relative proportion of archaic idioms in the two works, after all the elaborate efforts of the Separatist commentators in an opposite sense, it may confidently be asserted that the result of an impartial scrutiny leaves a decided balance of such phraseology

Philological data.

¹ See Appendix C.

on the side of the *Odyssey*.¹ This apparent anomaly may also be explained on a juster principle than by any appeal to the comparative antiquity of the text. In a language in course of formation under poetical auspices, as was that of Homer, the most approved and elegant modes of expression would, as a general rule, be selected for the higher tone of description or dialogue. The studied adoption of, or adherence to, antiquated idioms, as a means of ennobling poetical composition, is an affectation proper to the later stages of literature, to the taste of Apollonius or Lycophron, but foreign to that of the primitive Epic Muse.² But in every state of society antiquated idioms maintain their ground, apart from such artificial causes, chiefly in vulgar use. The more homely therefore the subject and treatment of any poetical work of primitive times, and the closer its connexion with ordinary life, the greater the number of such idioms it would be likely to comprise: and such in fact is the case with the *Odyssey* as compared with the *Iliad*. In addition to this greater predominance of old-fashioned phraseology, the number and variety of novel facts and ideas in the former poem, also sufficed to insure a corresponding amount of novelty to its vocabulary. The language of the *Odyssey* accordingly, while identical in its substantial features, is more or less distinguished from that of the *Iliad* in both these incidental peculiarities.

¹ See Appendix D.

² See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 113. sq.

CHAP. XVI.

HOMER. INTERPOLATION OF THE TEXT.

1. TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT IN THE MODERN SCHOOLS.—2. ITS RESULTS.
 — 3. ALEXANDRIAN GRAMMARIANS AND THEIR METHOD.—4. IMPUTED INTERPOLATIONS OF THE ILIAD. DOLONEA. SHIELD OF ACHILLES. LAST BOOK.—5. IMPUTED INTERPOLATIONS OF THE ODYSSEY. SONG OF DEMODOCUS.—6. NECROMANCY.—7. ITS ANOMALIES. PARALLEL OF VIRGIL AND DANTE.—8. LATTER PART OF THE POEM.

1. FROM the tenor of the previous course of this analysis, it will not be expected that the more subtle details of speculative criticism connected with the subject on which we are about to enter, will here receive a degree of attention at all corresponding to the momentous importance attached to them in the popular schools of Homeric criticism.

Treatment
of this sub-
ject in the
modern
schools.

That the Iliad and Odyssey, allowing to each poem an original integrity of composition, as a necessary basis of all such inquiries, must yet in the course of their passage to posterity have been subjected both to addition and corruption, is a doctrine which no intelligent critic of the present day will be disposed to question. The state of society which produced them, and which prevailed during the earlier vicissitudes of their history; their subsequent treatment by the native grammarians and editors; the voice of tradition; even the internal evidence of portions of each work; all vouch, in some measure, for the correctness of that doctrine. But the same sound discretion which constrains us to admit the doctrine in theory, will, in the absence of distinct historical data,

render us cautious of giving it practical effect. The fallacious and arbitrary nature of the tests by reference to which judgement is here habitually passed in the modern schools, especially of that most popular criterion derived from anomalies in matter or style, has already been abundantly pointed out.¹ Such incongruities, it has been shown, must be inseparable from the productions of human art, as long as imperfection is inherent in human nature. They are indeed, as a general rule, more largely exemplified in original works of the highest order than in those of a secondary class; uniformity being the attribute of mediocrity rather than of greatness. As this rule is in close harmony with the law of nature, it is also amply illustrated by the example, not only of Homer, but of all the other great masters whose genius, in point of native originality, most nearly resembles his own. If anomaly were in itself valid evidence of variety of workmanship, and were the rule to be consistently applied to Dante, Shakspeare, or Milton, what havoc would be the result! The modern critic peruses, in one page of these comparatively polished and artistic poets, a passage of surpassing brilliancy, and in the next a series of heavy commonplaces or trivial conceits, without a suspicion as to their emanating from the stores of the same mind. But no sooner does he discover, in the work of the "rude unlettered bard," the gentlest illustration of the old adage that "Homer occasionally slumbers," than he resorts to the most improbable theories to explain what, far from requiring explanation, would involve a breach of the common law of nature were it otherwise. The same experience however, which proves that

¹ See Vol. I. p. 438. sqq.

every great original work, such as the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, must present varieties of matter or treatment sufficient, by reference to those arbitrary criteria, to insure the condemnation even of genuine portions of its text, equally evinces that an imitator of taste and talent may, in partial instances, produce supplements so closely in harmony with the original as to escape suspicion altogether. In this way it might happen, and has undoubtedly often happened, that by reference to such merely speculative data genuine portions of an author are condemned, while corruptions or interpolations are approved or pass unobserved.

The principle by which this analysis has throughout been guided is different. The fact that Homer habitually treads a path beyond the range of ordinary poets, has been, and will be, held but the more surely to imply that he may at times sink even below their level. Accordingly, wherever the matter or the manner of his composition offered ground of censure, it has in the previous pages been fairly and freely bestowed. Attention has been directed from time to time, to diffuseness in his descriptions or flatness in his dialogues ; to the undue accumulation of battle scenes or of figurative embellishment ; to the offensive features in his portraits of divine character, and to other serious defects in the religious element of his works ; to his occasional indulgence in trifling or unseasonable jests ; and to numerous petty laxities and inconsistencies in his narrative. So far, however, are such improprieties from constituting any necessary evidence of spuriousness in the passages where they occur, that the characteristic similarity of the mode in which they are exemplified may often, with better

reason, be urged as proof of the unity, even in its anomalies, of the genius which has been guilty of them. Equally inconclusive, on grounds already also detailed, are the arguments derived from calculations made, and balance struck, of rare or idiomatic words, phrases, grammatical flexions, or metrical forms. Such criteria, at all times fallacious, are more especially so in the case of works composed in a semibarbarous age; at different periods perhaps of a long life; and in an unsettled and fluctuating language.

Its results.

2. In a former page it was remarked that the text of Homer, were effect to be given to the views of his various commentators, might be compared to the picture exposed in public by its author, with a request that each passing dilettante would draw a brush through the part he considered defective; the result of which operation was the effacement of every essential feature of the composition. Following up this illustration, it may here be proper to enumerate some of the more bulky passages of the poems which, in quarters where a certain basis of unity seems still to be acknowledged, are rejected as foreign excrescences or additions. The object will be sufficiently obtained by limiting the citations to the *Iliad*.

In the earlier portion of the poem, the latter half of the second book, containing the Catalogue of Forces, has been very generally rejected. In the third book, the interview of Priam and Helen on the walls¹, with that between Paris and Helen in her chamber²; and in the sixth, the episode³ of Glaucus

¹ Heyne, *Obs.* ad. II. vol. iv. p. 472.

² Heyne, *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 530.

³ K. O. Müll. *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. i. p. 53.; Heyne, *Obs.* vol. v. p. 203.

and Diomed, with the address of Andromache to Hector¹, have been condemned. Some would discard the entire "Prowess of Diomed,"² comprising the fifth and greater part of the sixth book, or even the whole five books from the third to the seventh, as one great interpolation, subjected in its individual capacity to several smaller ones.³ The eighth⁴ and ninth⁵ books have each been visited with an obelus, while the tenth has been very generally stigmatised. One critic of high rank discards the five books from the eighth to the twelfth⁶ as one great interpolation; subjected, as usual, in its integral capacity, to others of pettier bulk. The episode of the Shield of Achilles⁷, in the eighteenth book, has also been condemned. The last six books of the poem have, on the highest modern authority in these matters, been rejected in the mass, as a later supplement on the foregoing eighteen, of which the original Iliad is supposed to have consisted.⁸ Others pronounce this too great a curtailment, and are satisfied with lopping off the last two books.⁹ A third party, still more moderate, would be satisfied with the last alone¹⁰; and one of the advocates of this view afterwards restricts his verdict to the 128 last lines.¹¹ Others,

¹ Payne Knight ad loc.

² Heyne, *Obss.* vol. v. p. 3.; conf. W. Müll. *Hom. Forsch.* ii. iii. init.

³ Düntz. *Homer u. d. Ep. Cycl.* p. 61. ⁴ Heyne, vol. vi. p. 269.

⁵ Düntz. *op. cit.* p. 65.; Heyne et W. Müll. *ap. eund.*; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. ch. xxi.

⁶ Hermann de Interpol. *Hom. opp. misc.* vol. v. p. 63. sqq.

⁷ Heyne, *Obss.* ed. Exc. ad ll. xviii. 478.; Nitzsch, *Artik. Odyssee* in *Hall. Encycl.* p. 404.

⁸ Wolf, *Proleg.* p. 137.; *Briefe an Heyne*, p. 9.

⁹ Geppert *ap. Düntz. Class. Mus.* vol. iv. p. 36.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. p. 265.

¹⁰ Nitzsch, *loc. sup. cit.*; Düntz. *op. cit.* p. 69. et *auctt. ibid*

¹¹ Düntz. *Class. Mus.* vol. iv. p. 37.

while retaining these six books in their general extent, reject parts here and there; such as the Battle of the gods, the Funeral games, and the Lament over the body of Hector.¹

It will be observed that several of the passages against which the greater number of voices are united, are precisely such as those accustomed to judge the poems by the old standards of taste, have been used to consider the most excellent and characteristic specimens of their author's style. Such for example are, in the *Iliad*, the scene on the city walls in the third book; the episode of Glaucus and Diomed in the fifth; the embassy to Achilles in the ninth; the "Shield of Achilles;" and the noble series of pathetic scenes in the last book. If to these be added the eighth, and the latter part of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*², with some other equally striking texts of inferior bulk in each poem, the result would be a virtual subtraction of the greater number of those passages which constitute the very essence and marrow of the poet's genius; the very idea, as it were, embodied in the term "Homer." To speak of the remainder of his text, thus emasculated, as the genuine substance of his poems, were somewhat as if a commentator on Shakspeare were to premise, as the basis of his labours, that Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear, Richard, and Othello, found no place in his edition of the plays.

Apart however, from such more licentious excursions into what are called, by our German neigh-

¹ Heyne, vol. viii. p. 23. 44. 52. 189. 406.; P. Knight ad Il. xxi. 384., xxiv. 723.

² Nitzsch, Artik. *Odyssee*, p. 391.; conf. Erklär. Anm. ad locc.; K. O. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 60.

bours, the "higher regions of criticism," it were yet unreasonable to deny that anomalies of matter or style, where of a very glaring description, and without any counteracting proofs of originality, may form an important ingredient of negative evidence in questions of this nature. But without some solid basis of historical testimony they can never amount to proof, still less supply foundation for any sweeping general theories. In order therefore to avoid all risk of being drawn into the popular vortex of chimerical speculations, the following remarks will be restricted to those passages of either poem where the stigma, as being sanctioned by respectable native critics, may claim to rest on classical, or even, in so far as grounded on more antient copies of the text, manuscript authority. The few exceptions to this rule will be limited to portions of the text more pointedly cited, in the course of this analysis, as illustrative of the higher attributes of the poet's genius.

3. It is essential to the accurate treatment of this whole matter, that some previous clear estimate should be formed of the degree of deference due to the Alexandrian grammarians and their schools; and more especially, how far their critical distinctions between the gold and the dross in the poems are to be held as representing merely their own conjectures, how far as embodying earlier authority or tradition. That their own editions of the poems were founded on a careful collation of earlier manuscripts procured from different parts of the Hellenic world, is certain. The extent to which they profited by those aids also abundantly appears from the frequent notices, by the scholiasts who have preserved their views, of varieties of reading preferred by them on a balance

Alexandrian grammarians and their method.

of such authorities. Of passages expunged by them on the ground of absence from those older MSS., the distinct notices are comparatively few ; nor are their stigmata or "repudiations," so frequently mentioned, often described as based on any such data. These condemnatory verdicts evidently for the most part express but the commentator's own opinion, as to defects or anomalies in matter or style, unworthy, in his judgement, of the poet's genius.¹ In the comparatively few instances where a passage is actually "ejected," the fact is distinctly so stated, in terms different from those merely expressive of condemnation. With regard however to the bulkier passages "condemned" or "repudiated," there is no trace of the censure having been grounded on manuscript authority, still less of its having been practically followed up to the extent of omission from the text, even by the more licentious editors. This forms obviously a strong argument of substantial harmony in the older standard editions of the poems, in regard to these bulkier passages, at the remotest period to which such manuscript evidence is traceable. And that argument is further borne out by the circumstance, that where single verses or shorter

¹ Hence the frequent notices in the Scholia of passages merely "repudiated" or "condemned" by one commentator, but "ejected entirely" by another: ad Il. ix. 21. sqq., xi. 78. 179. 356., xii. 450. alibi passim ; also of passages repudiated by Aristarchus, even on the authority of the old standard codd., and yet not ejected by him (see note 3. to p. 174. infra) ; and, further, of passages parts of which were repudiated parts ejected by the same commentator : Zenod. ap. Schol. Bek. ad Il. i. 491. (188.), ii. 674. This distinction between the phrases ἀθετεῖν and οὐ γράφειν, or their respective cognates, while quite indispensable to a right apprehension either of the method of the Alexandrian critics or the value of their authority, has been often overlooked or confounded by the best modern commentators.

passages of either work are expunged by the same Alexandrians, it is stated in various instances¹, that they were so treated on the ground of their finding no place in one or other of those earlier more accredited manuscripts.

The analysis of this shorter class of doubtful texts² supplies some interesting illustrations of the critical method of the Alexandrian masters, and the vicissitudes of the poems in their hands. Zenodotus, the founder of the school, appears by far the most licentious in his treatment of his author. The notices of passages not only censured but discarded³ by him, are much more frequent than in the case of any of his successors. Certain of those passages are said, it is true, to have been wanting in some one or more of the older codices⁴: but the greater part were evidently disposed of without any pretext of manuscript authority, merely from not happening to square with his own particular theories. Nor did he scruple at times to indulge in the still less justifiable license of engrafting new matter of his own on the genuine text.⁵ Similar irregularities are chargeable, though not to an equal extent, on his pupil and successor Aristophanes⁶, a scholar in other respects of superior

¹ Schol. Ven. et Bekk. ad *Il.* xvii. 133. sqq., conf. xix. 77. 387.; Schol. Buttm. ad *Od.* iv. 511., v. 337.

² See Appendix E.

³ *Il.* i. 491. (488.), ii. 674., iv. 89, vii. 255, 256., viii. 371, 372. 385—388., 528. 535—537., ix. 21—26. 416. 694., x. 240. 497. 534., xi. 13, 14. 78—83. 179, 180. 356. 515. 705., xii. 450., xv. 33. (18—33. Schol. Bekk. A. B.) 64—77., xvi. 89, 90. 237., xvii. 133—135., xix. 387—390., xxi. 195., xxiv. 269.; Schol. Buttm. ad *Od.* iv. 498., viii. 142. (?), xi. 245.

⁴ *Il.* xvii. 133.

⁵ *Il.* i. 404., ii. 55, 56., iii. 334, 335., v. 807, 808., xiii. 731. 808., xvi. 89. 666.

⁶ *Il.* x. 497., xiv. 114., xv. 33., xviii. 10, 11.

judgement. Traces also remain of a partial indulgence in such license by Aristarchus, the most distinguished master of the Alexandrian school. The allusions however to any serious tampering with the text on his part, are so rare or so vague, when compared with the notices which tend to prove his discretion and caution, as scarcely to warrant any charge against him of wilful or unauthorised alteration of the genuine reading. It is certain, that passages condemned by him on internal grounds were yet often retained by him in the text, even in cases where his own critical judgement was backed by the absence of those passages from one or more of the accredited antient codices.¹ They were doubtless so retained, because the balance of historical or documentary authority in their favour still appeared to him sufficient to outweigh his own speculative opinion, though partially supported by such authority. It becomes therefore the less probable, that in the few cases where the notices of ejection², insertion³, or alteration⁴ by him, do not happen to be accompanied by any allusion to documentary evidence, his treatment of such passages should have been altogether arbitrary. Of Crates, the rival of Aristarchus, many varieties of reading have been recorded⁵, but without specific notice whether they rested on antient authority

¹ Ad II. xviii. 39—49.; Od. iv. 511., v. 337., vi. 244.; where the verse is vindicated by him on the ground of its having been paraphrased by the very antient poet Alcman, and consequently extant in that remote age; conf. ad II. v. 807, 808.; Od. i. 171. 356. 424., iv. 285., xviii. 10. sq.

² II. v. 808., xxi. 73.

³ Schol. ad II. xix. 77.; Od. iv. 15—19., ap. Athen. Deip. v. p. 180. sq. conf. Schol. ad Od. x. 242.

⁴ Od. iv. 231.

⁵ See B. Thiersch, *Zeitalter Homers*, p. 29.

or were the fruit of his own conjecture. No allusion occurs to his rejection of genuine or insertion of spurious verses.¹ These varieties in the views or practice of the antient critics, may also partially be traced in corresponding variations of the extant manuscripts. In frequent instances short texts, seldom exceeding four or five lines, contained in one of those manuscripts, are omitted in others. Similar, no doubt, is the case with many of the texts incidentally cited from Homer by antient authors, but no longer extant in his works. Of such apocryphal passages quoted by writers prior to the Alexandrian era, some may have been omitted in the course of the more accurate Alexandrian redaction. Others may have been retained only in certain editions, the various readings of which have not been preserved. Some it is certain belonged neither to the *Iliad* nor *Odyssey*, but to the *Cyclic* poems or other secondary productions of the poet's school.²

The foregoing remarks on the more licentious exercise of their editorial functions by the Alexandrian scholars, apply, as already observed, solely to the shorter passages which, in either poem, supply material for their commentaries. Their verdict, where unfavourable to the bulkier portions of the text similarly called in question by them, appears in no instance to have been grounded on any sort of "diplomatic" evidence, still less to have been enforced to

¹ It has not been thought necessary to extend this concise analysis of the "diplomatic" criticism of the Alexandrian school, to the labours of Rhianus or other less celebrated editors of the poet's text.

² See Düntz. *Frag. der Ep. Poes.* i. p. 27. sq. Something may also be attributed to carelessness in citation; conf. *Plat. Rep.* 406 x. with *Ion* p. 538 c. Of Aristotle, see *supra*, Vol. I. note to p. 466.; conf. *Rhet.* i. xi. alibi.

the extent of exclusion from their editions. It represents consequently nothing more than their own speculative opinion ; and to this extent alone can the modern critic be required to defer to it. While paying all due respect to strictly documentary evidence where it can be had, he will, in questions of a purely conjectural nature, claim as full a freedom of judgement in regard to the notoriously unsparing obeli of Zenodotus or Aristarchus, as of Wolf or Heyne.

Imputed
interpo-
lations of
the Iliad.
Dolonea.

4. The only integral portion of the Iliad relative to which there is trace of scepticism among the ancient critics, is the tenth book, or "Dolonea."¹ The extant notices on the subject, being limited to a comment by Eustathius and one other anonymous scholiast, deserve but little attention. The book is certainly, both in point of matter and style, well entitled to the honour of emanating from the genuine Homer. It abounds more especially in spirited passages, essential to the fulness of the poet's descriptions of character.² Nor indeed are its claims disputed even in the notices above cited. It is there acknowledged as an original composition of Homer, but conjectured to have been an after-thought, or supplement, first permanently admitted as an integral part of the Iliad at a later period. This is a hypothesis which, under reasonable restrictions, might be extended to other portions of either poem ; as quite in conformity with the mode in which any great epic work of a primitive age, amid the imperfection of mechanical aids, might naturally, even in the hands of a single author, acquire its harmony of parts or consistency of whole.

¹ Eustath. and Schol. Bekk. ad II x. init.

² v. 5. sqq., 25. sqq., 88. sqq., 120. sqq., 213. sqq., 240. 328. sqq. ; Conf. supra, Vol. I. p. 265. sqq., 302. 315. sqq.

What has here been said applies with equal or still greater force to the description of the Shield of Achilles. Achilles, where a similar want of absolute necessary connexion between the previous and subsequent text, from 482. to 609., has supplied a handle to sceptical doubts, exclusively however on the part of modern critics. The arguments in favour of the genuine Homeric origin of this episode, supplied by the distinctive Homeric style of its composition, have been elsewhere considered. They are, it may be added, singularly corroborated by the miserable inferiority of the earliest and most celebrated attempt to emulate its excellence, the Hesiodic "Shield of Hercules." But even the position of the episode, and its connexion with the main text, the very points which have been most objected to, imply, in so far as the fundamental laws of correct composition can form a rule of judgment¹, that some description, of similar bulk and tendency, must here have found place. It is hardly credible that any poet of ordinary taste or discretion, would have been at pains to accumulate so formidable a mass of prologue to so meagre a sequel of principal matter as would remain, were the descriptive part of the episode rejected. The long preliminary notice of the visit of Thetis to Olympus, and her interview with Vulcan; the detailed account of the workshop, instruments, machinery, person, and equipment of the god; of his studied preparation for some great and elaborate work, and of the number and variety of the precious materials he employs,—could never have been meant to end in nothing but a simple statement, in ten lines, of the fact of his having made a shield, helmet, and coat of mail for the hero. Let any im-

¹ See *supra*, Ch. vi. §§ 12, 13. p. 304.

partial reader try the experiment. Let him discard the 125 lines from 483. to 608., and read the text thus curtailed from 369. to the end of the book, in continuous order. He will at once be sensible of something wretchedly jejune and issueless in the whole description. The last ten lines will infallibly strike him as a most impotent conclusion to so tantalising an exordium. The argument may here safely be reversed. Had no specific account been given of the actual produce of so much divine labour and ingenuity, expended on such a profusion of metallic treasures, there might indeed have been plausible ground to surmise some grievous hiatus in the original text.¹

Last book.

The last book of the Iliad has also been rejected in the modern schools alone, and exclusively on speculative grounds. Little need here be added to what has elsewhere been incidentally urged upon this point. The poetical necessity of the transactions narrated in the concluding canto, as a winding up of the great drama of the Iliad, appears so absolute and so obvious², that, whatever may be the case with that section of the modern school who consider the whole poem as a patchwork, it is difficult to understand how those who admit its substantial unity of plan, can yet deliberately cast away this apex or head corner-stone of its perfection. To have parted with Achilles, immersed in the vortex of vindictive passions in which he is left at the close of the previous narrative, were a complete sacrifice of the crowning excellence of his character, his generosity. It would have equally destroyed, consequently, that moral unity between the

¹ Conf. *supra*, Vol. I. p. 304.

² *Supra*, Vol. I. p. 291. sq. 346. sqq.

portrait of the hero and the conduct of the action, which now constitutes the noblest attribute of the poem. The very notion indeed, of any poet finishing off a grand heroic epopee, by leaving one of his two best and bravest warriors a mangled corpse in the hostile camp, and the other engaged in the daily work of its mutilation, is something almost too monstrous to contemplate! ¹

5. The first integral part of the *Odyssey* against which any serious charge has been brought, is the song of the Phæacian bard Demodocus in the eighth book. The objections, on the part of the antients, here consist but in an obscure hint from the scholiast of Aristophanes.² To modern critics few passages have afforded a more frequent, and perhaps a more plausible theme of sceptical commentary.³ The chief arguments urged against it are: I. The impropriety of introducing a musician reciting a poem as the accompaniment of a dance; unless the dance itself were a pantomimic representation of the subject of the poem. II. The variation from the genuine mythology of Homer, Vulcan's wife being here Venus, while in the *Iliad* she is one of the Graces. III. The occurrence of words and phrases not observable elsewhere

Imputed
Interpolation
of the
Odyssey.
Song of
Demodocus.

¹ To the objection on which the greatest weight has been laid, the employment of Mercury, not Iris, as messenger of Jove, it may readily be answered that Mercury is not employed as a messenger, but as agent or commissioner to protect Priam; just as in other parts of the poem Apollo acts in a similar capacity in favour of Hector, Minerva of Diomed, or Neptune of Æneas. The proper functions of messenger are in this book, as elsewhere in the *Iliad*, assigned to Iris; those of guide or escort on a journey or embassy are very properly allotted to Hermes.

² Ad Pac. 778.

³ Nitzsch (Erkl. Anm. vol. II. p. xlvii. sqq. 207. sqq.) assumes the whole eighth book to be an interpolation on the *Odyssey*, and the song of Demodocus an interpolation on the previous interpolation!

in either poem. It seems strange that the first objection, or rather the distinction on which it is based, should have occurred to any critic familiar with the state of the musical and poetical arts as represented in the poet's works. The song, in every primitive age, is an accompaniment of the dance; and where there was a song there were also words.¹ That such was the case in Homer's time is proved by numerous passages, where the only difference is that the words of the song do not happen, as in the present instance, to be given. Wherever a bard is represented engaged in his vocation, whether for the purpose of enlivening a banquet or leading a chorus, he sings to his harp; and rarely is there wanting some more or less specific notice of the subject of his lay.² So far therefore is the song itself, in the case of Demodocus, from being out of place, that its omission would have been repugnant to national usage. As to its style, there are few portions certainly of either poem which, in this department of composition, are more worthy of the varied powers of Homer's art, or more completely in the spirit of the *Odyssey*, and the lively fantastic audience. The objection above stated to the omission of "the Shield" in the *Iliad*, here also applies. That the poet, in his anxiety to give effect to this orchestric exhibition, after expressly sending for Demodocus to take his share in the performance, and dwelling so minutely on the other details of the ceremony, should omit all further notice of the

¹ So inveterate was this combination, as to have suggested a proper term, *μολπή*, to express it.

² II. XVIII. 604., *Od.* iv. 17. *alibi*. Still more expressly is the connexion between dancing and vocal music established in *Hymn. Apoll.* 189, 190.; *conf.* 196. 515. *sqq.*; *conf.* *Welck. Ep. C.* p. 352. *sqq.*

minstrel's mode of acquitting himself, were no way consistent with his usual practice.

The argument based on conflicting mythology, even if in itself well founded, would admit of one very obvious answer, that it is not Homer, but the Phæacian court poet, who indites the song. Attention has elsewhere been directed to the popular error of holding Homer personally responsible for whatever he puts into the mouth of his speakers. It were very unreasonable to make him individually answerable for the accuracy of all the details even of national legend, human or divine, which may, from time to time, have been promulgated by the different organs of that legend in the course of the action. With still less justice can he be called to account for variations from the pure Hellenic mythology, placed in the mouth of a minstrel belonging to a race inhabiting a different world, and remarkable for their fantastical gasconading disposition. But in fact the two passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, whether representing the mythological tenets of the same or of different "authors," will be found, if impartially judged, to be in close harmony with each other. In this episode Venus appears, no doubt, as the wife of Vulcan. But the whole point of the story is her infidelity to her nuptial vows. The injured husband expressly declares his intention of divorcing her; or, as it is worded, "sending her back to her father Jupiter; and receiving in return the purchase money originally paid for her." He even refuses to release her from her durance, until Neptune becomes surety to him for Jove's fulfilment of his share in this agreement. The mythological fact therefore conveyed in this ballad is, that Vulcan of old divorced his wife

Venus, on account of her adultery with Mars. Where then is the anomaly in the same poet's introducing the same Vulcan, at a later period, as husband of another wife; while Venus his faithless consort continues to cohabit with Mars, as she does throughout the Iliad? It matters not here what may have been the version of Vulcan's matrimonial history received in the later mythology, on which the Separatist argument rests. It is with Homer alone that we have to do; and the Homer of the Iliad is in complete harmony with the Homer of the Odyssey. The anomaly is on the part of the latter fable, which assumed Vulcan to have remained the husband of Venus after divorcing her for adultery.¹

Necro-
mancy.

6. A still more fatal importance would attach to the charge of interpolation, if established against another integral portion of the Odyssey, the latter part of the Necromancy, or Descent to Hades. The imputation here acquires weight from the sanction of Aristarchus.² His arguments however, as stated by his quoters, are so trivial or farfetched, as to be altogether insignificant when weighed in the balance against the opposite verdict of other distinguished critics, antient and modern, by whom the passage

¹ Among the imputed sins against the pure Homeric dialect in this passage, the chief are, the occurrence of *ἥλιος* as a dactyl, instead of a first pæan, *ἡέλιος*; and of several words not elsewhere introduced in either poem. Whether this amount of dialectical evidence be sufficient to condemn the episode, will depend upon the estimate different commentators may form of the intrinsic value of such arguments. The peculiar character of the subject might seem to warrant the introduction of a few familiar idioms, such as in fact these appear to be, but which might not happen to suggest themselves in other portions of his text. "*ἥλιος*, as a dactyl, it may be remarked, is but one among a class of Synizeses authorised by Homer, though not elsewhere exemplified in this particular word. Conf. Il. i. 277., xxiii. 724.

² Schol. Pind. Od. i. 96., et Schol. Buttm. ad Od. xi. 568. sqq.

has been justly cited as one essentially linked with the individuality as well as excellence of the poet's genius.¹ A reference indeed to the striking parallels traced in the foregoing pages, between various parts of the supposed interpolation² and other equally characteristic texts of the two poems, might seem in itself to establish a claim to genuine origin.

The objections of Aristarchus and his modern supporters, turn chiefly on the defective nature of the mechanical cohesion between these sixty verses and the framework in which they are encased. His argument is, in fact, the same hackneyed charge of self-contradiction already examined in a former chapter. It will be necessary, in order rightly to estimate the value of that argument in its application to the present case, to have clearly before us the more important previous question, as to the epic spirit and connexion of the general context in its existing form, as compared with that which it would assume were the passage in question to be removed.

The poet's object in carrying his hero down to Hades may be considered in a twofold point of view, historical and poetical. The historical scope of the episode was to enable Ulysses to obtain information from Tiresias as to his own future lot. The poetical scope was to enliven the poem by the visions of wonder and terror which the infernal regions presented. The last motive may certainly be assumed as the more weighty of the two. The prophecies of

¹ Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. § xx.; Aristot. Rhet. iii. xi.; Demetr. de Eloc. lxxii.; Lucian De conscrib. hist. c. lvii.; conf. Plato, Gorg. 525 D. 526 D.; Protag. 315 B. C.; Eustath. ad Od. xi. 592. sqq.; alios ap. Nitzsch, op. cit. vol. iii. p. 309.

² See especially 594. sqq. cited in p. 108.; and compare also, with 598., Il. iv. 521.

Tiresias have really no vital bearing on the action of the poem. They could in themselves therefore offer no sufficient inducement to such an enterprise. If, on the other hand, the disputed portion of the episode were to be struck out, its poetical value would be lamentably affected. Not merely are the visions there described the only objects of essentially Tartarean wonder or terror which the narrative comprises, but have always been considered the most awful and striking in the realms of Pluto. To have omitted their description would have been a sacrifice of nearly the whole pith and marrow of any such adventure.

Another little less glaring anomaly which this omission would involve would be, that the only inhabitants of the other world considered worthy of attention by the poet, solely on account of their celebrity on earth, would be women. If we except the heroes and heroine more immediately connected by blood or friendship with Ulysses, his mother Anticlea, and his fellow-warriors, Agamemnon, Achilles, Ajax, and Elpenor, his whole time would have been occupied in passing in review the ghosts of some thirteen females, in none of whom he had any immediate personal interest. While common probability seems thus to demand the introduction of a proportional number of the older male inhabitants of Erebus, the same inference results from the epic connexion of the narrative. Ulysses, on concluding what may be called the actual business of his expedition, his conference with Tiresias, first invokes and converses with his mother Anticlea. As the ghost nearest and dearest to him is a female, her appearance naturally suggests a preference of the same sex, in passing on to the Manes of those less nearly con-

nected with him. In regard to the male spirits, a similar order is observed. He first sees and converses with the souls of his own friends and contemporaries, and then follow, in corresponding order, the other male worthies of more antient celebrity.

7. Let us now consider how far these higher poetical or historical criteria, are counterbalanced by the Aristarchean objections founded on the mere mechanical cohesion of the passage. "Ulysses," it has been urged, "is described, at the commencement of the adventure, as not himself entering the habitation of departed souls, but, remaining on the 'outskirts of Erebus,' he conjures them 'out of the House of Hades.' Accordingly the spirits, in the early portion of the hero's visit, are described as coming forth in succession to taste the blood and converse with him, and then as retiring, in the same order, 'into the House of Hades.' In the sequel however, immediately after his interview with Ajax (568., where the supposed interpolation commences), he is suddenly found, without any notice of his having advanced or changed his ground, himself exploring the recesses of the Mansion of Pluto; or," it has been ironically asked by Aristarchus¹ and his followers², "are we to suppose that Minos with his tribunal, Tityus with his nine roods of land, Tantalus with his lake, and Sisyphus with his mountain, were all conjured up like the rest for the hero's inspection?"

Imputed
discord-
ances of
its narra-
tive.

How little intrinsic value can attach to such reasoning has already been shown in a previous chapter³,

¹ His own words ap. Scholl. Buttmann. ad 570. 577. 593.

² B. Thiersch, *Urgest. der Odys.* p. 69. sqq.; Nitzsch, *Erkl. Anm.* vol. III. p. 307. sqq.; K. O. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* vol. I. p. 60.

³ x. Vol. I. p. 438. sqq.

where it has been proved by numerous examples, that such occasional vagueness or incongruity in the order of the poet's narrative, is so familiar a characteristic of his style, as to constitute quite as good an argument of the genuine character of the passage, as the methodical precision which it is here proposed to exact. The question of Aristarchus might therefore be satisfactorily answered by asking in return: Are we to suppose that Polyphemus heard the speech of Ulysses uttered at twice the distance to which the sound of a human voice could penetrate? or that the sun set twice in the same evening in Scheria, or rose twice in the same morning in Ithaca? Many similar, equally hypercritical questions might be accumulated. But a more accurate consideration of the passage in its relation to the previous context will show, that the mechanical incoherence here imputed, if such it be, affects far too extensive a range of the poem to admit, even conceding the validity of such arguments, of their being so exclusively concentrated against these forty verses.

Circe, in her instructions delivered to Ulysses in the previous book, orders him to leave his vessel on the shore of ocean, and advance alone, "into the House of Hades,"¹ there to perform the requisite enchantments, turning "towards Erebus;" and the ghosts, she adds, will come forth at his command. In the sequel accordingly, he is described as disembarking and repairing to the "place appointed by Circe"² (viz. within the House of Hades), where he conjures up the souls "out of Erebus."³ First Elpenor appears, and supplicates the hero, on returning "out of the House of Hades"⁴ (Ulysses, therefore, was now himself

¹ x. 512. 564.² xi. 22.³ 37.⁴ 69.; conf. 164.

within it) to the upper world, to perform the just obsequies to his corpse. Tiresias then comes forth, and at the conclusion of his interview returns "within the House of Hades";¹ (Ulysses, therefore, must here be without it). Afterwards appear in succession the hero's mother, the other thirteen females, and his own comrades of Troy; the last of whom, Ajax, retreats "into Erebus." Thither Ulysses declares he would have followed him, but for his anxiety to see the ghosts of other heroes. In the sequel accordingly he passes in review the further series of male spirits, ending with Hercules, who is also described as retiring, after his dialogue, "within the House of Hades."

It is plain then from the foregoing summary, that by reference to the rigid Aristarchean test of uniformity, whatever self-contradiction exists in this series of passages, affects equally the whole text from v. 512. of the tenth book to the conclusion of the eleventh. But there is really no incongruity whatever. The term House or Abode (*δόμος, οἶκος*), is here obviously used, according to the familiar idiom of the Greek as of most other languages, both in a general and a specific sense.² In the former sense, it denotes the whole infernal abode or dwellingplace of the Tartarean deities, and of departed mortals, comprising, together with the "place appointed by Circe," the Asphodel Meadow, Erebus, the Tribunal of Minos, and the scene of punishment of Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus. The hero therefore, after having disembarassed himself of the crowd of ghosts who surrounded

¹ 150.

² In the same way (*Od. i. 356., xxi. 350. alibi*) Telemachus is himself in the house, when he tells his mother to retire into it.

him on his first arrival, was free to inspect such objects of wonder or terror, distant or near, as were accessible to his view. That Homer has not described the particular place or manner of this inspection, can form no difficulty with those who understand and appreciate the free genius of his style of narrative, abounding, as it does, in examples of similar licence. The occasional use of the term *δῶμον* "Αἴδος εἶσω in a more limited sense, alludes plainly either to the actual interior of the palace of Pluto, or to the inner and more distant recesses of Erebus, into which the souls retire, but whither Ulysses is not permitted to follow them.

Parallel of
Virgil and
Dante.

A curious and interesting illustration of what has been said, here and elsewhere, regarding Anomaly as a characteristic of the higher epic genius, is supplied by the fact, that each of the two next greatest poets who have in different ages treated this subject, have been guilty of a real inconsistency very similar to that here imputed to Homer. With Virgil, Æneas descends into Hades through a dark cavern, which without obstacle conducts him at once "into the mansion of Pluto."¹ In the sequel, however, he is described as not yet arrived at the outer vestibule of the same infernal abode : 273. sqq.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci,

where he is obliged to make good a passage through a legion of monsters. Now at least we are led to assume that he is safely housed in the palace ; yet, after a hundred and fifty lines descriptive of its inhabitants, we find that he is not yet across the threshold ; nor can his entrance be effected (424.) until the porter

¹ *Domos Ditis. Æn. vi. 269.*

Cerberus is bribed over to his interest. A similar, though not quite so serious confusion is observable in Dante's topography of the "Inferno."¹ Here again the rule should either be made general, or the primitive bard should enjoy the same privilege of exemption as his more civilised successors.

8. The last and largest portion of the Odyssey, the genuine character of which has been questioned by the antients, and where a rational scepticism finds the most legitimate exercise, comprises the whole concluding book of the poem, with a considerable portion of that which precedes. Aristarchus and Aristophanes pronounced the 296th verse of the **xxiii**rd book, where Ulysses and Penelope after their recognition retire for the night, to be the end of the Odyssey. This verdict however must be understood, as in other similar cases, to intimate merely what, in the judgement of the critics, would have been the most appropriate termination of the action; not what either tradition, manuscript, or even perhaps internal evidence, authorised them to assume was the form in which the poem was originally composed.²

Latter part
of the
Odyssey.

It cannot indeed be denied that the latter portion of the Odyssey, from the destruction of the suitors downwards, not only contains a larger portion of jejune and tedious matter than perhaps the whole remaining

¹ Conf. cant. iii. 1. sqq. with cant. viii. 68. sqq.

² This seems further evident from the circumstance, that all the specific arguments of Aristarchus in favour of the proposed curtailment, as cited in detail by the Scholiasts, affect exclusively the Psychopompia, or first 204 lines of book **xxiv**. He is also, in the same citation (Schol. ad ver. 1.), pointedly described as having condemned this particular passage in its individual capacity, as an interpolation; which would imply that he considered the remainder of the text with which it is connected to be objectionable on poetical grounds alone.

text of either poem, but is absolutely deficient in the essential requisites of an appropriate consummation. Had the narrative been wound up by a simple recognition between the hero, his wife, and father, respectively, on the understanding that the destruction of his domestic enemies was a complete settlement of his affairs, the *Odyssey* would unquestionably, on mere grounds of speculative criticism, have been a more perfect work. The long episode of the suitors' descent to Hades, with its diffuse and pointless dialogues, and the campaign between Ulysses and his contumacious vassals, are not only tedious and uninteresting in themselves, but a sore weight on the proverbial eagerness with which the mind, in the perusal of an eventful narrative, hastens, after the main catastrophe is over, to the conclusion.

Admitting however that the action as it now stands has been unduly spun out, it is yet difficult to see how, consistently with either historical or poetical propriety, it could have been broken off in the manner proposed by the Alexandrian critics.¹ Throughout the previous series of occurrences, it is plainly implied that the destruction of the suitors insured no immediate peaceful settlement of the hero's affairs,

¹ Even allowing a general plausibility to their more sweeping scheme of curtailment, it would yet be difficult to agree to its precise limits, excluding, as it would, one of the most characteristic and truly Homeric passages in either poem, and quoted as such by Aristotle, the hero's recapitulation of his adventures to Penelope on retiring to rest. This passage indeed, far from detrimental, would be highly conducive to the propriety of the suggested conclusion. The conciseness and rapidity of the hero's narrative, tempered by the easy harmonious flow of the versification, with the gradual and gentle interruption at the close by supervening slumber, seem to dramatise, as it were, that lulling effect which the poet evidently meant to produce on the senses of the speaker, the listener, and the reader. *Aristot. Rhet. iii. 16. Conf. Plutarch, Vit. Hom. ii. 74.*

but that other momentous difficulties remained to be encountered, from the resentment of their friends and dependants. The reconciliation of the royal family with their discontented vassals was indispensable to the proper winding up of the action. Had Homer meant to conclude his narrative with v. 296. of book xxiii., he could hardly have composed vv. 117. sqq. 137. sqq. of the same book. The recognition between Ulysses and his father Laertes, is also both poetically and historically indispensable. The poet could never have broken off without relieving the old king from his life of squalid misery at his hut in the country, and admitting him to a share of the joy and prosperity to which his family and dominions had been restored. The only portion of this concluding stage of the narrative presenting no such necessary bond of union with its previous details, is the Psychopompia (xxiv. 1—204.), an episode which is also, in itself, the most defective passage of the whole poem. Its amputation therefore, which some have proposed as a middle course, need cause little concern, either to the admirers of the poet's genius or the defenders of the unity of the poems. As to the remainder of the disputed text, the safest inference that can be drawn from existing criteria is, that the good Homer, according to the proverb, has slumbered towards the close of his great and laborious task.

CHAP. XVII.

HOMER. HIS BIRTHPLACE AND TIMES. INFLUENCE ON POSTERITY.

1. POPULAR TRADITION, AND INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE POEMS.—2. LEGEND OF HOMER.—3. FAVOURS HIS ÆOLIAN ORIGIN. RIVAL CLAIMS OF IONIA.—4. DIALECT OF THE POEMS.—5. THEORY OF CRATES.—6. INTERNAL EVIDENCE AS BEARING ON THE IONIAN TRADITION.—7. CONNEXION BETWEEN ÆOLIAN MIGRATION AND TROJAN WAR.—8. ÆOLIAN PREDILECTIONS OF HOMER.—9. HIS AGE TESTED BY HIS DESCRIPTIONS OF MANNERS.—10. HOW FAR DO THOSE DESCRIPTIONS REPRESENT HIS OWN STATE OF SOCIETY.—11. RESULT FAVOURABLE TO HIS ÆOLIAN ORIGIN. PROMULGATION AND PRESERVATION OF HIS POEMS IN IONIA.—12. HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER AND FORTUNES AS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS WORKS.—13. GENERAL ESTIMATE OF HIS GENIUS.—14. ON A DISTINCTIVE PECULIARITY OF HIS SCHOOL OF EPIC COMPOSITION.—15. ORIGIN OF THE MODERN ROMANTIC OR SENTIMENTAL SCHOOL.—16. RESPECTIVE MERITS OF THE TWO.—17. INFLUENCE OF HOMER ON POSTERITY.

Popular
tradition
and inter-
nal evi-
dence of
the poems.

1. ON first entering upon the subject of the Homeric poems it was remarked, that while by the prevailing usage of literary history, the biographical notice of a writer ought to precede the critical estimate of his works, an opposite course was required in the case of Homer, where the analysis of the poems affords the only sound criteria for judging of the age, birthplace, or destinies of the author. The result of that analysis has been, it is hoped, to place in a preferable light the antient opinion, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are, each in its substantial integrity, the production of the same poet; or, if an absolute sameness of person be disputed, of poets so identical in genius and character as to warrant the adoption, as the basis of the present inquiry, of a single epoch, a single birthplace, and a single Homer.

To the further inquiry who that Homer was, what

that epoch or birthplace, the same general answer still presents itself, that it is to his works alone that we have to look for any authentic data on the subject: and this maxim is usually followed up by another, to the very discouraging effect, that throughout both poems, Homer with characteristic modesty, has abstained from all notice whatever of himself or his concerns. Both these rules however, though in a general sense perhaps correct, may admit of exception, or at least of modification. With regard to the second of the two it must be remembered, that a want of accurate knowledge from external sources of the particulars of Homer's history, precludes in a great degree the means of judging what amount of allusion to his own affairs his works may contain. Even the most egotistical epic poets rarely favour their readers, in their verse, with any plain statements on the subject of their nativity or fortunes. Such notices are usually introduced indirectly, or through the figurative medium of the events and persons described. They require consequently, as a key to their right understanding, some previous knowledge of the facts from other sources. Were there for example any solid ground of belief that Homer, as tradition describes him, was blind, it might fairly be conjectured that he has figured his own lot in that of the blind Phæacian bard Demodocus, so prominently put forward in the *Odyssey*. Or to take a broader case of illustration, were the theory admitted, which has found favour in fanciful quarters, that Ulysses himself was Homer¹, far from being silent on his own affairs, he would of all poets be most open to the charge of

¹ Const. Koliades, *Ulysse Homère*; conf. Welck. *Ep. C.* pt. i. p. 190. note.

garrulity. There may then, even upon a rational view of the question, be much of his personal history interwoven with his fable; and the ignorance in which posterity remains may be owing, not so much to his own modesty as to our inability to detect his vanity. In the absence however of such external data for our guidance, any conjectural knowledge to be extracted from his text, will be more likely to bear on the country or times in which he composed, than on his own person or destinies.

The other axiom, that it is exclusively from internal sources that any satisfactory light on his history can be expected, must also be taken with some limitation. It proceeds upon the supposition that the popular accounts of his life are fabulous. But even admitting this, it does not follow that they should be totally false, nor, consequently, that some approximation to fact may not be attainable through their medium. There are two modes in which such narratives may be turned to historical account. First: they may contain some element of positive truth as a nucleus for the mythical appendages. Secondly: they may convey, apart from any such more solid basis of reality, the substance of the opinions which their promulgators had been led to form, by a joint estimate of the internal evidence of the poems, and of the current tradition of a period nearer the age which produced them. It is chiefly or solely in the latter respect that aid is to be hoped from Homer's legendary biographers.

Should these two branches of evidence, internal and traditional, be found in general harmony with each other, they will supply as near an approach to a historical result as can be expected in a case of the kind. The simplest mode of conducting the inquiry

will be, first, to have clearly before us the substance of the popular accounts; secondly, to test their value by the text of the poems. As the several versions of the Legend of Homer, however differing in their details, are essentially agreed on certain more fundamental points, it becomes the less material which variety be selected as the standard text or vulgate. A preference will here be given to the biography which passes current under the name of Herodotus, as embodying to all appearance the oldest, as well as the most comprehensive stock of materials.¹

2. Among the adventurers who took part in the settlement of Cuma in Æolia, about 150 years after the fall of Troy, was Melanopus of Magnesia in Thessaly, son of Ithagenes, son of Criton. This Melanopus, dying in narrow circumstances, left an only daughter Critheïs, to the care of a friend and fellow-colonist, Cleanax, by birth an Argive. The damsel, on approaching woman's estate, was found to be with child. Cleanax, vexed and ashamed at the condition of his ward, determined to remove her from home. For this purpose he committed her to the charge of a friend, Ismenias of Bœotia, then about to join in the foundation of Smyrna, with a body of Cumæans led by a Thessalian chief. Soon after her settlement in her new residence, Critheïs, while taking part in a festival on the banks of the river Meles in the neighbourhood of the city, was seized with her pains, and gave

Legend of
Homer.

¹ See also the Life by Proclus (ap. Gaisf. Heph. p. 465.), with two Lives ascribed to Plutarch and printed with his miscellaneous works. The second of these, also published by Gale (Opusc. Myth.), contains some valuable commentaries on the poet's style. Three shorter lives, one of which is a different version of that by Proclus, are prefixed to the Tract of Leo Allatius de Patr. Hom. Another is comprised in the Agon, or "Contest," of Homer and Hesiod, usually appended to the editions of the latter poet. A short but valuable sketch is given in the Catalog. MSS. Græc. Bibl. Matrit. t. i. p. 233.; and similar compendia are preserved by Suidas and other compilers of the same class. These documents, however late their own composition, derive value from their copious citations of early writers of eminence, from Pindar and Hellanicus downwards.

birth to a son. The boy, from his place of nativity, received the name of Melesigenes, afterwards exchanged for that of Homer. Critheïs soon after quitted the house of Ismenias, and, desirous of supporting herself by her own industry, entered the service of Phemius, a teacher of music and letters. So exemplary was her conduct in this new position, as to induce her master to place her at the head of his household; and Melesigenes, displaying, as he advanced in years, a superior genius, with many amiable qualities, was adopted by him as his son, and provided with a liberal education. About the period of his reaching manhood, the young poet lost his mother; and shortly after Phemius also died, bequeathing his property and school¹ to Melesigenes.

Such was the reputation of his genius even at this early age, that he was already an object of curiosity to foreigners visiting the port. Among these was a merchant named Mentès, of Leucadia in the Ionian Gulf, who persuaded the youth to accompany him on a voyage in the Western Mediterranean. After trafficking on the coasts of Tyrrenia and Iberia, during which time the poet took careful note of every new and curious object, they arrived in Ithaca. Here Melesigenes was attacked by ophthalmia.² Mentès, under the necessity of continuing his course to Leucadia, consigned him to the care of a benevolent friend, named Mentor. While resident in the island, he learned all the particulars of the life of Ulysses. On the return of Mentès he reembarked and sailed to Colophon, where in a relapse of his complaint he lost his eyesight. Returning after this misfortune to his native city Smyrna, he made his first essays in poetry. But his affairs not prospering, he determined, in the hope of bettering himself, to migrate to Cuma. On his way thither, passing through Neonteichos, another Cumæan colony, he was so kindly received and entertained by one Tychius a leather-cutter, that he remained for some time in his house. Here he composed the Thebais and Hymns. The Neonteichians afterwards used to show the spot where he sat and recited his verses. In the sequel becoming less pleased with his condition among them, he prosecuted his journey to Cuma, and on his way through Larissa composed his epitaph on Midas king of Phrygia. In Cuma he carried on his rehearsals with the same applause as elsewhere. His offer however to settle there, and render the city

¹ Conf. Plato de Rep. p. 600.; Xenophan. Coloph. ap. Drac. Strat. p. 33.

² Conf. Aristot. ap. Heraclid. c. 32. ed. Schneidewin.

illustrious by his muse, on condition of support at the public expense, was declined by the citizens. It was here that the surname of Homeros¹, or the "Blind man," first superseded in familiar use his youthful appellation of Melesigenes.

Leaving Cuma, he next established himself at Phocæa, where, pinched by want, he bargained with a citizen named Thestorides for his maintenance, on condition of his composing certain poems, to be made over in return to his patron, together with the benefits of their recital. These works were the *Little Iliad* and the *Phocæia*. Soon after, Thestorides left Phocæa and settled at Chios, where he passed off the poems as his own. Homer, on being apprised of this act of treachery, immediately set out for Chios by way of Erythræ. Unable to procure a passage by sea from that port, he wandered into the surrounding country, and after various adventures was engaged by Chius, a wealthy citizen of the town of Bolissus, as tutor to his sons. Here he composed the *Cercopes*, *Battle of Frogs and Mice*, *Epikichlides*, and other minor poems. On quitting Bolissus, he carried into effect his original intention of visiting Chios, from which city Thestorides, on hearing of his arrival, retired. During his residence in Chios he composed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, repaying his debt of gratitude to his antient benefactors, *Mentes*, *Mentor*, *Phemius*, and *Tychius*, by immortalising their names in the text of these his two greatest works. His genius now procured him both wealth and honours. He married and became the father of two daughters, one of whom died young; the other he betrothed to a citizen of the town. His fame had by this time spread into Continental Greece, and he yielded to the pressing invitations he had received to visit that country. Touching at Samos on his way, he composed the *Caminius*, or *Potter's oven*.² The vessel continuing its course to Athens, next put in at the small isle of Ios, where the poet's voyage was brought to a sudden and fatal termination by his equally sudden illness and death. His remains were consigned to earth on the shore of the island.

Among the variations of this story, as embodied in other text-books, the most popular is that in

¹ For the various other etymologies, mythical or speculative, of the name, see Bode, *Gesch. Der Hellen. Dichtk.* vol. i. p. 255. note, 259. note.

² For these and other minor Homeric poems see *infra*, Ch. xix.

which the poet's mother is described as a native of Ios, the islet of the Cyclad group celebrated in every variety of his history as the place of his death and sepulture. This account, which may be called the Ionian version of the Æolian legend, derives importance from the sanction of Aristotle.¹ Its remaining details differ little in substance from those of the Cumæan tradition. The maiden is impregnated by a divinity unknown. Wandering disconsolate on the shore of her native island, she is carried off by pirates to Smyrna then a Lydian town, and sold to king Mæon, who captivated by her beauty espouses her, and adopts as his own the son of whom she is delivered, as above, on the banks of Meles. Driven from Smyrna when occupied by neighbouring tribes of Æolians, the poet takes refuge in Ios the native island of his mother, where he is hospitably received and entertained by a citizen called Creophilus.² Here

¹ In Vit. Plutarch. i. 3. This version helps, remarkably enough, to set aside Strabo's account (xiv. p. 633.) of a primitive Ionian foundation of Smyrna by colonists from Ephesus, afterwards ejected by the Æolian settlers from Cuma. For in the Aristotelian legend, the Lydian aborigines of Smyrna are dispossessed at once, not by Ionians but by Æolians. Strabo's tradition may safely be pronounced a local fiction, invented to favour the pretensions of the Ionian Confederacy to the old Æolian metropolis, during the subsequent struggles for its possession. Herodotus knows nothing of any such story; and had Aristotle and Aristarchus, or whoever may have been the first propounder of the Iete version of the poet's nativity, believed in any such, they would never have shaped their own tradition as above. In fact, in that tradition, the Ionian colonies were not yet founded at the period of the poet's birth. (Vit. Plut. *ibid.*) In the genuine legend, the antient Smyrna and its river Meles are purely and exclusively Æolian. See Welck. *Ep. Cyc.* pt. i. p. 142. sqq. 187.; conf. Müll. *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. i. p. 43.

² This Creophilus is a person of some celebrity in the mythical history of Homer, from the time of Plato (*Rep.* p. 600.) downwards; sometimes as son-in-law, sometimes as friend or patron, sometimes even as preceptor of the poet. In the more popular version of his own history he is called a Samian (elsewhere a Chian), and transmitted his name to a

he composes his Siege of Œchalia, with which as a mark of gratitude he presents his host, and dies not long afterwards. The Homeric pedigree is carried back by several of these authorities to Apollo, through a long line of fabulous ancestors, comprising most of the principal poets and musicians of primeval celebrity.¹

Favours his
Æolian
origin.

3. It need scarcely be remarked that throughout this tradition, as in the subsequent schools of criticism, the term "Homer" represents not merely a single poet, inventor and perfecter of the heroic style of epic composition, and author of its two greatest masterpieces, but the genius or eponymus of this higher epic style during its flourishing era. In this latter figurative capacity, Homer appears either as the author or originator of most of the great works modelled after the design of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, concerning the real origin of which no very positive notices were extant. The historical substance therefore, if any there be, in the above biography, is, that the original poet was a denizen of one of the early Æolian colonies on the north-eastern coast of Asia Minor. His journeys

school of Homeric literature in Samos, similar to that of the *Homeridæ* in Chios. He himself obtained credit, as will appear in the next chapter, for the authorship of several Homeric poems. He is also celebrated as the person from whom Lycurgus obtained the copy of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* promulgated by him in Sparta (*Aristot. ap. Heraclid. frg. II. ed. Schneidewin*). The name is usually written *Creophylus*; but the form here adopted is that authorised by Plato, and probably other earlier writers on the poet's history, whose text has been very improperly altered to accommodate it to the later usage. The form *Creophylus* appears to have originated mainly in an attempt to give etymological value to the title of the tribe or gens (*φυλῆς*) of the "Creophylians," or reputed descendants of the owner of the name; partly perhaps in the metrical convenience of epigrammatic writers. See *Welck. op. cit. p. 219. sqq. 226.*

¹ See *Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 323. sq.*

from country to country and city to city, in the course of which his numerous works were composed, indicate, unless in so far as necessary even in his single person to acquire his extensive stock of geographical knowledge, the spread of his art through those regions where it continued chiefly to flourish, or where its more popular secondary specimens were produced. His ultimate settlement, marriage, admission to municipal rights, and composition of his two greatest works in Chios, may, on the same principle of interpretation, be held as figurative of the subsequent zeal of that city for the cultivation and preservation of his poems.

The Æolian legend is also embodied in the fabulous genealogy of the Lesbian Terpander¹, the great Æolian master and originator of the Greek school of scientific music, in the first century of the Olympic era. The descent of that artist is there deduced from both Homer and Hesiod. The Æolian character of the latter poet is ascertained, and in the popular legend he and Homer are described as first cousins², through their common Cumæan kindred. Similar in spirit is the tradition of the head and lyre of the Æolo-Thracian Orpheus floating across the Ægæan, in one version to Lesbos, in another to the mouth of the river Meles³ the birthplace of Homer, as symbolic of the passage of song from Western to Eastern Hellas with the Æolian migration. The very early connexion between the legend of Homer's birth and this Smyr-næan river, is further evinced by an extant epigram

¹ Suid. v. Τέρπανδρος.

² Hellanicus and Pherecydes ap. Procl. in Vit. Hom.; Ephorus in Vit. Hom. Plutarch. i. 2.

³ Supra, Vol. I. p. 157. sq.

of the Ionian poet Asius, who flourished in the eighth century B. C.¹

The other claims on the poet's nativity cannot, either in point of antiquity or inherent probability, enter into any reasonable competition with the Æolian legend. They seem, for the most part, to originate in some fanciful inference from facts or allusions contained in the various poems, genuine or spurious, as to a partiality of their author for the city in favour of which the honour was asserted. It was natural that the cities of Asia in which secondary works of the school were produced, or where they enjoyed popularity, should, amid the general doubt on the subject, also aspire to be the birthplace and residence of their eponyme author. His Ithacan predilections afforded a natural opening to the pretensions of that favoured island. In the same way he became a Thessalian in honour of Achilles; an Argive in compliment to Agamemnon and Diomed; a native of Cyprus in respect of the Cypria; a Colophonian on the strength of the Margites, where Colophon was celebrated. The pretensions of Athens², and even Egypt, can hardly imply any thing more than the proverbial title of those two regions in later times, to have originated, directly or indirectly, every thing great or excellent in Grecian art and literature.³

¹ Ap. Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 144. The antiquity of the Smyrnan tradition is also borne out by Scylax, *Peripl.* § 97. (Klausen); and Pindar, Boeckh ad frg. 86.

² Favoured by Aristarchus (*Vit. Hom. Plut.* ii. 2.); partly on the ground stated in the text, partly perhaps from Athens having been the originator of the Ionian migration, with the vicissitudes of which Aristarchus seems to have connected the poet's nativity. See *Clint. Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 363., conf. 146.; *Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. i. p. 41.

³ For the above and numerous other conjectural birthplaces of "Ho-

Rival
claims of
Ionia.

In spite of this general concurrence of the best accredited tradition, backed as will be shown by the internal evidence of the poems, the claims of Æolia upon Homer's nativity have been in a great degree set aside and overlooked, both in the antient and modern schools, in favour of the purely speculative opinion, that he was a native of the Ionian colonies established at a later period, farther to the south on the same line of coast. Hence the phrases, "Ionian poet," "bard of Chios¹," and the like, have become inveterate in popular use, as synonymous with the name Homer. This may be attributed to various causes; the chief of which perhaps is the circumstance already noticed, that the poems were from a very early period extensively cultivated, adopted as it were, and endowed with the rights of citizenship by the Ionian states. Chios in particular boasted from a remote period of a race called Homeridæ, who claimed descent from the poet, and professed a peculiar devotion to his Muse.² The precise character of this fraternity, whether their poetical functions were derived from their name, or the name from their office and assumed ancestor, is doubtful; but the fact of their existence could not but be highly propitious, in later times, to the pretensions advanced by Chios to the much contested honour of Homer's nativity. The ascendancy of the Ionians in wealth, art, and civilisation, at the period when the poet's history and works first became subject of critical attention, would also favour their efforts to

mer," see the biographies above cited; Welck. op. cit p. 157. sqq.; Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* fasc. II. p. 94. sqq.;

¹ Simonid. frg. 69. Schneidewin.

² See *Clint. Fast. Hell.* vol. I. p. 374. r.; Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* p. 160. sqq.

appropriate to themselves an Asiatic author whose origin was at the best doubtful. The early destruction, on the other hand, of Smyrna, around which the Æolian legends were concentrated, as were those of Ionia around Chios, with the subsequent transference of the former city, when restored, from the Æolic to the Ionian confederacy¹, would be as detrimental to the claims of Æolia as advantageous to those of the rival district. With this amount of circumstantial evidence in favour of Chios, it becomes the more worthy of remark, in corroboration of the Æolian legend, that even the Chian traditions hardly advance any serious claim, beyond that of hospitable reception and protection, on the bard of Smyrna. His Æolian nativity they both admit and inculcate.²

4. It will now be proper to test these traditional data by those derived from the poet's works, and which appear equally conclusive in favour of the Æolian Homer. Some trite arguments have, however, been borrowed from the same source, in support of the claims of Ionia. The familiar title of Ionic, which a certain general resemblance to the cultivated Ionic of later times obtained for the poet's dialect, naturally led to its being classed in the popular text-books as itself of Ionian origin. In modern times it has also been customary to characterise its poetical attributes as the offspring of the lively versatile genius, refined manners, and joyous habits, which distinguished the Ionian colonies to-

Dialect of
the poems.

¹ Herodot. i. 150. ; Strab. p. 646. ; conf. Bode, *Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk.* vol. i. p. 250. sqq.

² See Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 155. sqq. In the Hymn to Apollo (172.) the poet is described merely as "dwelling in Chios," with a pointed ambiguity which seems almost to intimate that he was born elsewhere. So also Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii. xxiii. 11.

wards the commencement of the Olympic era.¹ The poet therefore, who first carried to perfection the branch of composition in which that dialect chiefly excelled, was himself naturally presumed to be a native Ionian. This doctrine has now lost much of its credit in more critical quarters. That the poetical culture of a language is in itself a necessary, or even an ordinary concomitant of rapidly advancing social refinement, is in itself a questionable theory. But the dialect of Homer is marked by other features besides those of musical or metrical culture; features which, while no less characteristic of its true genius, are not certainly favourable to the above explanation of its rise and formation. It is distinguished by a native simplicity and energy, which bespeak a martial vigour or even ferocity in the race among whom it flourished, not very compatible with the seductive effects of a soft climate and luxurious habits. But independantly of these considerations, there are few better attested facts in the early history of the Greek language, than that the dialect which the Ionian colonists spoke during the earlier more flourishing part of their career, was substantially the same which they brought with them from the mother country. It must therefore, even if identical with that of the Homeric poems, which is by no means established, have been of primitive European not of Asiatic formation. The language common to the whole race while united, could not be the invention of a portion of it after their separation. The affinity appears also to have maintained its ground

¹ W. Müller, *Hom. Vorsch.* § 1. sq.; Heyn. *Exc.* III. ad II. xxiv. p. 825. sq.; conf. *Exc.* ad II. xxi.

long after that separation. Greek historians and geographers are agreed as to the fact, that the older Attic dialect and that of the Ionian colonies were, down to a comparatively late period, the same or closely similar: and this similarity is traced by the same authorities to its true and only possible cause, that the two dialects were originally one common idiom, transferred by the Ionian settlers from Attica and Northern Peloponnesus to Asia.¹

At an early stage of this history it was observed, that according to the most probable, or indeed only critical view, the Homeric dialect had its origin in European Greece prior to the Dorian invasion. It was the common language of poetry during the heroic age of Hellas, formed and matured under the race of kings celebrated in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Hence one of its familiar properties is that of combining, in pristine simplicity of form, many of those idioms which, on the subsequent spread of literary culture are found peculiar to other dialects. After attaining its maturity in Continental Greece it was transported to Asia, where it was carried to its highest perfection by Homer. That its original formation dates from the more remote period, is further proved by the fact, that even after the downfall of the Achæan or Pelopidan empire, it still maintained its former privilege throughout Continental Greece, as the dialect of all the higher branches of composition. The oracles were habitually delivered in it; the national poets every where continued to employ it, occasionally under slight modifications de-

¹ Strab. viii. p. 333, xiv. p. 679.; Eustath. ad Il. i. 30.; Pausan. ii. xxxvii.; conf. Maith. de Diall. p. xxxv. sq.

rived from their native idiom. The dialect of Hesiod for example, (the author of the *Works and Days*,) a native of Bœotia, a poet of purest Æolian birth and habits, and of nearly as antient date probably as Homer, is, with the exception of one or two local Bœotian forms, identical with the Homeric. That the influence of Ionian dialectical refinement could at this early period have extended across the Ægæan, to the rugged ridges of Helicon or the recesses of the Pythian sanctuary, cannot reasonably be supposed. Hesiod himself tells us that he had never crossed the Ægæan. His poetical idiom was therefore as much his birthright, and that of the numerous race of European authors who inherited his name, as of any one of the bards of Chios or Colophon. The same holds good of other districts of Hellas no way connected with the Asiatic colonies; as evinced by the celebrity enjoyed, among other epic poets of this primitive age, by Stasinus of Cyprus, Eumelus of Corinth, and Cinæthion of Lacedæmon.

Theory of
Crates.

5. Another view which, both in respect to the country and the age of Homer, may be considered as that most broadly opposed to the Ionian theory, would make him flourish prior to the Dorian invasion, and hence, in the received chronology, prior also to any Ionian settlement in Asia. This view has been rested still more confidently than the foregoing on the internal evidence of his works. It seems to have been first seriously put forth by the Alexandrian critic Crates¹, but found little favour with the

¹ Here consequently may be traced a curious illustration of the proverbial antagonism between Crates and Aristarchus. Crates, as appears from a notice in the *Vit. Matrit.*, combined his view with an advocacy of

antients. In modern times it has been warmly advocated in several distinguished quarters.¹ The arguments of its supporters, if not conclusive in its own favour, help at least to place in a strong light some of the leading objections to the Ionian theory, against which they are mainly directed. As a general principle, it has been contended: that "the popular bard of an eventful age would naturally prefer recent subjects, possessing an immediate hold on the sympathies of his audience. This principle is, in fact, inculcated by the poet himself in the words of Telemachus.² But, had Homer lived after the invasion of the Heraclidæ, which drove the Ionians to migrate in quest of new seats, that event, with their own subsequent Asiatic expeditions and conquests, would have furnished material more recent, as well as more interesting to an Ionian audience than the siege of Troy. Even admitting that an Ionian Homer had preferred the tale of Troy to the wars of the Dorian conquest, as the subject of his standard work, it were scarcely conceivable that, amid so much matter naturally involving allusions to the late revolution, by which the destinies both of his own province and of all Greece were so deeply affected, not one such allusion should have escaped him throughout his many thousand lines of narrative." To this it is replied by the advocates of

the poet's Æolian origin; placing the date of his birth exactly coeval with that popularly assigned to the Æolian migration, or 60 years after Troy. Aristarchus, as an advocate of the Ionian theory, made the poet's birth exactly coeval with the Ionian migration, or 140 years after Troy. Vit. Hom. Plut. i. 3.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 145.

¹ Sir I. Newton, Chronology; Chandler, Hist. of Ilium, p. 40.; Mitford, Hist. of Gr. vol. i. p. 299. sqq. ed. 1829.

² Od. i. 351.

the Ionian theory: that "the very last subject on which any people would love to dwell, or which their popular poets would select for celebration, would be their ignominious expulsion from their native seats. This therefore was a case to which the incidental remark of Telemachus could not extend, even assuming it to be capable, under any circumstances, of so rigid an application. The poet, turning away with shame and sorrow from so dismal a catastrophe, would find far more congenial matter in the vicissitudes of a war eminently glorious to his own race, but in which their Dorian oppressors had taken no part. Homer however, it is further maintained, has in fact alluded to the Dorian conquest, and precisely in such ambiguous mode as might under the circumstances have been expected, in the passage where Juno assures Jupiter that, 'if he will indulge her by the destruction of Troy, she will hereafter offer no obstacle to that of her own three favourite cities, Argos, Mycene, and Sparta.'"¹

Ionian
theory
tested by
the internal
evidence of
the poems.

6. The balance of the above argument, if on the one hand not sufficient to bear out the opinion that Homer flourished prior to the Dorian conquest, is not certainly more favourable to his Ionian origin. So stoical an indifference to the real destinies of his race on the part of a genial poet, in so voluminous a mass of poetical commentaries on their fabulous annals, were certainly a phenomenon without example in the history of literature. It is the universal privilege and custom of poets, in describing events of antient date, to apostrophise subsequent transactions connected with them, where deeply

¹ Il. iv. 51. sqq.; Payne Knight, Proleg. § lxiii. sqq.; Heyne, Exc. iii. ad Il. xxiv. p. 825. sqq.

interesting to their audience. The circumstance that such events were not entirely of an agreeable nature, can form no exception to the general rule. When therefore we find Virgil predicting the historical vicissitudes of Rome, her misfortunes as well as her greatness ; when we find Tasso dwelling on the future glories of the House of d'Este ; when we find Homer himself adverting to coming events of national interest, to the subsequent fate of Ulysses, and of Æneas and his late posterity,—it were hardly reasonable to expect so pervading a silence on the part of an Ionian poet, regarding the immediate future destinies of his Ionian fellow-countrymen, especially when of such momentous interest to those whom he addressed. Admitting the passage regarding the destruction of the three Peloponnesian cities to point at the Dorian invasion, the allusion could hardly be that of an Ionian poet, betraying, as it does, indifference, rather than concern for the disaster. But the anomaly in the case of an Ionian Homer would not be confined to mere silence or indifference ; it would amount to a neglect or contempt inconceivable in any such case. Athens was the parent state of the Ionian colonies ; it was the city which, in every version of their history, affords protection to the fugitives from the Dorian arms, and under whose auspices and leaders they crossed the Ægæan and settled in their new possessions. How then can the insignificant part which Athens plays in the Iliad, or in the poet's fable generally, as compared with her celebrity in her own standard textbooks of heroic tradition, be reconciled with his Ionian origin ? In the Iliad no Athenian chief is ever put prominently forward, except in an unfavourable

light.¹ No Athenian combatant is ever represented so much as killing an antagonist.² The allusions to Athens herself or her affairs are rare and incidental; some of them in passages of questionable origin. What could have induced an Ionian Homer to celebrate so many Æolian or Achæan warriors, even chiefs of the hated race of Heraclidæ³, as the flower of Hellenic chivalry, while the single Athenian hero mentioned by name, Menestheus, is scarcely brought on the stage but to be chid for his backwardness to the combat?⁴ The consistency with which this secondary character of the Athenians is maintained from first to last, might indeed be adduced among other valid arguments of the unity of design which animates the poem; or as evidence at least, that among the rhapsodists supposed to have contributed their atoms to its creation, very little can be due to a genuine Ionian. This argument is strengthened by the contrast between the *Iliad* and the *Iliopersis* of Arctinus, the oldest Greek heroic poet next to Homer. Arctinus, as a Milesian, was an Attico-Ionian colonist. Hence in his poem, a prominent part was assigned to the Athenian heroes Demophoon and Acamas.⁵

No less pointed is the argument supplied by the cursory, or even contemptuous mode in which, in the geographical notices occurring in the poem, the part of Asia Minor afterwards called Ionia is passed over. Here again there could be no obligation, either in propriety or custom, to such modesty. To have dwelt on political revolutions not yet accomplished, or cities not yet founded, might have been taxed as

¹ The notice of Menestheus as a "good drill" (Il. II. 553.), for it is little more (even if the passage be genuine), can hardly form an exception.

² This exclusion is very remarkable in Il. XII. 331. sqq.

³ See especially Il. v. 628. sqq.

⁴ Il. IV. 338.

⁵ *Infra*, Ch. xvii. § 10.

superfluous or out of place. But, in regard to the localities or scenery around which his own patriotic sympathies were concentrated, silence or reserve could as little be expected on the part of an Ionian Homer as of a Mantuan Virgil. Yet the only town, if it already was one, to the south of the Æolian coast, mentioned in the *Iliad*, and that but once in the catalogue of Trojan allies, is Miletus. Among the islands no notice whatever occurs of Samos. Chios, also overlooked in the *Iliad*, is once mentioned in the *Odyssey*¹, but merely as a sea-mark, and with the far from flattering epithet of "rugged Chios." Such is all the celebrity which the supposed "bard of Chios" has thought fit, amid plentiful opportunities, to bestow upon his own favoured birthplace.

The above considerations, in proportion as they invalidate the claims of the Ionian colonies on the poet's nativity, strengthen those of the neighbouring Æolia. The argument indeed in favour of this district combines, with the voice of popular tradition, an amount of evidence derivable from Homer's own text or from historical probability, such as might hardly have been expected in so essentially fabulous a case. In order to do justice to these joint data, a few remarks will be necessary on the obscurer points which they involve in the early colonial history of Greece.

7. That the legend of the Trojan war is in so far founded in fact, as to shadow forth a great struggle between the population of the eastern and that of the western shore of the Ægæan, terminating in the expulsion of the former race from their maritime territory and its occupation by the victors, is not, it is believed, seriously denied by the more reasonable even

Connexion
between
the Trojan
war and the
Æolian
migration.

¹ III. 170. sqq.

of those who are least disposed to admit a basis of reality in Hellenic fable. The establishment of civilised Greek invaders among the comparatively barbarous aborigines of Libya, Sicily, or parts of Italy, might have been effected without any such obstinate struggle as to supply an important chapter of heroic tradition. But the submissive abandonment of their native seats, of the fairest regions of Asia Minor, by a race which all historical evidence implies had preceded the Greeks themselves in the arts both of peace and war, cannot be so easily explained. Whether or no the struggle, as in the poetical accounts, lasted ten years; whether the vanquished chief was called Priam, and his conqueror Agamemnon, or by some other name,—the existence of the colonies seems to vouch for the main fact, that a body of Hellenic warriors subdued, after a vigorous resistance, the north-western coast of Asia Minor. This view may be taken in connexion with the legend of the Iliad, where the successive reduction of the neighbouring states, allies of Priam, constitutes the chief part of the first nine years' operations of the Greek army. Achilles describes himself as having conquered, inclusive of the isles of Lesbos and Scyros¹, no fewer than twenty-three cities or states, eleven by land and twelve in maritime expeditions², which must have extended therefore to a considerable distance from the central theatre of war.

An obstacle to any such connexion of fact and fable may seem to exist in the interval of sixty years, interposed in the accredited chronology between the overthrow of Priam's empire and the occupation of the conquered territory. It can hardly be supposed

¹ Il. ix. 129. 271. 668., xix. 326. sqq.

² Il. ix. 328. sq.

that so fine a country, almost within sight of the native land of the victors, would have been at once so contemptuously relinquished by them, as both that chronology and the Homeric legend inculcate. Still less probable is it that had the Greeks been so strangely indifferent to its value, its antient possessors would have allowed it to lie waste during several generations. It would undoubtedly have been reoccupied, its towns rebuilt and refortified, to the extent sufficient to oppose at least as formidable a resistance as before to a more limited and less warlike body of invaders. No such second struggle however is recorded. The tradition therefore, which describes the Greeks as returning in mass, after the fall of the city, to their native land, must be considered but as a poetical sequel to the purely poetical account, which represents the expedition as undertaken for the sole purpose of recovering Helen. In the actual course of events, of which notice is still extant in classical authors, it may be presumed that the Troad, if not at first fully colonised, was at least occupied by the victors¹, until the vicissitudes of the mother country led to the complete establishment of the states of the Æolian confederacy. The hold thus obtained on the line of coast

¹ Æschylus, *Eumen.* 398. — Pindar (*Nem.* xi. 45.), and the prevailing tradition (*Strab.* xiii. p. 582. 621.; *conf.* ix. p. 402.; *Hellanic. frag.* 114. *Did.*) describe the Æolian migration as led by Orestes son of Agamemnon; other inferior authorities by Penthilus son of Orestes. *Conf. Clint. Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 103. In each case it may be asked: Why should colonies from Bœotia and the neighbouring districts have selected, even in the legend, a Pelopidan leader, but that the title by conquest to the new territory rested, in the same legend, with the Pelopidan dynasty? Herodotus (v. 94.) also founds the title of the Greek colonies to the Æolian territory on the Trojan war; and the traditions of the Nosti, Hesiod, and Callinus, allude to Greek settlements in Ionia immediately after the fall of Troy. *Düntz. fragm.* p. 23.; *Marcksch. fragm. Hes.* 187.; *Bach, Callin. frag.* 7.; *conf. Pausanias, vii. ii. 4.*

would afford opportunity for the subsequent extension of Hellenic settlement, and the Ionian colonies followed in the wake of their kinsmen to the northward.

Æolian
predi-
lections of
Homer.

8. This view of the original settlement of the Æolian states, strengthens their claim to be considered the mother country of Homer. Assuming his own ancestors to have been among the first occupants of the conquered region, he would have been nourished in the midst of the objects and associations best calculated to inspire him with ardour for the subject he has selected. The arguments urged above against the pretensions of Ionia, from the poet's ignorance of, or indifference to, Ionian localities, are here accordingly all reversed. Every page of the *Iliad* betrays a minute knowledge of the scenery of the Troad. Not merely the general outline of the landscape; hills, valleys, plains, headlands; but the gardens, fountains, and washing-troughs, in the environs of the destroyed city; the carriage-road, the beech trees, the fig groves; the fords of the rivers, the tombs and landmarks of the plain, are exhibited in the poet's descriptions with a native simplicity of effect, which shows it to be a real Troad with which his own mind was identified, not the mere image of a foreign region which he celebrates. We have already seen that, although the whole country afterwards called Ionia is included in his Trojan Catalogue, not a single city of that country, with the doubtful exception of Miletus, is mentioned by name. The towns, on the other hand, of the comparatively narrow district of Mount Ida, extending along the Hellespont and the neighbouring shore of Propontis, are enumerated to the amount of twenty and upwards, including those previously destroyed by Achilles, or

incidentally mentioned in other parts of the poem. Many of their names are identical with those of cities afterwards known as members of the Æolian confederacy; and although the Greek settlers may in some instances have retained the antient titles of Asiatic localities, yet in other cases, especially where the names are of pure Greek formation, it may safely be assumed that the Æolian poet has availed himself of the joint opportunity which purely Æolian names afforded him, of both swelling his Trojan Catalogue and doing honour to his native district. Another curious evidence of Homer's Æolian predilections exists in the circumstance, already noticed, of the importance attached by him in the *Iliad* to the destinies of Æneas and his race, as future sovereigns of a remnant of the Trojans, after the destruction of Priam's city and empire. There are accordingly few facts of the kind better attested, than that the rulers of several states in this same region of Ida asserted and enjoyed, from the remotest period, the honour of a traditional descent from the Dardanian hero.¹ Among those states, Gergithes, on the north side of the mountain, advanced a more especial claim to this honour. Hence it is no doubt that we find that community, though not mentioned by Homer as a Trojan city, celebrated by him indirectly, and by anticipation, in the name of Gorgythion, a son of Priam. In the same way the name of another later Æolian locality, Cebrene, is poetically forestalled by that of Cebriones, a still more distinguished member of the Trojan royal family.²

¹ See K. O. Müller, in *Class. Journ.* vol. xxvi. p. 311.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. i. p. 427. sqq.; Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* pt. ii. p. 223. sqq.

² *Il.* viii. 302. 318. alibi.

While the Æolian tradition, as thus extending to the earliest Greek colonists, has the advantage of giving a wide latitude to reasonable conjecture as to the precise epoch at which Homer may have flourished, it also escapes the objection urged by the followers of Crates against the Ionian theory from the poet's want of sympathy with the victims of the Dorian invasion, or from his ungrateful neglect or contempt of their Attic benefactors. To the colonists from Bœotia or Thessaly, already settled in Asia, the revolutions of Southern Greece were matters of comparative indifference. Such incidental allusions as that placed in the mouth of Juno, to the three Peloponnesian cities, were as much as could reasonably be expected from an Æolian poet.

The picture of Greece presented in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the descriptions they contain of the component elements of the victorious army and of its leading heroes, also abundantly betray Æolian feelings and predilections. It was a nice question among the antient critics, why Homer should have commenced his catalogue with Bœotia.¹ The question as treated by them seems frivolous, owing to the frivolity of the attempts at its solution; but weighed on more critical grounds it is not so superfluous as it appears. Modern commentators² have also expressed surprise, that an "Ionian poet" should have been at pains to assign so great a prominence to this district, and enumerate its cities in greater detail than those of any other part of Greece; while the cities of Attica itself, the metropolitan state of the Ionian colonies, are passed over unnoticed with the single exception of the capital. The mystery is explained

¹ Scholl. ad II. ii. 494.

² Heyne, Obs. ad II. ii. 508.

by the consideration, that Bœotia claimed and enjoyed the undisputed honours of metropolitan state of the Æolian confederacy.¹ It was natural therefore that she should be placed, by the Æolian poet, in the van of the host by whom the country had been subdued. The prominence given to individual heroes of Æolian blood is also remarkable. The protagonist of each poem is of that race, as are four of the seven chiefs of first rank before Troy, Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, Diomed. The ascendancy of Æolian associations may also be traced in the chief episodical narratives of each poem. Such are the histories of Bellerophon and Meleager in the *Iliad*, and the adventures of Theoclymenus in the *Odyssey*. This latter episode indeed, from its very slender connexion with the main action of the poem, might almost appear to have been specially intended to confer honour on the Melampodian family, whose Æolo-Bœotian claims to celebrity have also been recognised by Hesiod in a separate poem in their honour. In the personages most prominently put forward in the *Necromancy of the Odyssey* the same partiality is observable. Of the seven heroines first introduced, on whose history so pointed an attention is bestowed, six are Æolians: Tyro, ancestress of the chief families of Southern Thessaly; Chloris, the wife of Neleus; Iphimedia, the mother of the Aloidæ; and three illustrious Bœotian dames, Antiope, Alcmena, and Epicasta. The sad destiny of the latter heroine, conjointly with that of her son Œdipus, is also concisely but circumstantially described. Leda alone, among the rest, as the mother of Helen and the Dioscuri, is honoured with any detailed notice. Of the only three heroes whose torments are

¹ Thuc. vii. 57., viii. 100., iii. 2.; conf. Schol. ad l.; Strab. ix. p. 402.

described, two are Æolians; Tityus a Bœotian giant, and Sisypheus son of the eponyme patriarch of the Æolian race. Homer, like Dante¹, exults in the celebrity enjoyed by his nation even in hell.

His age
tested by
his de-
scriptions of
manners.

9. In the popular adjustment of the Æolian legend, Cuma, founded in 1033 B. C., was the city where the poet's family first settled. Smyrna, founded in 1015 B. C. by Cumæans, was the place of his birth.² He could not therefore, on this basis, have been born prior to the latter date, or about ninety years after the Dorian invasion. This account seems to be but a figurative adaptation of the poet's nativity to his supposed character and circumstances. For the most illustrious of Æolia's sons, Smyrna, the chief city of the confederacy, was naturally selected as, birthplace. Cuma on the other hand, as the first Æolian city which attained celebrity, and mother of Smyrna, no less readily suggested itself as the earliest Asiatic seat of his ancestors. It was also the ascertained seat of the family of Hesiod, a circumstance not probably without influence in the selection. The only historical inference to be derived from this arrangement, is the inveteracy of the tradition relative to Homer's Æolian origin. Any more critical attempt to elucidate his age³, must depend mainly on a comparison of the state of manners described in his poems, with that which prevailed at the later period when historical light begins to shine more clearly on

¹ Godi . . . poichè sei sì grande,
Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,
E per lo inferno il tuo nome si spande !

² Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 140. ; conf. 105.

³ For the multitude of conflicting opinions, or rather random conjectures, of the antients on this subject, see Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 145. sqq.

the affairs of Greece, towards the first Olympiad, or the year 776 B.C. The interval of years, which a fair estimate of the difference in the two states of society warrants our interposing between the periods in which they respectively prevailed, added to 776, the year of the first Olympiad, will give the less certain date of which we are in search.

The main characteristics of the state of manners depicted by Homer, are all more or less connected with the form of government which he describes. This may be defined as a combination of the feudal and patriarchal systems, such as prevailed in various countries of modern Europe even within a recent period. In heroic Greece, as in the modern middle ages, chiefs of inferior degree, while paying allegiance by service or tribute to some other potentate of higher rank, enjoyed a royal supremacy in their own district. The dominions of Agamemnon, for example, are described in general terms as comprehending all Peloponnesus ("Argos") and many islands.¹ Yet, in the Catalogue and other more specific notices of the separate states of the confederacy, the territories of Menelaus, Nestor, and Diomed, occupy a much larger portion of the peninsula than the share allotted to Agamemnon; nor is any island whatever specified as belonging to the latter king. This supreme sovereignty, therefore, was but a species of feudal lordship² exercised by him over the peninsula and its dependancies. The following cases may be adduced in closer illustration. Among

¹ Il. II. 108.

² Traces of this supremacy may be recognised in the legend of Pindar (Pyth. xi. 48., Nem. xi. 44.), Stesichorus, and Simonides (Schol. ad Eurip. Orest. 46.), which placed the royal residence of Agamemnon at Lacedæmon; conf. Pausan. III. xix. 5.; Müller, Orchom. 2d ed. p. 313.

the gifts offered by the repentant "King of Men" to Achilles, were seven cities in the Pylian Gulf, "inhabited by men of substance, who would honour him with tribute as their liege lord."¹ These cities lay widely detached from the territory of Agamemnon, between the dominions of Menelaus and Nestor. Hence probably why they are omitted in the Catalogue. They could neither be politically comprehended in the districts of Lacedæmon or Pylos, nor geographically in the proper dominions of Agamemnon; nor were they sufficiently important to constitute a section by themselves. They sent however their contingent to the war, as appears by the passage² where two warriors slain by Æneas are described as sons of Diocles of Pheræ, one of the seven communities. By this same Diocles Telemachus is hospitably entertained at Pheræ, on his journey from Pylos to Lacedæmon.³ Diocles was therefore a petty prince, exercising sovereign authority in his own state, but paying allegiance and tribute to Agamemnon, who offers to make over these rights with the hand of his daughter to Achilles. In the same way Phœnix was invested by Peleus with the feudal sovereignty of a province of his dominions⁴; and Menelaus expresses his intention of paying his debt of gratitude to Ulysses in the same substantial manner.⁵ From the historical details of the Odyssey⁶ it is also evident, that the leading suitors were petty princes under the feudal supremacy of the Laertian family. Priam is described as lord of the whole region of Phrygia between the Hellespont and Lesbos, inclusive of that island.⁷ Yet

¹ Il. ix. 149² Il. v. 541. sqq.³ Od. iii. 488., xv. 186.⁴ Il. ix. 483.⁵ Od. iv. 174.⁶ i. 394.; conf. viii. 390.⁷ Il. xxiv. 544. sqq.

the numerous chiefs of those countries, whose troops swelled the Trojan forces, exercise, each in his own locality, a sovereign sway. This higher imperial order of royal authority is apostrophised by the poet in terms indicating the deep reverence, almost amounting to religious veneration¹, with which, both in his own and the public estimation, it was contemplated; and which contrasts curiously with the equally strong sentiments of reprobation or contempt, entertained for the same dignity during the republican ages of Greece.

The beneficial effects of this state of society in the promotion of heroic poetry are obvious. While the amplest scope was afforded to the martial energies of the dominant order, its members were subjected at the same time to such an amount of control, civil or military, as to prevent their spirit of chivalrous rivalry from degenerating into lawless violence. Each considerable landholder was in his own sphere a king and general. A dispute between two neighbours about a right of pasture, which in other times would be settled by a law-plea, gave rise to a warlike adventure, celebrated by a heroic ballad. But the same rival powers were not the less readily united under the common bond of patriotism and feudal allegiance, in the prosecution of great enterprises, supplying subjects for a higher class of minstrelsy.

The only occupations generally followed by the upper ranks besides war and navigation, were those of rural and domestic economy. Hence the performance of offices considered in more advanced stages of social culture as menial and humiliating, was, to Homer's heroes, not only useful employ-

¹ IL. II. 204., IX. 98., XII. 212.; Od. XVI. 401. alibi.

ment but pleasurable pastime. The same hand which wielded the sceptre was not ashamed to assist as mason or joiner in the structure of the royal dwelling, or even as butcher or cook in the sacrificial rites. The king's son tended the flocks, and the princesses helped their maidens to wash the family vestments. An action which it was not beneath the dignity of a king to perform, it was not degrading in the Epic Muse to celebrate; and our sympathy with the genius of the poet's age, as much as the brilliancy of his own descriptions, causes us to enjoy, in his account of the every-day life of his heroes, much that would be offensive or ridiculous in a poem of the present day. Similar is the case with the language of those heroes. Whether in familiar discourse or fierce altercation, the oratory of men neither afraid nor ashamed to call things by their real names, must always possess a power of dramatic effect, for which no studied refinement of modern poetical rhetoric can compensate.

How far those descriptions represent the state of society in his own time.

10. Before adopting this picture of society as a criterion for estimating the age of its author, a question of some importance occurs: How far is that picture to be considered as exhibiting the manners of the poet's own times, how far those of the times which he celebrates? There are probably few students of Homer to whom, from the day when his poems were first placed in their hands as a subject of schoolboy task, until the question was forced on their attention as a point of critical discussion, it has ever occurred to doubt that his sketches of life were borrowed from the reality. There is an artless truthful sincerity about them, which appears altogether beyond the mechanical skill of a retoucher of old and faded

portraits. Many poets and romance writers of civilised ages have, it is true, succeeded, by a happy combination of antiquarian research and illustrative talent, in dressing up such pictures in colours so plausible as to produce a lively impression of their reality. Still there remains a wide difference between them and those transmitted by contemporary authors; between the elaborate compositions of Walter Scott, and the original sketches of Villani or Froissart. But all such studied arts of the literary antiquary, were as foreign to the genius of Homer as the means for their exercise were beyond his reach.

Essential however as it may be to the poetical effect of such descriptions, that they should be borrowed from real life, it is by no means so indispensable that they should represent the manners of the period described. The difference between the description and the reality could, in the present case, at the most be but trifling: and Homer's investment of the warriors of Trojan times with the habits of his own, seems certainly both more consistent with his genius and more conducive to the poetical spirit of his narrative, than any attempt to embody antiquarian speculations as to the changes which might have taken place.

The chief objection urged to the admission of such genuine truthfulness in his descriptions, has been the anomaly observable in some of their details; the contrasts of rudeness and refinement, luxury, and frugality, in the habits of his heroes. Some commentators have supposed that, in these symptoms of more advanced politeness, he artlessly represents the state of society with which he was himself familiar; while in his ruder pictures he attempts to transplant his read-

ers into that of a former generation. Others would discover in the former class of passages argument of different authorship. Both inferences are equally fallacious. Such contrasts are the usual characteristics of a comparatively barbarous state of society advancing in civilisation. The refinements or luxuries introduced from abroad cannot fail, in every such case, to appear in marked contrast to the rudeness on which they are engrafted; especially to the eye accustomed to judge by the standard of a fully civilised age, where all such anomalies are smoothed down in the general polish of the social fabric. The same thing is exemplified under very similar features, in the habits of the antient tribes of Palestine as portrayed in the Mosaic writings.¹ In Greece, a country farther removed from the great fountain-heads of Oriental culture, the anomaly would naturally be more marked. Nor could it fail to be greatly exaggerated in poetical description. A popular poet had no inducement to disguise the ordinary social habits of his day, even where capable of such treatment. Princes tending their flocks, or princesses acting the laundress, were matters of fact rather than subjects of fictitious embellishment. But the palace of a wealthy king, its furniture, or the decoration of his person and table, homely as they might have appeared in the age of the Ptolemies, were wonderful in the eyes of the poet's contemporaries. They afforded, consequently, material for such poetical enlargement as renders them more

¹ The contrast appears in still more striking, even grotesque forms, between the native habits of the North American Indians, or other tribes of savages in modern times, and the European arts and luxuries with which they have been made familiar.

apparently inconsistent with the simple domestic habits of the proprietor. There can also be little doubt that the whole, or a very large portion, of the nobler works of art described in the poems were of foreign importation.¹ Such they are in fact specified to be in many cases by the poet. Even therefore without any exaggeration, they would broadly contrast with the more homely produce of native manufacture. Of the degree in which these descriptions really are exaggerated, the episodes of the Shield of Achilles, of the Palace and Gardens of Alcinoüs, and others, afford abundant evidence ; much of the splendour which here dazzles being not only of a marvellous but a supernatural character.

11. In reverting to the main question, as to the light reflected by the above picture of manners on the epoch at which its author flourished, one cannot fail to be struck with the difference between the form of political government which he portrays, and that which prevailed in Greece from the earliest dawn of authentic history, about or prior to the commencement of the Olympic era. At that period, with the exception of a few chiefly Dorian states of Peloponnesus, where the name and rank of king, though still maintained, no longer represented the former powers of royalty, monarchical rule was extinct throughout Greece and its dependancies. Republicanism, in

Result
favourable
to his Æo-
lian origin.

¹ See Hirt, *Amalthea*, vol. II. p. 52.; who, however, goes too far in assuming that the same arts were not practised in Greece. In our own mediæval romance, English crusaders are generally armed with "Damascus blades," and modern German novelists adorn their heroines with Parisian jewellery ; but it does not follow in the one case that there were no swords made in England in the thirteenth century, or in the other that there are now no jewellers in Berlin or Dresden. Native artists skilled in working the precious metals are frequently alluded to in both poems.

its various modifications, was every where recognised as the legitimate form of government; and in many, especially the Asiatic states, the spirit of party, with all its machinery and terminology, was fully matured. The efficient, if not the immediate cause of this revolution, was the general break up in the social fabric of the confederacy, and the changes in its population, consequent on the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus. While in that peninsula the royal dignity continued to exist without regal power, in Attica and the Bæotian states it speedily disappeared both in name and substance. It can hardly be doubted that the republican principle was also about the same time largely developed, though at first probably under aristocratic forms, in the Ionian colonies, founded under the auspices of the Athenian leaders who had aided in abolishing or limiting the royal authority at home. Bodies of enterprising men, collected from different regions for the express purpose of colonisation, or to escape oppression in their native seats, would, on occupying a new country on the more or less equal footing of independant adventurers, be the more keenly alive to the charm of popular institutions. There exists, accordingly, no historical trace of royalty, in the Homeric sense, in these colonies.¹

The presumption that this important revolution in the political state of the Greeks was complete not long after the Dorian invasion, if not sufficient inducement to place the poet's epoch prior to that event, is at least an argument for carrying it as far back as were otherwise consistent with probability. The inference here, as before, is favourable

¹ See Appendix F.

to the claims of the Æolian colonies on his nativity. These settlements, as dating prior to the revolution in the mother country in which the above political changes originated, and formed under leaders boasting descent from the princes by whom the new territory had been conquered, would be likely to adhere longer and more closely to the old patriarchal system in the form exhibited in the poet's descriptions.

The argument in favour of Homer's antiquity derivable from the social habits of his heroes, though not without its weight, is less pointed. The changes in the domestic manners of Greece during this period were apparently less rapid than those in her political government. Traces of the same homely simplicity may be discovered among the higher class down to a comparatively late epoch.¹ But here again the inference, in so far as it reaches, is unfavourable to the pretensions of the Ionians, as the part of the nation where the old patriarchal habits, with the increase of maritime trade and more extended intercourse with Asia, were most rapidly effaced.

But the same traditional evidence which constrains us to award the honour of the poet's birthplace to Æolia, secures to the Ionian states, by equally valid right, that of having most zealously cultivated and preserved the fruits of his genius, and extended the school of poetry founded by him through its various ramifications of Homerids, Cyclic poets, and hymnographers. This adoption or appropriation of his

Promul-
gation and
preserv-
ation of his
poems in
Ionia.

¹ Of the palace hall of the king of Macedon, see Herodot. viii. cxxxvii.; of Melissa, wife of Periander of Corinth, serving drink to her father's labourers, Athen. Deipn. xiii. p. 589.; of Cleobuline washing the feet of her father's guests, Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. p. 523.

muse, the second important stage in the "Life of Homer," was a natural result of the subsequent Ionian ascendancy in power, wealth, and influence, and is no less distinctly shadowed forth in the tradition of his wanderings. His offer to settle at Cuma, so ungraciously declined by its citizens, and ultimate prosperous domicile and marriage in Chios, are a plain figure of the transfer of the chief credit and popularity of his poems from his native region to the latter city and coast. Hence too may be explained how, in every version of the legend, he dies and is buried in the isle of Ios.¹ This locality, so insignificant unless as connected with the legend of Homer, evidently appears in that legend as the eponyme of Ionian colonisation; an honour which seems to have attached to it, both in right of its name, and as the first Ionian land visited by the sons of Codrus on crossing the Ægæan.²

His personal character and fortunes, as illustrated by his works.

12. In so far as the personal lot of the poet, the degree of honour, fame, or other worldly blessings he may have enjoyed, or the adverse destiny to which he may have been subjected, can reasonably be tested by the internal data supplied by his works, the inference must be that he was a prosperous man. Poetical genius is there represented as a passport to honour and emoluments. Every princely establishment maintained a professional minstrel, a habitual guest at the royal table, and who, if not invested with the attributes of sanctity, as his familiar epithet of "divine" might import, appears to have occasionally combined with the character of poet that of sage, or even minister of state. Agamemnon,

¹ From Scylax (Perip. ed. Klausen, 59.) downwards.

² Vit. Hom. Plut. I. iii.

on his departure for Troy, consigns his youthful wife Clytemnestra to the guardianship of a bard. By his influence and authority, so long as he lived, she was preserved from pollution. Through his destruction alone Ægisthus was enabled to accomplish his pernicious purpose.¹ That Homer therefore, as the prince of the fraternity, largely partook of its privileges, can hardly be doubted. Both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, amid all their lively sallies of passion and feeling, also display a placid tone of general sentiment, bespeaking a mind at ease with itself and contented with its lot. Here however, his own testimony stands in somewhat strange contrast with the more popular accounts of his life current in later ages, where he appears as a distressed wanderer, whose talents barely suffice to procure him a precarious subsistence, extorted as much perhaps by compassion for his poverty as admiration of his genius. There occur indeed some more favourable versions of this chapter of his history. The author of the joint biography of Homer and Hesiod represents the former as a wandering bard it is true, but as one highly honoured and at times munificently rewarded. The dismal account of his earlier adventures is also, in the Æolian legend, relieved by his attaining, at the close of life, a competence and settled residence at Chios; while Proclus, without entering into details, observes with some simplicity but not without plausibility, that "Homer must have been a man of no mean substance, to have visited so many countries at a period when travelling must have been so expensive." Plato, on the other hand, alludes to his lot as that of the humblest itinerant minstrel, exposed, even on the

¹ Od. iii. 267. sqq.

part of his patrons, to frequent neglect and contumely.¹ The antiquity and popularity of this more gloomy view of his history, are in some degree vouched for by the extant epigrams ascribed to himself, in which he complains of his unhappy fate, and stigmatises those who by their unkind treatment had helped to embitter it.² Several of these productions appear, by reference both to their style and matter, to date from a period at which the Homeric school of epic poetry still maintained a lingering existence. They may be considered as figuratively expressing, on the one hand the fact, that at the epoch when they were composed all authentic notices of the poet had perished; on the other the very natural inference, that had his treatment in life corresponded to his merits, his memory would have been more effectually preserved. They may also figure the ordinary condition of the popular minstrel in the lower periods of epic art; when its professors, degraded from the rank of original bards to little more than promulgators of the works of their predecessors, may have found some consolation in assuming their great master to have been reduced to the same shifts by which they were accustomed to earn their subsistence.

Compara-
tive esti-
mate of his
genius.

13. To the above speculations on Homer's life and history as a man, it may seem almost superfluous, after the copious train of previous illustration, to add another word on his genius as an author. It may still however be desirable to contemplate, in one comparative view, those attributes which have procured for him, by the unanimous award of three

¹ De Repub. p. 600.; conf. Paus. i. ii. 3.; Dio Chrys. Or. xi. p. 311. ed. Reisk.

² Vit. Hom. Herodot. ix. xiv.

thousand years, the dignity not only of father, but of prince of poets.

Homer's superiority to his successors consists, first, in having excelled them all in certain of the higher, and more essential attributes of an epic poet; secondly, in his having possessed the remainder, collectively, in greater fulness than has ever been exemplified in any other case. In conception and portraiture of character, and the deeper vein of tragic pathos, he may be equalled if not surpassed by Shakspeare; in moral dignity of thought and expression by Milton; in the grace and delicacy of his lighter pictures by Petrarch or Ariosto; and in the gloomy grandeur of his supernatural imagery by Æschylus or Dante. But no one of these poets has combined, in a similar degree, those various elements of excellence, in each of which they may separately claim to compete with him.

Among the properties of his art, on the other hand, in which Homer stands superior to all competitors, a first place belongs to the general design and composition of his poems. The Iliad and Odyssey, as they are the earliest, are still, each in its proper sphere, the noblest models of the heroic epopee, the unrivalled standards of poetical unity and harmony, combined with extent and variety of structure. The long and severe scrutiny to which, by a partial and hypercritical code of by-laws, they have been subjected by the last generation of critics, even to the minutest joints and fibres of their mechanical texture, has served but the more firmly to establish their claim to the above high distinction, awarded to them by the greatest authorities of every age, from Aristotle downwards. Nor, when the late controversies shall have become matter of past history, will it redound

to the credit of the present age of literature, that so many eminent scholars should have gloried in a blindness to those excellences upon which, directly or mediately, all that is great and admirable in poetical art has ever since been modelled.

The next peculiar property of Homer is that happy combination of epic and dramatic management, to which attention has frequently been directed in the course of this analysis. This is a faculty which he not only possesses in a degree far surpassing any other poet, but of the nature and value of which his successors seem to have had very little conception. Amid the spirit of imitation which actuates them in regard to so many other features of his style, scarcely an effort can be discovered to emulate him in this. Dante, as in some other essential attributes of the epic poet, here also ranks next to Homer, yet with a wide interval. The individual pictures of the Tuscan bard stand forth indeed in broad colours of truth and reality; but the mimetic effect of his general action bears no comparison with that of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

The third, and perhaps the most remarkable of Homer's distinctive excellences, consists in his uniting the delicacy of ideas and purity of expression, which form the usual characteristic of the more advanced stages of literature, frequently of its decline, with the native simplicity and vigour of a primitive age. The state of half-civilisation in which he flourished, although that most generally favourable to heroic poetry, possesses also this drawback, that the same simplicity which insures originality and vigour, is in a corresponding degree opposed to propriety and elegance. This may be illustrated by the parallel of

the two modern poets who, either in their own genius or the circumstances under which they composed, offer the nearest analogy to Homer, Dante and Shakspeare. Both flourished, like Homer, at a period which, while affording similar scope to poetical freedom and power, was proportionally unfavourable to poetical taste. But the Greek poet is alone distinguished by the honourable peculiarity, that while adorned by all the higher excellences of the primitive Muse, he has escaped that coarseness of sentiment and crudity of style, with that turn for obscenity and the kindred branches of low humour, which so frequently offend even in the noblest passages of the Italian and British bards. Nor can there be a more striking proof of the innate delicacy of his own taste and that of his age and country, than the fact that, while the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey* offer scarcely a line calculated to call forth a blush on the most fastidiously modest cheek, there is hardly a tale or a drama of our own Christian Chaucer or Shakspeare, which a father of a family could venture to place, unpurified, into the hands of a youthful wife or daughter.

The fourth distinctive property of Homer's muse, its pure and genuine originality, connects itself with a parallel feature of distinction, already noticed in a former chapter¹, between the ruder stages of society in Greece and the corresponding periods of our own middle ages. A concise summary of the remarks there most pointedly urged will suffice for present illustration.

The semi-barbarism of Homer's age was one in which art advanced under exclusively indigenous auspices from infancy to maturity. No external cir-

¹ Vol. I. p. 129. sqq.

cumstances interfered to thwart the free course of his own or the national genius. He had no foreign models to imitate, no grammatical or critical rules to obey. His materials and mode of treatment, his subjects, mythology, metre, and style, all flowed spontaneously, in natural channels, from the same pure native sources.

In our own early age of literature all this was reversed. The transition stage of society which produced Dante, the Homer of modern poetry, was founded on the ruins and constructed with the fragments of a former state of culture. Original genius, where not entirely perverted from its natural course, was shackled and led astray by the trammels of scholastic pedantry; by a spirit of imitation frequently directed towards what was least worthy of being copied; by a servile deference to a foreign language, and a mythology extraneous to the real habits or sympathies of the author or his public. These causes, apart from all reference to the individual minds of the men, suffice to explain much of the chaste and elegant simplicity which, whether in his highest flights or humblest walks, characterises the style of Homer, as contrasted with the grotesquely compounded mythology, scholastic quaintness, or far-fetched conceits, which too often deform the finest passages of Dante or Shakspeare.

On a distinctive peculiarity of his school of composition.

14. One of the most prominent forms in which this native simplicity and purity of the Hellenic bard displays itself, is the exclusion of sentimental or romantic love from his stock of poetical materials. This is a characteristic which, while inherited in a greater or less degree by the whole more flourishing age of Greek poetical literature, possesses also the additional source of interest to the modern scholar,

of forming one of the most striking points of distinction between antient and modern literary taste.

So great an apparent contempt, on the part of so sensitive a race as the Hellenes, for an element of poetical pathos which has obtained so boundless an influence on the comparatively phlegmatic races of Western Europe, is a phenomenon which, although it has not escaped the notice of modern critics, has scarcely met with the attention due to its importance. By some it has been explained as a consequence of the low estimation in which the female sex was held in Homer's age, as contrasted with the high honours conferred on it by the courtesy of medieval chivalry; by others as a natural effect of the restrictions placed on the free intercourse of the sexes among the Greeks. Neither explanation is satisfactory. The latter of the two is set aside by Homer's own descriptions, which abundantly prove that in his time at least, women could have been subjected to no such jealous control as to interfere with the free course of amorous intrigue. Nor even had such been the case, would the cause have been adequate to the effect. Experience seems rather to evince that the greater the difficulties to be surmounted, the higher the poetical capabilities of such adventures. Erotic romance appears, in fact, to have been nowhere more popular than in the East, where the jealous separation of the sexes has in all ages been extreme. As little can it be said that Homer's poems exhibit a state of society in which females were lightly esteemed. The Trojan war itself originates in the susceptibility of an injured husband; and all Greece takes up arms to avenge his wrong. The plot of the *Odyssey* hinges mainly on the constant

attachment of the hero to the spouse of his youth; and the whole action tends to illustrate the high degree of social and political influence consequent on the exemplary performance of the duties of wife and mother. Nor surely do the relations subsisting between Hector and Andromache, Priam and Hecuba, Paris and Helen, convey a mean impression of the respect paid to the female sex in the heroic age. As little can the case be explained by a want of fit or popular subjects of amorous adventure. Many of the favourite Greek traditions are as well adapted to the plot of an epic poem or tragedy of the sentimental order, as any that modern history supplies. Still less can the exclusion be attributed to a want of sensibility, on the part of the Greek nation, to the power of the tender passions. The influence of those passions is at least as powerfully and brilliantly asserted in their own proper sphere of poetical treatment, in the lyric odes, for example, of Sappho or Mimnermus, as in any department of modern poetry. Nor must it be supposed that even the nobler Epic or Tragic Muse was insensible to the poetical value of the passion of love. But it was in the connexion of that passion with others of a sterner nature to which it gives rise, jealousy, hatred, revenge, rather than in its own tender sensibilities, that the Greek poets sought to concentrate the higher interest of their public. Any excess of the amorous affections which tended to enslave the judgment or reason, was considered as a weakness, not an honourable emotion, and hence was confined almost invariably to women. The nobler sex are represented as comparatively indifferent, often cruelly callous, to such influence; and, when subjected to it, are usually held up as objects

of contempt rather than admiration. As examples may be cited the amours of Medea and Jason, of Phædra and Hippolytus, of Theseus and Ariadne, of Hercules and Omphale. The satire on the amorous weakness of the most illustrious of Greek heroes embodied in the last mentioned fable, with the glory acquired by Ulysses from his resistance to the fascinations of Circe and Calypso, may be jointly contrasted with the subjection by Tasso of Rinaldo and his comrades to the thralldom of Armida, and with the pride and pleasure which the Italian poet of chivalry appears to take in the sensual degradation of his heroes. The distinction here drawn by the antients is the more obvious, that their warriors are least of all men described as indifferent to the pleasures of female intercourse. They are merely exempt from subjection to its unmanly seductions. Ulysses, as he sails from coast to coast, or from island to island, willingly partakes of the favours which fair goddesses or enchantresses press on his acceptance. But their influence is never permitted permanently to blunt the more honourable affections of his bosom, or divert his attention from higher objects of ambition.

15. It will not be difficult to show that this peculiarity is but an element of the genial simplicity, above noticed as proper to the flourishing age of the Greek heroic Muse; that the invasion, on the other hand, and all but exclusive usurpation of the pathetic interest of modern poetry by a single passion, is a consequence of the corruption of manners and tastes inherited from the declining ages of classical art.

Origin of the modern romantic or sentimental school.

In the state of society described by Homer, offering, as it did, so many more manly sources of incitement to the adventurous spirit of the hero, the tender

ingredient of sexual affection possessed interest only as contributing to his domestic happiness. The poetical value of the excess of that affection, as of other baneful passions, lay chiefly in the moral lessons it afforded. But when war, maritime enterprise, the chase, and other favourite subjects of early minstrelsy, acquire, with advancing refinement, that commonplace character which unfits them for the poet's purpose, he must have recourse to other expedients for working on the sympathies of his public. The passion of love here naturally offers itself. Of an essentially social nature, and founded on the instincts rather than the reason, that passion alone remains exempt from the vulgarising effects of civilisation. Its power would even appear to be extended by the same complexity of social habits which blunts the influence of its rivals, and by the greater obstacles interposed to its free gratification. The poet, therefore, discovers in it his most effectual hold on the personal sensibilities of every class of society.

The truth of these remarks is borne out by the vicissitudes of literary history from the days of Homer downwards. During the best ages of Greece, the rule sanctioned by his example, whether from a deference to his authority or from national taste and habit, continued to be observed or was but slightly infringed. The energy and activity of republican habits afforded a partial substitute for the old spirit of patriarchal independance, in securing to the antient class of subjects a preference both with epic and dramatic writers. The first marked influence of a taste for pure love adventure is observable in the declining ages of Attic literature and manners; especially in the brilliant comedy of

Menander, where love, as the native critics express it, absorbs all other sources of interest. During the Roman period the taste continued to increase, and in the Byzantine literature finally obtained an ascendant in every class of imaginative composition. The romances of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Longus, are in fact the epic poetry of that day; and their influence is observable on the compositions of a subsequent better period. On the construction of a new framework of society, by the blending of northern ferocity with the degenerate civilisation of the south, the prevailing taste, in the general corruption that ensued, maintained its ground; and has ever since formed one of the broadest features of distinction between the literature of modern and that of antient times.

16. The question as to the relative value of these opposite characteristics, is one which the impartial critic feels both delicacy and difficulty in approaching. Too rigid an adherence to abstract principles would here be out of place. In literature as in morals, the value of a custom may often depend as much or more on its adaptation to the genius of a people, than on its own intrinsic merit; and what is theoretically defective may claim not only indulgence, but approval, in the spirit of the age and state of society which produced it. Romantic love is the life and soul of the modern heroic Muse. It has animated the valour of her heroes, warmed the inspirations of her greatest minstrels, and produced an epic literature which may compete in variety and brilliancy, if not in purity and dignity, with that of classical Greece. So closely is this element of poetical pathos interwoven with modern habits and sympathies, that a poem or a tragedy

Respective
merits of
the two.

can hardly hope for success if amorous intrigue be excluded from the action. Even in subjects derived from real history, where this ingredient is wanting, the invention of the author must be taxed to supply the deficiency. There can be little doubt therefore, that the more popular answer to the question above propounded, would favour the romantic rather than the classical school of art. The critic however, who takes up the question on impartial principles, will reason as follows.

The proper objects for the higher exercise of imaginative genius are such as either by their own grandeur or beauty, or by the power of the moral impressions they convey, tend to exalt the mind and purify the affections. But those objects are not certainly alone or chiefly comprised within the narrow compass of lovers' desires, crosses, quarrels. A ready subjection to the fascinations of the inferior order of their species, can hardly be a solid basis of renown for kings or heroes. Had the mighty conflict of passions in the breast of Achilles hinged on the cruelty of some Trojan Clorinda or Angelica, an *Iliad* could never have been the result. But the rules of the Homeric epopee, as little as those of the modern romance, authorised the banishment of so universal a passion as love from its sources of interest. There may indeed be traced, in the nice discrimination with which the Hellenes have adapted to the different modes of the affection their respective styles of composition, the most delicate perception both of its social and poetical value. The lyric and other minor departments of Greek poetry, contain amorous descriptions equal, at least, in tenderness and pathos to any in modern literature. But the

influences of the passion celebrated by Sappho, were different from those considered as honourable sources of heroic renown. These were the chaste affection of a fondly devoted spouse, pining during long years of trial and affliction for the absent husband of her youth; the steady attachment, on his side, which neither time nor distance can impair, to the wife of his bosom; and which, amid all the vicissitudes of an eventful life, still points to his domestic hearth as the centre of his duties and pleasures. Such is the species of love which animates the page of Homer. Of that which has been preferred by Ariosto, Tasso, and the popular romantic school, little more can be said than that it is, as a general rule, unreasonable or senseless, too often licentious and degrading. A modern poet or romance writer may, without serious violation of the laws of his art, glorify his protagonist for supplanting a rival, or even a husband, in the affections of a lovely woman. But it would as little occur to him to make the celebrity of a hero hinge on the steadiness of his conjugal attachment, as to a man of pleasure to boast of the fondness of his wife as his chief claim to success with the fair sex. Nor can it be denied that in the modern school of chivalrous adventure, not only moral principle, but even martial virtue, is often matter of secondary importance, compared with the ardent impetuosity of voluptuous excitement. If then the constant love of Ulysses and Penelope, riveted by mutual confidence and esteem, or the touching scenes between Hector and Andromache, be compared with the orgies of Armida and her host of reckless and debased admirers, none who consider purity of sentiment or dignity of conduct

essential to the higher departments of poetry, can hesitate to which of the two schools of art the preference is to be awarded.

Influence
of Homer
on posterity.

17. Any detailed inquiry into the influence exercised by Homer on the subsequent vicissitudes of elegant composition, belongs less to the history of Grecian than of universal literature, and would involve a searching analysis of the text of all or most of the distinguished writers both of antient and modern times. The subject, however, can hardly with propriety be here altogether overlooked, and a few remarks will suffice to place its general bearings in a distinct point of view.

This influence may be considered in a twofold light: first, as emanating immediately from the poet's own works; secondly, as exercised through the medium of other popular authors, who have themselves borrowed directly or indirectly from his page.

The deference paid to Homer by his own immediate successors amounted to so close a spirit of imitation, as to have caused the principal epic productions of the next ensuing age, amid the uncertainty which prevailed concerning their real authors, to be classed in popular usage as inferior productions of his own muse. The few preserved specimens of the poems ascribed to Hesiod, also evince that such portions of them as partook of the heroic character bore much of the common stamp of Homeric imitation. A similar deference to the same great original is perceptible, within their more limited scope for its display, in the early lyric poets, Callinus, Archilochus, Tyrtæus, Alcman, Stesichorus.¹ The extent and beneficial results of the dialectical in-

¹ Vol. III. p. 137. 165. 197. 235. Bergk, *Frgg.* Alcman. 23. 31. 32. (2d ed.)

fluence of the poems on the whole subsequent cultivation of the Greek language, have already been illustrated.¹ The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were also with reason esteemed by the antient critics, not only the source from which were derived the fundamental principles of the Attic drama, but in themselves the best models for the spirited conduct of debate or dialogue, and for that lively impersonation of character which constitutes the soul both of epic and dramatic composition.² Æschylus accordingly, the father of the regular drama, describes his tragedies as but "fragments from the great banquet of Homer."³

Homer's influence is little less extensively exercised on the prose literature of Greece than on her poetry; though less palpably, and hence in some respects perhaps more beneficially, as involving, owing to the essential difference of the two styles, less risk or appearance of servile imitation. The whole plan of the work of Herodotus⁴, and much in the details of his composition, show that it was by the study of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as models of the unity of design and perspicuity of arrangement indispensable to the conduct of a great narrative, that he was enabled to advance the dry monotony of the chronicler or genealogist to the dignity of the historic Muse. By the orator⁵, as by the historian and the dramatist, the poems were equally acknowledged to embody every standard rule, not only for

¹ *Supra*, Vol. I. p. 116.

² *Aristot. de Poetica*, xxv. alibi; *Plat. Rep.* p. 595. 598., *conf.* 392. sq.; *Theætet.* p. 152. alibi; *Quintil.* x. i. 46.

³ *Athen.* viii. p. 347 B.

⁴ *Longin. de Subl.* xiii. 3. (where read *οὐ μόνος*). *Dion. Hal. Judic.* de *Plat.* xii.; *conf. infra*, Vol. IV. p. 242. 457. sq. 515. sqq.

⁵ *Quintil.* x. i. 46. sqq.

the treatment of a great subject, but for the individual exercise of the rhetorical art in all its branches, of declamation, address, or debate, in the senate, the council, or the law court.

Even in moral or didactic composition, Homer's presiding genius clearly displays itself, in the frequency and the mode of the appeals made to his text by the most distinguished authors in those departments. As a general rule, popular poetry is quoted by authors on scientific subjects solely or chiefly as a source of elegant illustration. With Homer the case was different. His authority, as the primary standard of national history and religious worship, was undisputed. The varied picture which he presents of human nature and character, the fine principles of elementary philosophy embodied in his text, and the rich treasure of pithy moral precept by which those principles are enforced, constituted his poems a national text-book of ethical science as well as of religious doctrine. Hence, in two curiously parallel passages, Homer is described, by one of the earliest of Greek philosophers¹, as "to all the primary source of all education;" and by one of the latest², as "the beginning, the middle, and the end, of all knowledge, to the young child, the grown man, and the grey beard." This maxim is perhaps most pointedly illustrated in the case of Plato, himself the Homer of Hellenic philosophy. His dialogues throughout bespeak a mind under the sway of a certain Homeric spell³, which he often repudiates and condemns, but in vain attempts to shake off. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are every where present to his mind; they

¹ Xenophon. Colophon. ap. Drac. *Strat. de Metris*, p. 33.

² Dio Chrys. ed. 1604, p. 255.

³ Quintil. x. i. 81.

are the poles around which his own genius revolves, "the fountain-heads," as Longinus remarks¹, "from which, by an infinity of channels, his own purest streams of oratory are derived;" emphatically quoted and elucidated where favourable to his views, and anxiously but unwillingly² combated where they appear to militate against him. This deference extends from the sentiment to the phraseology, which in him, as in so many other popular authors, frequently assumes, altogether apart from direct citation, a tone and turn easily recognised as Homeric by the practised student of the poems.

In the literature of Rome, the same deference to the Homeric models is perhaps, in individual cases, still more broadly marked than in that of the poet's native country, especially in the higher branches of epic composition. The first attempt to raise the standard of Roman national taste was a translation of the *Odyssey*.³ Of the two most distinguished Latin epic poets, Ennius and Virgil, the former, considered the patriarch of elegant composition in Rome as Homer was in Greece, revered, almost worshipped, the Greek bard, as he himself informs us⁴ and his remains abundantly testify, as the guardian genius which inspired and guided his own somewhat rude efforts to impart scope and dignity to the Italian muse. The *Æneid* on the other hand, in its relation to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, offers notoriously the most signal known example of genuine

¹ De Subl. xiii. 3.

² De Rep. p. 595.; conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. de Plat. ii.

³ Behr. Gesch. d. Röm. Liter. vol. i. p. 120.; Dunlop, Hist. of Roman Lit. vol. i. p. 73.

⁴ Ennii Fragg. Lips. 1825, p. 2. sqq.

excellence combined with the most servile spirit of imitation, extending from the plan and conduct of the whole work to the minutest details of expression and style.

In the earlier stages of modern civilisation, the rudiments of Greek literary culture were chiefly imparted at second-hand through the medium of Latin authors. The full amount therefore, of the poet's sway on our own republic of letters, must be estimated in the cumulative ratio of that of his own genius on Greece, of Greece on Rome, of Rome on modern Europe.¹ The direct influence of Homer's muse is strikingly displayed from the first dawn² of a revival of taste for Greek literature, especially in the page of the two greatest modern masters of regular epic composition, Tasso and Milton.³ Of the extent to which many

¹ See Dante, *Inf. cant. i. 85. sqq.*

² Of Trissino, the father of the modern classical school, see note to p. 10. *supra*.

³ The servility with which Tasso, under the lash of the Crusca, copied the *Iliad* in his *Gerusalemme riconquistata*, a folly in which he himself gloried as his best claim to lasting renown, has caused the same imitative spirit, as displayed even in his great original work, to have been very much overlooked by the commentators. In canto i. of "*The Jerusalem*," the vision of the angel to Godfred is a paraphrase of the dream of Agamemnon, forming like it the introduction to the Catalogue of forces, which in each poem immediately succeeds. In canto vi. the details of the single combat between Tancred and Argante, its undecided issue, interruption by nightfall, and the interposition of the heralds, are all copied, often nearly to the letter, from the seventh book of the *Iliad*. Still more palpable is the imitation of book iv. of the *Iliad* in canto vii.; where, in the renewed combat between Argante and Raimondo, Belzebub acting the part of Minerva towards Orodino, who is charged with that of Pandarus, causes the treacherous violation of the truce and renewal of the general action. The copy extends even to the minute description of the bowshot, the divine protection vouchsafed to its object, and consequent slightness of the wound inflicted. Among minor examples compare canto ix. stanza 75. with *Il. vi. 506*. The extent to which Milton has formed his style on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or borrowed from their pages, cannot require to be pointed out to the English scholar.

popular modern poets, unskilled in the Hellenic tongue, were also indebted through some secondary medium to the father of Hellenic poetry, abundant proof would be supplied, by a calculation of the number of passages in their works which a Homeric scholar, unversed in the epic literature of Rome, would pronounce to be plagiarisms or paraphrases from the Iliad or Odyssey. Equally certain is it, that the Odyssey is the fountain-head from which many of the more popular adventures or characters of the legendary poetry of our semibarbarous ancestors, the romance or fairy tale of the middle ages of Europe, by whatever variety of channels, are derived.

CHAP. XVIII.

EPIC CYCLE AND CYCLIC POETS.

1. CYCLIC POETS IN THEIR RELATION TO HOMER AND HESIOD.—2. ORIGIN AND DEFINITION OF THE TERM EPIC CYCLE.—3. SCOPE AND LIMITS OF THE COMPILATION.—4. NUMBER OF POEMS ASCERTAINED AS CYCLIC.—5. TITANOMACHIA (EUMELUS, ARCTINUS).—6. EUROPIA (EUMELUS). CEDIPODIA (CINÆTHON).—7. THEBAIS.—8. EPIGONI. SACK OF ŒCHALIA OR HERACLEA (CREOPHILUS, CINÆTHON).—9. CYPRIA (STASINUS, HEGESIAS).—10. ÆTHIOPIS OR AMAZONIA (ARCTINUS). LITTLE ILIAD (THESTORIDES, LESCHES, CINÆTHON, DIODORUS). ILII-PERSIS (ARCTINUS).—11. NOSTI (AGIAS, EUMELUS). TELEGONIA (EUGAMMON, CINÆTHON).—12. EPITOME OF PROCLUS COLLATED WITH OTHER NOTICES OF THE CYCLE.—13. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE POEMS. JUDGEMENT OF ARISTOTLE.—14. ITS APPLICATION TO THE INDIVIDUAL POEMS.—15. DETAILS OF THEIR STYLE AND EXECUTION. THEBÆIC SERIES.—16. TROIC SERIES.—17. SPECIAL RELATION OF THE CYCLIC POETS TO HOMER.

Cyclic
poets in
their re-
lation to
Homer and
Hesiod.

1. SETTING apart the Iliad and Odyssey as the most ancient existing productions of the Greek heroic Muse, the remaining epic literature of this period may be classed under three general heads.

I. The poems of the Homeric school, comprising, in addition to those of the regular heroic order commonly called Cyclic Poems, a number of Epic Hymns, with other miscellaneous compositions chiefly of a humorous or satirical character.

II. The body of poems which passed generally current under the name of Hesiod, a name representing, like that of Homer, not merely an individual poet but a class or school of poets, chiefly, it would seem, confined to Bœotia and the neighbouring districts of Central Greece. The works of this school embraced a great variety of subjects, historical and didactic, which were treated in epic style and measure, but in a comparatively brief or desultory manner, and with

little or no pretension to that unity of plan and execution which formed an essential property of the Homeric muse.

III. To the third head of Miscellaneous Epic Poems, may be numbered all those not connected by their own style, or in the tradition of the period, with the school of either Homer or Hesiod.

The acknowledged title of Hesiod, as the author of the one or two more antient works which pass current under that name, to rank among Greek poets next if not equal in antiquity to Homer, may seem to entitle him to at least the second place in the order of historical inquiry. A sufficient apology for withholding this privilege, will be found in the peculiar nature of the connexion between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the poems of the Homeric school; a connexion which constitutes them in some measure different parts of the same subject, and of one too closely united in its integrity to admit of those parts being effectively treated in a separate form. A similar, if not equally close relation, exists between the leading productions of the Hesiodic school. The course therefore, which obviously suggests itself as the most natural and convenient will be, to follow out each branch of inquiry in its integrity to its conclusion.

The present chapter will be devoted accordingly, to the longer more properly epic poems of the Homeric school. The hymns and miscellaneous poems will be reserved for separate treatment.

In an early chapter of this work it was remarked, that from the remotest period at which historical light gleams on the poetical literature of Greece, a number of epic poems besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, passed current in popular usage under the name of

"Homer." The first exercise of the critical art, in the more advanced stages of literary culture, was to set apart two among these works as the sole productions of the one great original genius, while the remainder were ranked under other names or left anonymous as the case might happen. This whole body of poetry, as emanating from the same primary fountain-head of epic art, has obtained accordingly the distinctive title of Homeric, and the authors of its secondary works that of Homeridæ, sons or descendants of Homer. The principal seat of the school was the Hellenic coast of Asia Minor with the adjacent islands, partly owing to the poet being himself a native of that region, partly to the greater zeal of the Asiatic, especially the Ionian states, in the cultivation of the elegant arts. It is however worthy of remark, that of those recorded by name as authors of Homeric poems, a large proportion were natives of entirely different parts of the Hellenic world. Such were Eumelus of Corinth, Agias of Træzen, Cinæthon of Lacedæmon, Stasinus of Cyprus, Eugammon of Cyrene. This fact obviously forms in itself an almost conclusive argument against the modern theory, as to the late period at which the two great works of the original Homer, the acknowledged prototypes and models of all the others, were known or promulgated in European Greece.

Of the precise age, character, or country of many of these poets, little more is accurately known than of the corresponding particulars in the history of their great master. The names of several of them appear under a mythical disguise similar to that which envelopes the name of "Homer;" being mixed up in the relation of kinsman, friend, or otherwise,

with the vicissitudes of his fabulous history. In some cases the legend appears to shadow forth, figuratively, the indirect influence of his genius in producing the inferior works of his school, through secondary organs inspired by the study of his poems. Creophilus for example, who in one of the popular accounts marries the poet's daughter, receives from him as her dowry the manuscript of the Sack of Eechalia. Whether this Creophilus be a historical personage, or, as is more probable, a mere fabulous eponyme of a Samian school of rhapsodists, who flourished in later times under the name of Creophylians, it were fruitless to inquire.¹ The above tradition may at least reasonably be interpreted to the effect that he, or the author of the poem whoever he may have been, was considered to have inherited the talent which produced it, and in so far the work itself, from the author of the Iliad. Another similar case is that of Thestorides, who purloins the Little Iliad and passes it off as his own. Others of the Homeridæ have however a more distinct historical character, as will be seen when treating in detail of themselves and their works.

2. When collected and arranged in later times, this body of poems, of which unfortunately but few fragments remain, was found, inclusive of the Iliad and Odyssey, to comprise a more or less continuous series or Cycle of epic history, concentrated around those two works. That series, as defined by Proclus², an antient critic of good authority, extended "from the origin of Earth and Heaven, through the history of gods and men, down

Origin and
definition
of the term
Epic Cycle.

¹ See *supra*, Ch. xvii. § 2. note.

² Ap. Gaisf. *Heph.* p. 340. sq.; *conf.* Welck. *Ep. C.* pt. 1. p. 3. sqq.

to the death of Ulysses ;" to the period, that is, immediately preceding the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, which terminates the mythical or heroic age of Greece. It obtained accordingly the collective name of Epic Cycle, and the authors of the separate works that of Cyclic poets.¹ The term Cycle, literally circle, was habitually used in the scientific Greek vocabulary in a variety of senses, all, however, referable to the same fundamental analogy of the geometrical figure to which it primarily attaches. That figure may be defined, a line drawn from a certain point, at an equal distance from another point or centre, until it returns to the point from which it started. The most familiar metaphorical adaptation of the phrase is to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, whose motions, after a long periodical course, actually do bring them back to the same apparent point whence they set out. By a certain latitude of analogy, any series of events hinging round a common centre or pivot was figured under the name of Cycle or circle. In this latter sense the term was applied to the Homeric poetry, with reference to the Iliad and Odyssey, as centre both poetical and historical of the series. The epoch of the first familiar application of the term in this sense is doubtful. It may, however, be presumed to date from the earliest period at which the Greek public became alive to any degree of continuity or comprehensiveness in the series, or to the intimate dependance of its members on the Iliad and

¹ On the general subject conf. F. Wüllner de Cycl. Ep. 1825 ; C. G. Müller de Cycl. Gr. Ep. 1829 ; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. 1. p. 340. sqq. ; Welcker, Homer u. der Ep. Cyclus, pt. 1. 1835. Conf. pt. II. p. 429. sqq. ; where he has well refuted Bernhardt's errors and fallacies on the opposite side.

Odyssey. That dependance is chiefly remarkable in the poems devoted to the Trojan war, the more immediate and proper subject of Homeric celebration, which were in fact concentrated around their two great prototypes, to all appearance intentionally by their authors. This fundamental portion of the series comprised so notable a period of Greek heroic history, as readily to suggest the extension of the title to other works, treating in the same Homeric style subjects of previous or subsequent fable. The Cycle however, familiarly alluded to by the critics of later ages, has been supposed, and with apparent reason as will be seen in treating of the contents of the separate poems, to have been the result of a subsequent more methodical redaction of these original materials. This object was effected partly by a selection, from the whole body, of such as carried on the course of events in the most agreeable form and continuous order, partly by subjecting those so selected to alteration or curtailment, in order to avoid repetition, or secure a more easy transition from one head of subject to another. Of the epoch or author of this compilation no distinct notice has been preserved.¹ It has however been ascribed by a distinguished modern commentator, on plausible grounds, to the Alexandrian grammarian Zenodotus, who, it is certain, undertook a collection and ar-

¹ No distinct allusion occurs to an epic "Cycle" prior to the Alexandrian era. But as the phrase seems to have been applied at an earlier period to the popular prose cyclopædias of mythological lore, it may probably have been common to the poetical sources from which those repertories are compiled. The ambiguous tenor of the appeals by classical authorities to these and other "Cyclic" compilations of various kinds, has been a source of some difficulty in the attempts to elucidate that here in question. See Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. 1. p. 42. sqq.

rangement of the Homeric poems in the wider sense; but it seems very doubtful whether this was the Digest of the Cycle above referred to.¹

Scope and
limits of
the com-
pilation.

3. The number and character of the works comprised in the collection have been, in the absence of any authentic catalogue, a subject of much difference of opinion; and there is scarcely an epic poem of respectable antiquity but has found a place in some one or other of the proposed lists.² This accumulation of Cyclic poems has been made on a two-fold misapprehension of the nature of the collection: first, as having formed a complete encyclopædia of fabulous history; secondly, as having been made up of materials promiscuously drawn from the whole early epic literature, without distinction of subject or style. The Cycle, it is certain, was never meant to form, nor consistently with that continuity of matter which is described as one of its characteristic properties³, could it have formed, any such complete repertory of popular mythology. All the existing data on the subject, some of which are sufficiently precise, tend to establish that the Cycle followed the course of mythical history by a single Homeric line of route, overlooking, or at least but episodically touching on, such events as lay beyond that line. These notices are also practically borne out by the fact, that all the poems attested by good authority as having formed

¹ Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* pt. I. p. 8. sqq.; pt. II. p. 444.; conf. K. O. Müller in *Zimmerm. Zeitschr. für Alterth.* 1835, p. 1181.; Düntz. *Hom. u. d. Ep. Cycl.* p. 47. sqq. Of the claim recently advanced in favour of Pisistratus to be the original compiler, on the strength of a conjectural reading of a Scholion of Tzetzes, see *Rheinisch. Mus.* 1847 p. 118. and Roth and Ritschl, *op. cit.* 1849 p. 135. sqq.; conf. *supr.* Vol. I. p. 215. sqq.

² Conf. Wülln. *op. cit.*; C. G. Müller, *op. cit.*; Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. I. p. 340. sqq.

³ *Procl. ap. Gaisf.* p. 341.

part of the collection, are described as works either of Homer himself¹ or of poets immediately connected with his school. Not one of them can be traced to Hesiod, or can otherwise claim an independent non-Homeric originality of authorship. That the Cycle was a more or less definitely circumscribed and limited body of poems, also clearly results from the remark of Athenæus concerning Sophocles: "that he so greatly delighted in the Epic Cycle as to have borrowed whole dramas from its contents."² Had it formed a complete digest of the popular fable, this remark would obviously be pointless. There could hardly in that case have been room for selection, and the same might have been said of any other tragic writer.

The more essential qualifications therefore, entitling to a place in the collection, seem to have been the two following. First, that the poem should bear some near relation to the Iliad and Odyssey. This relation might consist either in the subject having been episodically treated in their text; or in its forming an appropriate link in the series of mythical legend of which they formed the centre, and of which the other most important stage was occupied by the Thebais and Epigoni, the poems which, next to the Iliad and Odyssey, enjoyed the highest claim to Homeric honours. The second condition was, that the subject should be treated more or less in Homeric style; that it should consequently present or aspire to a certain Homeric unity of action, distinct from the dry method of the Hesiodic or logographic schools of epic art, the productions of which

Qualifications for admission.

¹ Vol. I. p. 214. sqq.

² Athen. vii. p. 277 B.; conf. Vit. Soph. (ed. Tauchn. p. 4. sq.), where "Homer" seems to be substituted for "the Cycle," with reference to this same characteristic feature of the muse of Sophocles.

were little more than metrical chronicles of events, or genealogies of heroes.

Of the more general statements on the subject, the subjoined, from an anonymous but apparently critical quarter¹, is the most pointed. "The Cyclic poets are those who treated, in a circle round the *Iliad*, the events of previous or subsequent history, as derived from or connected with Homer's own immediate subjects of celebration." The same essentially Homeric character of the collection is implied when the "Cycle," sometimes in its collective capacity, sometimes viewed by uncritical authors of a lower age as a single poem, is enumerated among the "works of Homer."² A like inference results from the description by Æschylus of his own dramas, most of which were founded on the poems of the Cycle, as "fragments from the great banquet of Homer."³ Hence Horace defines the "Cyclic poet of old," with a sneer at his imitative spirit, as "one who sang the Trojan war."⁴ The joint Theban and Trojan character of the collection is elegantly described by Lucretius, where, with evident allusion to the primitive poets of the regular epic order, or in other words the Cyclic poets, he asks:⁵

Quur supra Bellum Thebanum et funera Trojæ,
Non alias aliei quoque res cecinere poetæ:

and Propertius, in a similar spirit of allusion, declares, even if gifted by the epic muse⁶,

Non ego Titanas canerem,
Non veteres Thebas, nec Pergama nomen Homeri.

¹ Schol. ad Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 19.; ap. Welck. Ep. C. pt. i. p. 32.

² Proclus ap. Gaisf. p. 468.; Philop. ad Aristot. Anal. post. i. 9.; Suid. v. *Ῥομῆος*.

³ Ap. Athen. viii. p. 347 B.

⁴ De Art. Poet. 136.; conf. 146.

⁵ v. 327.

⁶ II. i. 19.

4. The subjects accordingly of the individual poems which, by reference to any valid authority, possess claims to a place in the series, appear to have been limited to the Trojan and Theban wars; with the more important collateral vicissitudes of Troic or Bœotian history; and with such an amount of the earlier theological element of fable, as was required to complete the entire course of mythical events specified by Proclus in his definition of the Cycle.¹ A list is here subjoined: Titanomachia, Europia, Œdipodia, Thebais, Epigoni, Œchalia, Cypria, (Iliad), Æthiopis, Little Iliad, Ilii-persis, Nosti, (Odyssey), Telegonia.²

List of as-
certained
members of
the col-
lection.

The titles of these poems from the Cypria downwards, forming the part of the collection devoted to the Trojan war, have been preserved, together with a concise epitome of the contents of each, in the Chrestomathia of the same Proclus³ to whom we owe the greater part of the more exact data on the subject. This portion of the list therefore may be considered as complete, in so far as representing the later grammatical redaction or adjustment of the series; for such, there can be little doubt, was the form in which the Cycle was familiar to Proclus. From other collateral notices we are enabled, as will be seen in treating of the poems of the Troic portion of the series, to supply the more serious deficiencies observable in his Epitome, as compared with the original text of those works. The first or Theban part of the list, on the other hand, may appear but meagre to those who adopt the older

¹ See supra, p. 251.

² See Appendix G.

³ Ap. Gaisf. ad Heph. p. 471. sqq.; Clint. F. H. vol. i. p. 353. sqq.

more popular view of the widely comprehensive character of the collection. Yet there is no hiatus between the different heads of subject even in that part of the list, but what might be made good by the usual Homeric plan of episodical enlargement or retrospective narrative. Other poems may possibly have been comprised besides those enumerated. The list however, contains all that can be admitted on critical evidence, and must therefore remain for the present the sole authentic basis of future researches. The specific grounds of admission in each case will be explained in treating of the separate poems. In the theological element of the collection, it has commonly been assumed that a *Theogonia* and a *Gigantomachia*, as well as a *Titanomachia*, ought to have found a place. This view rests, partly on the general statement of Proclus that the Cycle comprehended the history of the gods from the nuptials of Uranus and Terra downwards; partly on the assumption, that in a collection supposed to embody a complete system of heathen mythology, two such important heads of matter could not have been excluded. In the absence however of all distinct allusion to a Cyclic poem on either subject, it will be safer to acquiesce, as regards the *Theogony*, in the view of a distinguished modern critic¹, that this preliminary stage of mythical history, in so far as admitted at all, was incidentally treated in the *Titanomachia*. It seems very doubtful how far the genealogical, or the properly Hesiodic element of divine history could have fitly entered, in the form of principal subject, into the Homeric Cycle, the

¹ Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 28. sqq.

whole remaining materials of which were of the properly heroic order. The explanation, on the other hand, of the causes of the celestial contest, which could hardly have been wanting in the Titanomachia, afforded ample opening for the incidental introduction in its text, of such genealogical notices as could with propriety have found place in its action. Accordingly, several of the extant fragments of the poems are devoted to such details. As to the supposed Cyclic Gigantomachia, no such adventure, in the grand cosmogonical form which it assumes in the latter fable, or as distinct from the Titanomachia with which it is sometimes confounded, seems to have been recognised in Homer's mythology.

While in the popular usage of the lower period of antiquity the whole Cycle is ascribed in general terms to Homer, certain of its members, besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, seem to have possessed a more special claim to Homeric origin and character. These were, the *Thebais*, *Epigoni*, *Œchalia*, *Cypria*, and *Little Iliad*. This may be partly a tribute to their superiority of Homeric style or merit, partly owing to the greater obscurity which involved the names of their real authors. Each of the three latter works was however also provided in the tradition with its separate author, whose name seems alone to have entered into consideration, where the origin or merits of its composition were brought under critical discussion. The *Thebais* and *Epigoni* remain anonymous, unless in so far as popularly ascribed to "Homer."

In the following more detailed notice of the individual poems, it is proposed to offer, in the first place, a concise abstract of the contents of each in succession, with a notice of its reputed author or

authors. The merits or peculiarities of their composition will be reserved for illustration in a subsequent page.

TITANOMACHIA (EUMELUS, ARCTINUS).

Titano-
machia
(Eumelus,
Arctinus).

5. The Titanomachia is quoted by Athenæus as a Cyclic poem, and is variously assigned by him and other critics¹ to Eumelus of Corinth and Arctinus of Miletus. To the latter, the acknowledged author of the *Æthiopis* and *Ilii-persis*, attention will be directed in treating of those works. To Eumelus is further ascribed the *Europa*, the next poem of the series; and he enjoys a place among the accredited authors of the *Nosti*. His name is also connected with various other works possessing no apparent pretension to a Homeric character. Pausanias² is of opinion that, in his own time, no epic poem of Eumelus was extant. If therefore, as there is no reason to doubt, this portion of the Cycle was preserved entire down to that period, the latter part of the second century, it follows that the same critic must have rejected the claim of Eumelus to the composition of the *Titanomachia*, or of any other Cyclic poem. The only work ascribed to Eumelus still extant in the time of Pausanias, and the genuine character of which he admits, was the *Prosdion*, or Processional hymn to the Delian Apollo, composed for the Messenians on occasion of their solemn mission and sacrifice to that deity, and of which he quotes two lines in *Æolo-Doric* dialect. Upon internal grounds, chiefly from the parallel of that hymn, he is also inclined to consider this poet as author of the verses on the Chest of Cypselus.³ These, with

¹ Athen. vii. p. 277 D.; Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 1165.

² iv. iv. 1., iv. xxxiii. 3., ii. i.

³ v. 19.

other non-Homeric compositions attributed to Eumelus, will form the subject of more special consideration, in treating of the miscellaneous epic literature of this period.¹

Eumelus was of illustrious birth, son of Amphilytus, the chief of the distinguished Corinthian family of the Bacchiadæ², who then held sovereign sway in their native city. The highest date assigned to him by chronologers is 761 B. C. (Ol. iv. 4.), the lowest about 730 (Ol. xii.).³ His composition of the Delian Prosodion connects his epoch with that of the first Messenian war, which commences in the received chronology about 743 B. C. As Arctinus, the rival claimant to the Titanomachia, belongs to the same or a still more remote period, the fact of the poem having been ascribed by respectable authorities to one or other of these authors, and never to any poet of more recent date, is good argument of its genuine antiquity.

The main subject of the Titanomachia, as the name implies, was the overthrow of the Saturnian dynasty by Jupiter, and the defeat and banishment to Tartarus of the elder branches of the royal family of heaven. That the episodes however, or retrospective notices, embraced a wider range of cosmogonical history, may be inferred from the narrative of the events of the same war in the Theogony of Hesiod; admitting, as is probable, the general features of the tradition, as followed by each poet, to have corresponded. With Hesiod both the causes and vicissitudes of the contest, stand in the closest

¹ *Infra*, Ch. xxi. § 2.

² Paus. ii. i. 1.

³ *Clint. F. H.* vol. i. p. 155. 161.; *conf. Marckscheff. De Eumelo*, p. 219. sqq.

poetical connexion with the previous course of divine history, from the dethronement of Uranus and Terra by their son Saturn, downwards. Several of the more prominent heroes of the war were Saturn's elder brothers, who had been imprisoned in Tartarus by their father Uranus, retained in prison by Saturn, and released by their nephew Jupiter, to act as his allies in the struggle for their common emancipation from the Saturnian rule.¹ One of these Titans was Ægæon or Briareus, the same hundred-handed monster who, in the *Iliad*², afterwards defends Jupiter against a conspiracy of his own family. Here was, therefore, an appropriate field for epic enlargement on the earlier vicissitudes of celestial history. The name of Ægæon accordingly occupies a prominent place in the few preserved passages of the *Titanomachia*.³ He is there represented as a sea-god, son of Pontus and Terra, and as name-father, it would appear, of the Ægæan sea. Hence Homer, in the *Iliad*⁴, describes the sea goddess Thetis as the friend to whom Jove was indebted for the services of the invincible Titan. With Hesiod on the other hand, Briareus is made son of Uranus and Terra, nor does he bear the additional name of Ægæon as with Homer. Yet his connexion with the sea seems to be indicated, though doubtfully, in the *Theogony*.⁵ The divine genealogy of the *Titanomachia* differed also from that of Hesiod, in describing Uranus (the Heaven) as son, not of Terra (the Earth), but, with more

¹ Hes. *Theog.* 617. sqq.

² I. 402. In the *Titanomachia*, however, he seems to have sided with Saturn. Schol. *Apoll. Rh.* i. 1165.

³ *Frg.* v. Düntz.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ 817.; conf. *Ovid. Met.* ii. 10.

propriety certainly, of *Æther*.¹ The few remaining verses of the poem, while marked by much of the primitive character to be expected from the age of Eumelus, are in an easy and agreeable epic style. The description however, in one of these fragments, of Jupiter after his triumph, "dancing in the midst of the divine circle,"² does not afford a very high idea of the dignity with which the general subject was treated.

EUROPIA (EUMELUS).

6. The amour of Jove with the daughter of Phœnix, and its consequence, the settlement of Cadmus in Bœotia, may be presumed to have formed the main subject of this poem. While offering a compact bond of epic unity for the structure of a Homeric epopee, these are the first and most important transactions recorded in the terrestrial, as distinct from the purely theological department of Greek heroic mythology. They afford, consequently, a most appropriate transition from the divine to the human class of adventure, in the same direct line of Theban history, which in the Cyclic compilation enjoys so marked a preeminence. Although, therefore, there is no direct testimony to the fact of the Europa having formed part of the Cycle, yet the circumstance of its only accredited author, Eumelus, being a reputed contributor to the compilation, added to the above points of internal evidence, constitutes at least a plausible title to a place.³ Accord-

Europa
(Eume-
lus).

¹ Frg. iv. Düntz.

² Ap. Athen. i. p. 22.

³ We are at a loss, therefore, to see why Welcker (Ep. Cycl. pt. i. p. 40.) should have set aside the claim of this poem to a place in the Cycle, on the ground of its partaking in no degree of the heroic character. He

ingly, the few extant citations or fragments¹, while proving the Bæotian tenor of the subject, also imply the author's deference to the fable of Homer. Amphion was described as the first human performer on the lyre, which instrument he had received as a present from its inventor Hermes. The magic powers of the hero's music in attracting the stones for the structure of his Theban metropolis², were also described. The affairs of Dionysus were introduced, more especially the assault of Lycurgus, son of Dryas, on the god, the details of which adventure were narrated precisely as in the *Iliad*.³ Dionysus, with his attendant "nurses," was described as pursued with whips or ox-goads by the infuriated Thracian; as plunging terror-struck into the sea; and as hospitably received and entertained by Thetis in her marine dwelling; while Lycurgus, as in Homer, was struck blind for his impiety.

CEDIPODIA (CINÆTHON).

Cedipodia
(Cinæ-
thon).

This poem, as its name denotes, celebrated the next most remarkable epoch of Theban history, and by means of a moderate amount of retrospective episode, would carry on the Cadmean chain of heroic adventure with a sufficient degree of epic continuity. Its further claim to a place in the collection rests, partly on the circumstance of its reputed author, Cinæthon⁴

adduces no evidence of this imputed deficiency; and neither authorities nor the remains of the poem tend to justify his opinion.

¹ Marcksch. op. cit. p. 403. gives the only ascertained remains of the poem.

² Conf. *Odyss.* xi. 263.

³ *Il.* vi. 130. sqq.

⁴ In Tab. Borg. ap. Heeren in der Biblioth. der alt. Lit. u. Kunst, 1788, p. 43.; conf. Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 32. sqq.; and Appendix G. to this volume.

of Lacedæmon¹, having been a Homeric poet of some celebrity, to whom were ascribed several other ascertained members of the collection; partly on the correspondence between the version it preferred of the history of Œdipus, and that authorised by Homer.

Among the more celebrated chapters of Greek heroic fable, there are few which appear under a greater diversity of detail than that devoted to the calamitous history of the son of Laius. The main particulars of his fate, as known to or recognised by Homer, have been concisely but distinctly narrated in the *Odyssey*, and in a supplementary passage of the *Iliad*.² In the *Odyssey*, among the heroines whose ghosts appear to Ulysses, is "the mother of Œdipus, the beautiful Epicasta, who was unwittingly involved in the grievous sin of espousing her own son, himself equally unconscious of their common crime, or of his previous guilt as murderer of his father. But the gods forthwith brought their offence to light among men; when the heroine passed at once down to the realm of Hades, suspended by her own hand from a beam of her palace. But Œdipus, though tormented by the Furies of his mother, continued, for such was the stern will of the gods, to reign over the Cadmeans in Thebes, where he was honoured at his death³ with sumptuous funeral rites."

The more popular Attic version of the fable differs widely from the Homeric legend. In the former the mother of Œdipus is called Jocasta, and the crime of herself and son, instead of being brought to light immediately after its commission, and as immediately

¹ See Appendix H.

² *Od.* xi. 271.; *Il.* xxiii. 679.

³ With Hesiod also, Œdipus dies and is honourably interred at Thebes. *Schol. Venet. ad Il.* xxiii. 679.

followed by her death, remains concealed until after the birth of four children, the fruit of the incestuous alliance. The remaining details of the same version, the reckless despair and self-inflicted blindness of the old king, his migration to Athens, his friendly reception by Theseus, and death in the sanctuary of the Athenian Eumenidæ, are not only repugnant to the mythology of Homer, but redolent in many of their details of the spirit of a lower age of mystical superstition. The whole or the greater part of them may, from internal evidence, safely be traced to the same source in which so many other innovations on the primitive mythology originate; the anxiety of the early Attic poets to secure their own country a place in the heroic mythology, more worthy of her historical celebrity than that assigned her in the older national legends.

Scanty as are the remains of the *Œdipodia*, or the allusions of the antients to its contents, they yet suffice to prove that its tradition harmonised with that of Homer. That it recorded, like the *Odyssey*, the speedy and fatal termination of the incestuous alliance, appears from its having described the four children of *Œdipus* as offspring, not of *Epicasta*, but of *Eurygania*¹, another Theban heroine, whom he espoused after the death of his mother. As this tradition is also at variance with that which describes his deposition and expulsion from Thebes, we may safely assume that in the *Œdipodia*, as in the *Iliad*, he continued to enjoy his royal authority in his native metropolis to the day of his death. The same tradition was followed out, as will appear in the sequel,

¹ Paus. ix. 5.; conf. Schol. ad Eurip. *Phœn.* 53.; Apollod. iii. v. 8.

by the Thebaïs, the next and most illustrious member of the Bœotian subdivision of the Cycle. This version is also obviously in better keeping with the spirit of the age in which the legend had its origin and of the Greek religion, than that preferred by the Attic dramatists, where the sons of the incestuous marriage succeed to the throne of their deposed parent. National feeling would assuredly have turned from the issue of an impious crime with as great abhorrence as from its involuntary author; and the citizens who banished the father as a polluted object from his throne and country, would have been even less likely to submit to the sway of his incestuous offspring.

The fragments of the *Œdipodia* afford no sufficient data for judging of its mode of dealing with its highly poetical stock of materials, beyond the few particulars to which attention has just been directed.

THEBAÏS AND EPIGONI.

7. These two poems¹ have been allotted a place in the Cycle in every notice of its contents. The Thebaïs is the one among the secondary productions of the Homeric school, which advances the earliest and strongest claim to genuine Homeric honours. The Epigoni also passed vulgarly current as a work of Homer from a remote epoch, as appears from the doubt expressed by Herodotus of its real claim to that distinction.² There is this further peculiarity in the case of both these poems, among others enjoying a similar distinction, that although nowhere in

¹ See Leutsch, *Theb. Cycl. Reliq.*; Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. 1. p. 198. sqq.

² *iv.* 32.

the more critical notices of the antients actually attributed to Homer, they are never, at least by extant authorities, connected with the name of any other poet.

“The war of the Argives against Thebes,” says Pausanias¹, “was the greatest ever waged between nations of Hellenic race, during what is called the heroic age. The Argive army which marched into Bœotia from Peloponnesus, comprised also the forces of the Arcadian and Messenian allies of king Adrastus; while the Thebans were assisted by the Phocians and Phlegyans. In the first battle, near the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, the Thebans were defeated, and took refuge within their city walls. The Argives attempted to take the town by storm, but being little skilled in the art of siege, were thrown into disorder by the impetuous fury of their own assault, routed, and driven back. The Thebans in their turn resolved to act on the offensive, and sallying forth, defeated and dispersed the hostile force. Adrastus alone among its leaders escaped alive. The Thebans themselves however suffered so severely in the conflict, and so fatal were the ultimate consequences of their triumph, as to have caused the phrase, ‘Cadmean victory,’ to pass into a proverb² for any temporary success involving the future ruin of those by whom it was achieved. Not many years afterwards the Epigoni, as the Hellenes call them, sons of the slain chiefs, invaded Bœotia with a still more powerful host, comprising, in addition to their former allies, the Corinthians and Megarians. The Thebans were again beaten in the first battle, and those who escaped again took refuge in the town, which was

¹ ix. ix.

² Conf. Plato. de Legg. p. 641 c.

however this time taken and sacked by the Argives. This war is celebrated in the poem called Thebaïs, which Callinus and other good authorities have ascribed to Homer, and which is the best epic work, in my opinion, after the Iliad and Odyssey."

From this passage, collated with notices to a like effect derived from other sources¹, it appears that the Thebaïs and Epigoni were often considered as one work, under the common title Thebaïs, with reference to the seat and object of the war in the wider sense. The first portion of the poem, describing the muster and march of the forces, also bore, in honour of one of the leading heroes, the separate title of the "Going forth of Amphiaraus," which by a similar synecdoche seems to have been occasionally extended to the whole work.² This peculiarity occurs, as will be seen, in the case of other poems of the Cycle, where the connexion between two heads of an extensive subject, each individually possessing sufficient scope and unity of action to form a separate epopee, was such as to admit of their being perused in one continuous narrative, like the separate members of a dramatic trilogy.

Expedition
of Amphi-
araus.

The Thebaïs, in the more restricted sense, is said to have comprised seven thousand lines.³ The fol-

¹ Schol. Apollon. Rh. i. 308. ; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. pt. i. p. 201. sqq. The author has not been convinced by Welcker's arguments (p. 209.), in support of the opinion that "Alcmæonis" was another title of the Epigoni. See *infra*, Ch. xxi. § 10.

² Hom. Vit. (Herod.) ix. ; Suid. v. "Ομηρος. The phrase Going forth has here been substituted, advisedly, for that of Expedition, preferred in the first edition of this Work. The original term Ἐξέλασις here obviously alludes, not so much to the expedition, or march of this hero, in his capacity of leader or guide of the armament, as to his final decision, after long refusal and delay, to take the field with the confederates, who either would not, or dared not, embark on the enterprise without him.

³ Agon Hes. et Hom. ; conf. Herman. Opusc. vol. vi. p. 286. ; Ritschl,

lowing, by reference to the fragments and other more authentic existing data¹, was the general outline of the action.

The undutiful and insulting conduct of Eteocles and Polynices towards their father Œdipus, during the latter years of his afflicted life, at length provokes him to pronounce his malediction against them. He had forbidden his meals to be served upon the table or with the eating utensils of his father Laius, shunning the painful remembrance of the events which had caused their possession to devolve on himself. This injunction the young men in a spirit of wanton mockery disobeyed, when the indignant parent uttered the solemn curse, responded to by the guardian deities of the paternal rights: "that neither should enjoy his birthright in peace, but that their lives should be passed in perpetual strife and bloodshed."² The denunciation was repeated, in still more emphatic terms, and with equally dire effect, on another similar occasion, when, in the distribution of a sacrificial feast, the brothers, in the same spirit of mockery, allotted to their parent the knuckle, instead of the more honourable portion of the victim. He then supplicated "Jove and the celestial host, that they might perish by each other's hands."³

After the death⁴ of the old king, his sons quarrel for their share in the royal authority. It had been agreed that each should enjoy the supreme power for the period of a year, in alternate succession. Eteocles, at the expiry of his first year's reign, provoked by some aggressive measures on the part of Polynices, and backed by a strong popular feeling in his own favour⁵, refused to resign the throne to his brother. Polynices, unable with his present resources to assert his privilege, retires from

die Alex. Bibl. p. 101. Payne Knight (Prol. § 6.) and Welcker (Ep. C. p. 204.) interpret the notice of the Agon, with less probability, as alluding to seven books.

¹ Especially those supplied by Pindar and Pausanias, both of whom were readers and admirers of the poem, and appear to have given a marked preference to its authority in questions of legendary Bœotian history.

² Frg. II. Diintz. (Leutsch, p. 38. sq.)

³ Frg. III. (Leutsch, p. 39. sq.)

⁴ Hom. II. xxiii. 679.

⁵ This is the popular account; corroborated, in some degree, by the figurative import of the names *Ἐτεο-κλῆς* and *Πολυ-κλῆς*.

Thebes in search of foreign alliance, and fixes his residence at Argos. He there marries the daughter of king Adrastus, whom he persuades, together with his own brother-in-law Tydeus, to espouse his quarrel. Accompanied by Tydeus he visits and secures the services of other Peloponnesian princes; though some of the more powerful hold back, forewarned by the gods of the disastrous issue of the expedition.¹

Among these princes was Amphiaraus, one of the most celebrated heroes of his age, both as a warrior and a soothsayer.² On the first proposal of the expedition he foresaw its fatal issue. After vain attempts to dissuade his more rash and reckless fellow-chiefs, he refused to take part, and concealed himself, to avoid their importunities. His absence shed a gloom over the prospects of the enterprise, which could only be dispelled by his accession and countenance. His wife Eriphyle³, bribed with a golden necklace by Polynices, discovers his hiding-place; when, moved by the entreaties of his friends, his own martial ardour, and the shame of alone standing aloof from what had now taken the form of a national undertaking, he consents. Aware however of the perfidy of his wife, he binds his two sons Alcmaeon and Amphilocheus, then of tender age, in the event of his death, to avenge his fate on their treacherous mother, adding much sage advice as to their future conduct in life.⁴

The army musters in the plain of Nemea, the Aulis of the Thebaid.⁵ The country being afflicted with drought, and the troops suffering from want of water, Hypsipyle, nurse of Opheltes the infant son of Lycurgus king of Nemea, who happened to be taking the air with her charge in the neighbouring forest, conducts the chiefs to a fountain. During her absence, the babe, which she had deposited in a retired spot, is bitten by a serpent and dies. The warriors sympathising with the distress of the parents, celebrate games in honour of the royal infant, whose fate, as the "commencement" of the ensuing series "of dire occurrences," obtained him the surname of Archemorus.⁶ Amphiaraus avails himself of

¹ Hom. Il. iv. 376. sqq. 409.; Pind. Nem. ix. 44.

² Pind. Ol. vi. 27. sqq.

³ Hom. Od. xi. 326., xv. 247.; Pind. Nem. ix. 37.

⁴ Frg. Pind. Boeckh, p. 647. sqq.

⁵ Here may have been introduced the Catalogue, after the precedent of the Iliad.

⁶ There is no distinct evidence of this beautiful episode having been

this inauspicious omen once more to warn his fellow-chiefs of the disastrous lot which awaited them, but once more in vain. On reaching the river Asopus, Tydeus is sent ambassador to Thebes, to claim restitution of the rights of Polynices, before commencing hostilities. The hero fails in his mission; but finding the inhabitants engaged in public games, he enters the arena, and defeats every competitor.¹ The Cadmeans, inflamed with jealousy and anger, post an ambush of fifty men to destroy him on his return. But he kills the whole band, with the exception of one², spared to report the fate of his comrades to their employers. In the first engagement the Thebans are defeated and fly to the city, which is vigorously but unsuccessfully assaulted. Menoeceus, son of Creon and nephew of Jocasta, offers himself up a voluntary sacrifice, in fulfilment of an edict of the Delphic oracle, which required the death of a prince of the royal blood to insure victory to the national arms.³ In the sequel it is agreed to decide the quarrel by a single combat between the two brothers⁴, who perish by each other's hand, as their father had foretold. A great battle ensues, in which the Argive army is defeated. During the rout the earth opens and swallows up Amphiaras with his chariot; an honourable death conferred by Jupiter on his prophet, lest he should fall by the steel of a mortal warrior.⁵ All his fellow-chiefs are slain, with the exception of Adrastus, who, after having found means during the night hurriedly to perform the obsequies of his comrades⁶, escapes alone, by the swiftness of his horse Arion.⁷

The tradition of the Thebaid seems, from the above details, to have corresponded, in whole or in part,

introduced in the Thebais. But the performance by the heroes of the Nemean games, with which it is connected, is vouched for by Pind. Nem. viii. in fin.; Paus. x. xxv., ii. xv.; conf. Propert. ap. Welck. Ep. Cycl. pt. i. p. 202.; Apollod. iii. vi. 4.

¹ Hom. Il. iv. 383. sqq., v. 800. sqq., x. 285.

² Il. iv. 392., x. 286. ³ Paus. ix. xxv. 1.

⁴ Paus. ix. v. 6.

⁵ Pind. Ol. vi. 21., Nem. ix. 57.; conf. Od. xv. 247.

⁶ Pind. Ol. vi. 23.

⁷ Frg. ap. Paus. viii. xxv. 5.; conf. Il. xxiii. 347. From Pausanias (ii. xx. 4.) it would appear that the poetical restriction of the number of leading heroes to seven, though corresponding to the Homeric number of the city gates, was not recognised by the Thebais. The statement however, by the same author, that Æschylus first gave prominence to that number, is belied by Pindar, Ol. vi. 23., Nem. ix. 56.

with that of Homer and of the *Œdipodia*, both as to the mother of the sons of *Œdipus*, and as to the fate of their father after the discovery of his crime. The conspiracy of the two princes to torment or oppress the old king, while it shows that he continued, as with Homer, to reign at Thebes instead of retiring to Athens, is also more consistent with their being the issue of a later lawful marriage, as in the *Œdipodia*, than of an incestuous connexion. A pair of unfeeling ambitious sons, on attaining man's estate, would thus, with equal inclination, have had better pretext for such conduct, than had they themselves been tainted with so dark a stain of unnatural pollution.

It seems further evident, even from the scanty notices preserved, that at the period when the poem opens, *Œdipus* was still in ostensible enjoyment of the sovereign authority, and that one chief motive for the unnatural conduct of his sons was to hurry on his death, or coerce him into abdication of the throne. Of his blindness there is no trace. Both the general tenor of the narrative, and certain expressions in the extant fragments, imply that he was still in possession of his eyesight.¹ Of the legend preferred in the *Thebaïs* relative to his ultimate fate there is no distinct notice. But there seems no reason to doubt that in that poem, as in the *Iliad*, he was represented, although exposed to the undutiful treatment of his sons, as living and dying a sovereign, rather than as deposed and imprisoned by the rival princes, according to the conjecture of some modern commentators.

This poem was ascribed to "Homer" by the very

¹ *Frg.* II. 5.

antient poet Callinus¹, by Propertius, and by other popular authors of different ages, it may be presumed also in the popular sense²; for it was certainly not ascribed to the Homer of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by Aristotle, Aristarchus, or any other strictly critical authority.³ How far it may have merited any such honour will be considered in a subsequent page.

EPIGONI.

Epigoni.

8. The Epigoni, or second subdivision of the Thebaid, comprising, like its predecessor, seven thousand lines⁴, seems, in regard to the general outline of its action, to have been little more than a meagre counterpart of the previous adventure. There was this difference however, that the divine favour, and with it the fortune of the war, had now turned on the side of the Argives, although inferior in numbers to their defeated ancestors.⁵

Adrastus, the surviving chief of the Thebais, instigates Alcmaeon, Diomed, and other distinguished warriors⁶, sons of the slain heroes, to revenge the death of their parents. Another army is collected and invades Bœotia. The Thebans, again defeated in the first action, again shut themselves up in their city, which is besieged and taken.⁷ Tisamenus, son of Polynices, is appointed king, as successor to his father. Adrastus dies of grief for the loss of his son Ægialeus⁸, slain before his eyes, and the Argives return triumphant to Peloponnesus.

¹ Ap. Paus. ix. ix. 3.

² Cf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. pt. i. p. 198. sqq.

³ Elsewhere anonymous, or familiarly called the Cyclic Thebais. Leutsch, Theb. Rel. p. 3.; Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 205.

⁴ Agon Hes. et Hom. sup. cit.

⁵ So Homer, Il. xv. 407.; but conf. Paus. ix. ix. 2.

⁶ Il. loc. cit.; Od. xv. 248. Diomed, according to Homer (Il. v. 412.), had married a daughter of Adrastus; his own aunt, if other traditions may be trusted. (Apollod. iii. vi. 1.) There is no evidence that the renewed treachery of Eriphyle, towards her sons, as formerly towards her husband (Apollod. iii. vii. 2.), entered into the plot of the Epigoni.

⁷ Paus. ix. ix.

⁸ Paus. i. xliiii. 1.; conf. ix. v. 7.

Into the details of the composition we possess little or no insight; and but a single fragment, the opening verse of the poem, has been preserved. Allusion occurred to the Hyperboreans¹; to the dedication of Manto daughter of Tiresias, at Delphi; and to her subsequent migration with the remains of her father to Colophon in Asia Minor.²

The interval of time³ between the main action of these two poems must have been considerable, the junior race of warriors being represented in the tradition as of tender age, by Homer as children⁴, at the time of their fathers' death. Yet, as already remarked, both poems are occasionally classed by the antient critics as one. It may be presumed therefore, that the connexion of events was maintained by episodes or retrospective allusions through the whole period. The poems of the Cycle hitherto examined thus present a single series of subjects, carried, in a single order of succession, from the origin of things to the close of the second Theban war. The commencement of the Cypria, the first poem of the ensuing Troic series, also aptly takes up the close of the Epigoni. One might thus be tempted to assume, that the subjects comprised in the Cycle were limited to the Titanomachia, or divine element of heroic mythology, and to the Theban and Trojan wars in the stricter sense. This limitation seems also, in some degree, to be implied in the allusion of the antients formerly cited to the intimate connexion between these three branches of Cyclic history. In

¹ Herodot. iv. 32.

² Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 308.; conf. infra, § 11.

³ Of another siege and capture of Thebes, during this interval, by Theseus, as fabled in the popular Attic legend of later times, there is no trace whatever in the old Cyclic minstrelsy.

⁴ Il. vi. 222.

a matter however, where so much must, at the best, remain doubtful, it will be preferable to abide by the principle above suggested, of admitting into the list every epic poem classed by trustworthy authorities as belonging to the Homeric school of heroic composition. To this plan it might perhaps be objected, that any such extension of the historical element of the collection, would interfere with its fundamental principle of chronological continuity. But, although that principle would have been completely set aside by so great an accumulation of materials as some have proposed, the occurrence of partially collateral lines of narrative, of kindred tenor and conceived in the same common spirit of Homeric minstrelsy, might have varied in an agreeable manner, rather than disturbed, the historical symmetry of the compilation.

The only poem which, in following out this partial extension of the range of subjects, existing data warrant our interposing between the strictly Theban and the Troic portion of the compilation, is

THE SACK OF ŒCHALIA (CREOPHILUS, CINÆTHON).

Sack of
Œchalia
(Creophil-
us, Cinæ-
thon).

This work, also familiarly called the Œchalia, while involving but a slight, if any interruption of the line of epic continuity, has the advantage of connecting the affairs of Hercules, the greatest of Theban heroes, with the Theban series of Cyclic narrative. The Œchalia is also, with the exception of the Thebais, the most celebrated Homeric poem unconnected with the Trojan war. The relation between the work and its author is figuratively defined in the legend, common to several other poems of the same class, of its having been composed by Homer, and presented by him to a friend, or son-in-law, who passed it off, in

this instance with the sanction of the donor, as his own. The person thus honoured was the same Creophilus of Samos, of Chios, or of Ios, as variously reported, who acts so prominent a part in the popular biographies of the poet.¹ This frequently recurring text in those biographies is burlesqued, in his usual lively manner, by Lucian in his "True History." The satirist there describes himself as having, while on a visit to the other world, been presented by Homer with an epopee on a late war between the Blessed and the Damned, the latter of whom had succeeded in breaking out of their place of confinement.

This poem narrated the siege and destruction by Heraclea. Hercules, of Æchalia, a mythical city frequently mentioned, together with the prowess and misfortunes of its royal family, in both the Iliad and Odyssey.² The work is also occasionally alluded to under the title of Heraclea³; and has hence been conjectured, with apparent reason, to be the same as the Heraclea attributed by some authorities to Cinæthon⁴ of Lacedæmon, and which appears to have treated the same portion of the hero's adventures. As Cinæthon claims, conjointly with Creophilus, the authorship of the Little Iliad, it naturally suggests itself that their common pretensions may also have extended to the Æchalia. This more general title of Heraclea, with the tenor of some of the few extant

¹ Proclus ap. Gaisf. p. 466.; Strab. xiv. p. 638.; Cramer, Anecd. Oxon. vol. i. p. 327.; Callim. Ep. vi.: conf. Clint. F. H. p. 350. sqq.; note to Ch. xvii. § 2. supra.

² Homer knows but one Æchalia, in Thessaly. Il. ii. 730. With this passage those of Il. ii. 596., Od. viii. 224. xxi. 14., are quite in harmony, though often erroneously supposed to allude to a Messenian city of the same name. Pausanias (iv. ii. 2.) implies that the Æchalia of the Cyclic poem was situated in Eubœa.

³ Paus. iv. ii. 2.

⁴ Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 1357.

notices of the contents of the poem, favours the view that, by means of episodes, it may have comprised a more or less ample summary of the Theban hero's life and adventures. The following seems to have been the outline of the principal action.¹

Eurytus, king of Œchalia, the most celebrated bowman of his day, had challenged all Greece to a trial of skill in his favourite art, and promised his daughter Iole in marriage to the first successful competitor. Hercules came off victorious, but was refused the stipulated prize. In revenge of the insult and breach of faith, he besieges and sacks the city, and carries off Iole. As this was the last exploit of Hercules, being immediately followed by his death on Mount Œta, and as that catastrophe was a consequence of Dejanira's jealousy of the captive princess Iole, it becomes the more probable that the closing scenes of the hero's life were comprehended in the action of the poem.

The natural place for the Œchalia in the Cycle, upon the principle of exact continuity, and in accordance with the more accredited fabulous chronology, would be between the Thebais and Epigoni, in the interval between the first and second Theban wars. The epochs however, of the second war and of the siege of Œchalia so nearly coincide in the mythical chronology, that, in any more methodical adjustment of the members of the series, it was perhaps as likely that the compiler would sacrifice the historical to the poetical order of continuity, and bring the Theban section of his materials to a close before passing on to the Heraclea.

¹ The single extant fragment is cited by Düntz. p. 9. For the best collection of notices, see *Clint. Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 350.

9. For the illustration of the ensuing most important division of the Cycle, celebrating the Trojan war and its consequences, we possess, as already stated, a valuable and specific guide in the Epitome of the grammarian Proclus. That Epitome however, as also above remarked, appears to represent the later artificial adjustment of the poems, in which they had been subjected to partial retrenchments, and possibly alterations. It offers consequently several gaps or deficiencies, as collated with the notices derived from other earlier authorities. The mode of treatment here adopted will therefore be to constitute the abstract of each poem, as given by Proclus, the basis of the following summary of its probable contents, adding the substance of such quotations of its text by other authorities as accord with that abstract, and reserving such as differ for future consideration.¹

Troic series.

CYPRIA (STASINUS, HEGESIAS).

A conference is held between Jupiter and Themis relative to the Trojan war, which, it is decreed, shall take place, in order to relieve Earth of the superabundant population under which she groaned.² The Goddess of Strife is sent to sow discord among the deities assembled at the nuptial feast of Peleus and Thetis³, the solemnities of which are described. Chiron bestows on Peleus, as a marriage gift, the spear with which Achilles afterwards fought at Troy.⁴ Juno, Minerva, and Venus compete for the palm of beauty. The dispute is carried for arbitration before Paris⁵, who, bribed by Venus with the proffered possession of Helen⁶, gives the award in favour of the Cyprian goddess. Helen is described as daughter of Jupiter and Nemesis; and the amour to which she owed her birth is detailed at some length.⁷ Paris, on the suggestion of

Cypria (Stasinus, Hegesias).

¹ Reference will also be made here, as before, to the parallel passages of the Il. and Od.; the better to illustrate the concentration of the Cycle around those poems.

² Frg. i. Düntz. ³ Il. xviii. 432. ⁴ Frg. xix.; conf. Il. xiv. 143.

⁵ Il. xxiv. 29.; conf. iv. 26., v. 715.

⁶ Il. iii. 400. sqq.

⁷ Frg. v. For the mode in which Helen is supposed, in this version of

Venus, prepares for his visit to Sparta, and she persuades her son Æneas to accompany him. His brother Helenus and sister Cassandra predict the fatal consequences of the enterprise. He is hospitably received at Lacedæmon by Menelaus and the Tyndaridæ, and ingratiates himself with Helen by precious gifts. Menelaus sails for Crete, recommending his guest to the courteous treatment of his queen during his absence. With the aid of Venus, Paris effects the seduction of his hostess, and she embarks with him for Troy, carrying off her most valuable effects.¹ Driven from their direct course by a storm, they arrive at Sidon, which city Paris assaults and takes. On his subsequent arrival at Troy, he espouses his mistress. In the meanwhile her brothers, the Tyndaridæ, are detected plundering the cattle of Idas and Lynceus, neighbouring chiefs of Peloponnesus. The twin heroes take refuge in the hollow trunk of an oak, where they are discovered by Lynceus, and Castor is slain.² But Lynceus and his brother Idas fall in their turn by the hand of Pollux, who shares his immortality with Castor.³ Iris announces to Menelaus the elopement of his wife. He holds council with Nestor and Agamemnon, after which he sets out with Nestor on a progress through Greece to collect allies among its chiefs.⁴ The feigned madness of Ulysses is detected by Palamedes.

The armament musters at Aulis. Calchas interprets the omen of the snake and sparrows.⁵ Crossing the Ægæan, the Greeks attack and destroy the Mysian city of Teuthrania, mistaking it for Troy. Telephus, coming to the assistance of the town, kills the Theban prince Thersander, son of Polynices⁶, and is himself wounded by Achilles. The fleet then sailing from Mysia is dispersed by a storm. Achilles, landing on the isle of Scyros⁷, marries Deïdamia daughter of Lycomedes, who bears him a son called Pyrrhus, afterwards surnamed Neoptolemus. Telephus, in obedience to an oracle, solicits and receives a remedy for his wound from Achilles, by whom he is retained as guide to a second attempt on the Troad.

The fleet again assembles at Aulis. Agamemnon on a hunting party, elated by an expert shot at a deer, boasts that he surpasses

the fable, to have become the reputed daughter of Leda, see Bode, *Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk.* vol. i. p. 369.

¹ Il. iii. 70., vii. 350. 363., xiii. 626., xxii. 115.

² Frg. viii.; conf. Il. iii. 243.

⁴ Il. xi. 769.; Od. xxiv. 116.

⁶ Paus. ix. v. 8.

³ Frg. iv.; conf. Od. xi. 303.

⁵ Il. ii. 311. sqq.

⁷ Il. ix. 668. alibi; Od. xi. 509.

Diana herself in her own art. As a punishment for his impiety, the goddess detains the fleet wind-bound. Calchas pronounces that she can only be appeased by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon.¹ The princess is accordingly brought from Mycenæ, under pretext of betrothal to Achilles. Diana, at the moment when the fire is lighted, snatching her from the altar, and substituting a fawn in her stead, transports her to Tauris, and confers on her the gift of immortality.

The fleet then sails for Tenedos, touching at Lemnos, where Philoctetes² is bitten by a snake, and left behind, owing to the stench of his wound. Coldness arises between Agamemnon and Achilles. The Trojans resist the landing of the force. Protesilaus³ is slain by Hector, but the Trojan army is routed by Achilles. The Greeks, after vain negotiations for the recovery of Helen⁴, invest the city, and ravage the surrounding country. Achilles conceives a desire to see Helen, which is gratified through the agency of Venus and Thetis. The Greeks, longing to return home, are restrained by Achilles, who captures the oxen of Æneas⁵, sacks Lyrnessus, Pedasus, and other neighbouring cities⁶, kills Troilus⁷, captures Lycaon, and sells him as a slave in Lemnos.⁸ Briseïs, taken by Achilles in the sack of Pedasus⁹, is allotted to him as his own share of the conquered spoils; Chryseïs to Agamemnon.¹⁰ Palamedes, while fishing in the sea, is treacherously drowned by Ulysses and Diomed.¹¹ A scarcity which afflicts the camp is relieved by a visit of the "Cenotropæ," who supply the troops with corn, wine, and oil.¹² Jove resolves on affording present relief to the Trojans, by detaching Achilles from the cause of his countrymen. The poem concludes with a catalogue of the Trojan forces.

The Cypria is described in the popular legend as an original production of Homer¹³, bestowed by him as a marriage dowry with his daughter's hand

¹ Frg. xi.² Il. ii. 721.³ Frg. xiv.; Il. ii. 701.⁴ Il. iii. 205., xi. 123. 139.⁵ Il. xx. 90.⁶ Il. i. 366. ii. 690. sqq., ix. 328.; Od. iii. 106., xi. 625., ix. 129.⁷ Il. xxiv. 257.⁸ Il. xxi. 35.⁹ Frg. xv.¹⁰ Il. i. passim.¹¹ Frgg. xvi. xvii. xviii. This part or rhapsody of the poem appears to have borne the special title of Palamedia. Düntz. p. 15.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. pt. i. p. 459.¹² Schol. ad Lycophr. 570. sqq.; Düntz. fr. xviii.; conf. infra, § 16.¹³ Frg. Pind. Boeckh, p. 654.

on a Cyprian friend, called in the more accredited accounts Stasinus, by others Hegesias.¹ The Halicarnassians also claimed the author of the work as their fellow-citizen. An equal obscurity attaches to the title *Cypria*. Those who ascribed the poem to a native of Cyprus, derived its name from that island, in which colonies from different parts of Greece were established at an early period. By others it was supposed to have been conferred in honour of the Cyprian goddess, as the chief mover of the action. Perhaps both views might be reconciled, by assuming a Cyprian poet to have preferred a subject tending to the glory of his native deity. That the Homeric poetry was popular in the island from an early date in her festivals, may be inferred from various fragments of hymns in the Homeric collection.² The *Cypria* comprised eleven books³; the number of lines is not recorded.

THE ILIAD.

THE ÆTHIOPIS (ARCTINUS).

Æthiopis
(Arctinus).

10. The Amazon Penthesilea, arriving in aid of Priam, is slain by Achilles, and honoured with a public burial by the Trojans. Thersites, taunting Achilles with impure love towards the deceased heroine, is killed by that hero. His death causes dissensions in the camp. Achilles sails to Lemnos, and, after sacrificing to Apollo, Artemis, and Latona, is purified of the blood-stain by Ulysses. Memnon next arrives to the succour of the besieged city, armed in a panoply the gift of Vulcan. Thetis foretells the influence of the Æthiopian hero's presence on the war. Memnon slays Antilochus.⁴ Achilles revenges the death of his young friend by that of his destroyer.⁵ The Æthiopian hero receives the boon of immortality from his mother Aurora.

Achilles, entering the gate of Troy in pursuit of the flying enemy, is slain by the joint agency of Paris and Apollo.⁶ A

¹ Welck. p. 300. sqq.

² Conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. pt. i. p. 302. sqq.

³ Procl. Epit.

⁴ Od. iv. 187., iii. 112.

⁵ Il. xvii. 681. sqq., xxiii. 556., Od. xxiv. 78.

⁶ Il. xxii. 359., xxi. 278.

contest ensues for his body, which is borne off the field by Ajax, while Ulysses stems the advance of the Trojans.¹ The funeral rites of Antilochus are solemnised, and the corpse of Achilles is laid out, preparatory to the same honours being conferred upon him, when Thetis and the Nereids perform his funeral dirge.² Thetis then transports his body to the island of Leuka. The Greeks raise a tumulus, and celebrate games in his honour. In the course of the solemnity, strife arises between Ulysses and Ajax concerning the deceased hero's arms.

The Æthiopis, in five books³, was the undisputed composition of Arctinus, son of Teles of Miletus, a reputed "disciple" of Homer⁴, and the same who, with Eumelus, also shares the credit of the Titanomachia. The epoch of Arctinus is placed almost unanimously by the chronologers about the commencement of the Olympic era, 775—761. He was accordingly held, by competent authorities⁵, to be the most antient poet of whose historical existence any distinct trace could be recognised.

Among the epic poems attributed by Suidas⁶, and Amazonia. by Suidas alone, to Homer, is an Amazonia. This notice is unaccompanied by any comment, nor does allusion occur elsewhere to a poem of the name. Concerning its subject therefore, nothing more can be gathered from this single authority than that it was what the title implies, a War or Enterprise of the Amazons. Five such adventures are celebrated in the heroic age: first, the Expedition of Hercules against Hippolyta; secondly, the defeat of the heroines by Bellerophon⁷; thirdly, their invasion of Attica, and their defeat by Theseus; fourthly, their invasion of Phrygia, and defeat by Priam and his

¹ Od. v. 309. sq., xxiv. 39.

² Od. xxiv. 58.

³ Procl. in Epit.

⁴ Artem. ap. Suid. in v. 'Απερ.; conf. Clint. F. H. ad 775 B. C.; Welck. op. cit. p. 211.

⁵ Dion. Hal. l. 68.

⁶ v. "Ομηρος.

⁷ Il. vi. 186.

allies¹; fifthly, the succour afforded by them to the same Priam under their queen Penthesilea, as described in the first part of the *Æthiopis*. That the latter adventure is the one treated in the Homeric Amazonia of Suidas; that "Amazonia" is, in fact, with that author, but another title of the *Æthiopis*, there can be no reasonable doubt. As in the same catalogue of Homeric poems Suidas designates the Thebais, by reference to the first part of its action, the Going forth of Amphiaraus, by a similar synecdoche he entitles the *Æthiopis* Amazonia. And this view is confirmed by the circumstance, otherwise not easily accounted for, that while the *Æthiopis*, one of the most celebrated poems of the Troic series, is, under its own ordinary title, omitted by Suidas, its proper place in the list, between the *Iliad* and *Little Iliad*, is precisely that assigned by the same compiler to the Amazonia.²

THE LITTLE ILIAD

(LESCHES, THESTORIDES, CINÆTHON, DIODORUS).

Little Iliad
(Lesches,
Thestorides,
Cinæthon,
Diodorus).

The competition between Ulysses and Ajax for the armour of Achilles, is decided in favour of Ulysses by the award of the Trojan women³, to whose judgement, by Nestor's advice, it had been referred, and who are overheard, while conversing on the wall of the city, ascribing the highest honours to the Ithacan warrior in the late contest for the deceased hero's body. The duty performed by him, of stemming the adverse tide of battle in the rear, is pronounced by them more noble than that undertaken by Ajax of bearing off the corpse.⁴ Ajax, in the phrenzy of his disappointment, vents his fury on the cattle of the army, which he mistakes for its warriors, and then destroys himself.⁵ Agamemnon refuses his body the just rites of sepulture.⁶

Ulysses captures Helenus the Trojan seer. In accordance with

¹ Il. III. 189.

² See *infra*, Ch. xxi. § 9.

³ Od. XI. 545. sqq.

⁴ *Frg.* II.; conf. Od. V. 310.

⁵ Od. III. 109., XI. 549. 556. sqq.

⁶ *Frg.* XIII.

a prophetic announcement of the latter hero relative to the future fate of the city, Diomed transports Philoctetes¹ from Lemnos to the camp, where he is healed of his snake-bite by Machaon. Paris is slain by Philoctetes. His body is contumeliously treated by Menelaus, but the Trojans, in the sequel, obtain possession of it, and perform its funeral obsequies. Deiphobus², son of Priam, espouses Helen. Ulysses transports Neoptolemus from Seyros³ to Troy, and delivers over to him his father's arms. Achilles appears in a vision to his son. Eurypylos, son of Telephus, arrives as ally of the Trojans, and after killing Machaon the physician, and other valorous exploits, is slain by Neoptolemus.⁴

The Trojans are again blockaded in the city, when Epeüs, instigated by Minerva, constructs the wooden horse.⁵ Ulysses in mean disguise enters Troy as a spy. Recognised by Helen, he consults with her as to the capture of the city⁶, and, after dispatching several Trojan warriors, returns in safety to the camp. In the sequel the same hero, accompanied by Diomed, carries off the Palladium⁷ from Ilium. The Greeks now garrison the horse with their best warriors, burn their tents, and retire to Tenedos, feigning an abandonment of the siege. The Trojans, deceived by the stratagem, admit the horse into the city, despite the prophetic remonstrances of Cassandra, and institute festivities in honour of their deliverance.⁸

The above epitome, in four books, embraces, as will be seen hereafter, but a part of this poem as known to Aristotle.⁹ The work was reported in the popular legend to have been composed by Homer, together with another entitled Phocais¹⁰, at Phocæa in Ionia, for his host Thestorides of that town, who afterwards passed it off as his own. The more commonly reputed

¹ Il. II. 724.; Od. VIII. 219.

² Od. IV. 276., VIII. 517.

³ Frg. IV.; Od. XI. 509.

⁴ Frg. V.; Od. XI. 519.

⁵ Od. VIII. 492., IV. 272., XI. 523.

⁶ Od. IV. 242. sqq.

⁷ Frg. XI.

⁸ Od. VIII. 500. sqq.; conf. Tab. Iliac.

⁹ The Little Iliad, while habitually distinguished by its proper epithet from "the Iliad," seems yet to have been sometimes familiarly quoted under the same general title. See Welck. Ep. Cycl. pt. I. p. 132. sq.

¹⁰ Vit. Hom. Herod. 16.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 251., and infra Ch. XIX. § 17.

author was Lesches, or Lescheos, son of Æschylenus of Pyrrha, in the isle of Lesbos.¹ By some it was ascribed to Cinæthon of Lacedæmon², already mentioned as one of the reputed authors of the *Œdipodia* and *Œchalia*; by others, to Diodorus of Erythræ. Lesches, according to the more accredited accounts, flourished in the first half of the 7th century. Of Diodorus or his age no specific notice is preserved.

ILII-PERSIS (ARCTINUS).

Ilili-persis
(Arctinus).

The Trojans deliberate on the disposal of the wooden horse³, some wishing to destroy it, while others would consecrate it as a trophy to Minerva. The latter counsel prevails, and, during the subsequent rejoicings in honour of the national deliverance, Laocoon, by whom that counsel had been opposed, is destroyed, with one of his sons, by two monstrous serpents. Æneas, alarmed by the omen, retires with his followers into Mount Ida.⁴ Sinon lights the beacon, announcing to his countrymen the success of their stratagem. The Greek warriors, issuing from their ambush, open the gates to their comrades, and after a bloody combat obtain possession of the city. Priam, seeking refuge at the altar of Jupiter Herceus, is slain by Neoptolemus. Menelaus kills Deiphobus⁵, and carries off Helen to the fleet. Ajax Oileus, dragging Cassandra from the sanctuary of Minerva⁶, overturns the statue of that deity. The Greeks, indignant at the sacrilege, are about to stone its author, who saves himself by flight to the altar of the goddess.

Ulysses kills Astyanax, and Neoptolemus secures Andromache as his captive.⁷ Æthra⁸, the mother of Theseus and slave of Helen, is delivered over by Agamemnon to her grandsons Demophon and Acamas. The Greeks set fire to the city, and sacrifice Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles. Minerva, offended at the late

¹ Procl. in Epit.; *Tabula Iliaca* ap. C. G. Müller de Cycl. Gr. Ep. p. 188.; conf. Clint. F. H. an. 657. According to a reading of a passage of Plutarch's *Conv. Sept. Sap.*, Lesches took part in the fabulous competition of poets at Aulis, where Hesiod conquered Homer (Welck. p. 269.).

² Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 241. sq.

⁴ Il. xx. 307.

⁶ Od. iii. 135. 145., iv. 499. sqq.

⁷ Il. vi. 454. sqq., xxiv. 735.

³ Od. viii. 492. sqq.

⁵ Od. iv. 276., viii. 517.

⁸ Frg. iv.; Il. iii. 144.

pollution of her sanctuary, prepares disasters for them on their voyage home.¹

Arctinus, the poet of the Æthiopis, also enjoys an exclusive title to the authorship of this poem.² Its action, comprising two books according to the Epi-tome, is identical in substance with that of the Lay of the Trojan Horse, sung by Demodocus in the Odyssey.³

NOSTI (AGIAS, EUMELUS).

11. Minerva promotes a strife between Agamemnon and Menelaus⁴ concerning the course of the voyage home. Agamemnon remains behind to propitiate the displeasure of the goddess, while Diomed, Nestor, and Menelaus embark.⁵ The fleet of Menelaus is shattered by a storm, and with five ships, which alone escape its fury, he visits Egypt.⁶ Calchas, Leontes, and Polypœtes⁷, with their followers, proceed by land to Colophon, where they perform funeral solemnities in honour of the Theban seer Tiresias.⁸

Nosti
(Agias,
Eumelus).

As Agamemnon is about to set sail with his division, the shade of Achilles appears and predicts the disasters of the voyage. A storm assails the fleet at the Capheridan rocks, where the Locrian Ajax perishes.⁹ Neoptolemus, by advice of Thetis, proceeds to Phthia by land across the Thracian continent, and at Maronea of the Ciconians¹⁰ meets Ulysses. On reaching home, he performs the obsequies of Phœnix, and afterwards journeys to Molossia, where he is received and recognised by his grandfather Peleus. Agamemnon is slain by Ægisthus and Clytemnestra.¹¹ Orestes¹² and Pylades avenge his death. Menelaus returns and resettles peacefully at Lacedæmon.

That poems celebrating the Nosti, or "Return of the Greeks," already existed in Homer's time, appears from the lay bearing that title, sung by the Ithacan bard Phemius, in the Odyssey.¹³

¹ Od. i. 327., v. 108.

² Proclus in Epit.; Tab. Iliaca; Dion. Hal. i. 69.; Clint. F. H. an. 775.

³ viii. 500. sqq.

⁴ Od. iii. 135.; conf. i. 327.

⁵ Od. iii. 141. sqq.

⁶ Od. iii. 286. sqq., iv. 351. sqq.

⁷ Il. ii. 739., xii. 188., xxiii. 841.

⁸ Conf. supra, § 8.

⁹ Od. iv. 499.

¹⁰ Od. ix. 39.

¹¹ Od. iii. 194. sqq., alibi.

¹² Od. iii. 306. alibi; conf. Suid. v. Νόστος.

¹³ Od. i. 326.

There can be no doubt that the *Cyclic Nosti* is the same poem cited by Athenæus under the title of "Return of the Atridæ." Its reputed epoch fluctuates, like that of most other members of the collection, within the first century of the Olympic era. The author with whose name, setting aside the conventional claims of Homer¹, the work was most generally coupled, was Agias of Trœzene, a poet of uncertain date.² It was also, more doubtfully, assigned to Eumelus of Corinth; and, by some, to an anonymous poet of Colophon.³ It contained allusions to scenes or adventures in Hades, in connexion, it may be presumed, with the funeral rites of Tiresias. The heroines Mæra and Clymene, celebrated in the Descent of the Odyssey, were mentioned. The version given of the punishment of Tantalus differed from that preferred by Homer, in describing the famishing voluptuary as debarred from the enjoyment of the dainties exposed to his view, by an enormous stone suspended over his head.⁴ Allusion was made to the future marriages of Telemachus to Circe, and of Telegonus, son of Ulysses by Circe, to Penelope.⁵ The history of Medea was also incidentally treated, with the magic effects of her caldron upon Æson.⁶ The poem was divided into five books.⁷ But a few unimportant lines have been preserved.⁸

¹ Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 274.

² *Procl. Epit.*; conf. *Paus.* i. ii. 1.; Welck. *op. cit.* p. 278.

³ Welck. *op. cit.* p. 273.

⁴ *Paus.* x. xxviii. sqq.; *Düntz.* p. 23.; conf. *Athen.* vii. p. 281 B. Welcker, (*op. cit.* p. 279. sqq.) and Müller, (*Zeitschr. für Alterthumsw.* p. 1169.) assume the *Nosti* to have contained a complete *Necyia*, or "Descent to Hades," similar to that of the Odyssey. But the authorities cited do not bear out any such view.

⁵ *Frg. v.*

⁶ *Frg. ii.*

⁷ *Procl. in Epit.*

⁸ Notices occur of various other works of later date under this title,

THE ODYSSEY.

THE TELEGONIA (EUGAMMON, CINÆTHON).

The obsequies of the suitors are performed by their friends. Ulysses, after sacrificing to the nymphs¹, sails to Elis, to visit his herds on that coast, where he is entertained by Polyxenus.² He then travels to examine the celebrated works of Trophonius, Agamedes, and Augeas, and returning to Ithaca, solemnises the rites enjoined by Tiresias in his interview with that seer in Hades.³ He next crosses into Thesprotia⁴, where he marries Callidice queen of that country, and takes the command of her troops in a war against the Bryges. His army is put to flight by Mars, who engages in single combat with Minerva; but the rival deities are parted by Apollo. Upon the death of Callidice, Polyxenes, her son by Ulysses, succeeds to her dominions, and the hero himself returns once more to Ithaca. About the same time, Telegonus, his son by Circe, wandering in search of his father, disembarks on the island and ravages the coast. Ulysses, attacking the invaders, falls by the hand of his son.⁵ Telegonus, on discovering his involuntary parricide, transports his father's corpse, together with Penelope and Telemachus, to the island of his mother, who confers upon them and himself the gift of immortality. In the end, Telemachus espouses Circe, Telegonus Penelope.

Telegonia
(Eugammon, Cinæthon).

The Telegonia (in two books) was ascribed, by Proclus and the general tradition of the antients, to Eugammon of the Spartan colony of Cyrene in Africa, an author of the comparatively recent date of Olympiad LIII.⁶ (566 B. C.), and the latest contributor to the collection. The more antient Homeric bard, Cinæthon of Lacedæmon, is mentioned, though on somewhat slender authority, as author of a poem

chiefly, it would appear, paraphrases or imitations in prose or verse of the Cyclic poem. But the citations of their text are sufficiently distinguished by internal evidence from those referable to the original Nosti.

¹ Od. xiii. 350., xiv. 435.

² Il. ii. 623.; conf. Od. iv. 635.

³ Od. xi. 132.

⁴ Conf. Od. xiv. 315., xvi. 65. alibi.

⁵ Od. xi. 134.

⁶ Clint. F. H. vol. i. p. 239.

under this title¹, but whether the same, or another which had not survived to historical times, seems not very clear. Eugammon lay under a charge of pirating his *Telegonia* from a work entitled *Thesprotia*, which was ascribed to the fabulous poet Musæus²; although with the same authorities, that celebrated minstrel flourishes several centuries prior to the events treated in the *Telegonia*. No remains of this poem have been preserved.

Epitome of
Proclus
compared
with other
notices of
the Cyclic
poems.

12. Before entering upon any closer analysis of the respective merits or defects of the separate poems of the Cycle, attention must be directed somewhat more narrowly to the question already briefly noticed: How far the foregoing epitome of the Troic series can be held to represent the works it comprises in the form in which they emanated from their authors. At the commencement of this head of subject it was stated to be doubtful, whether, in the compilation of poems habitually quoted from the Alexandrian era downwards under the name of Cyclic, the individual works may not, where their respective materials interfered with each other, have been subjected to alteration, for the sake of that historical continuity³ which authorities describe as the characteristic feature of the collection. These doubts rest mainly on

¹ Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 155.

² Clem. Alex. Str. vi. p. 628.; conf. Clint. locc. cit.

³ The Schol. of Il. xxiv. 804. (Bekk.) alludes to a reading of the text of the *Iliad*, in which a verse was added to the end of the poem in order to connect its close with the commencement of the *Æthiopis*, the next work in the Cyclic compilation. Müller (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 65.) has understood this notice to allude to a "Cyclic" edition of the *Iliad* framed for that compilation. No mention occurs of any such edition of the *Iliad*; but a Cyclic *Odyssey* is cited: see *supra*, Vol. I. p. 193. note.

certain discrepancies, between the Epitome of Proclus and other earlier notices of the contents of several of the poems abridged in that document.

The Little Iliad closes, in the Epitome, with the reception of the wooden horse within the city walls. Aristotle¹ however, and other valid authorities², represent the same poem as comprehending the whole subsequent series of events down to the sack of the city and reembarkation of the Greeks for their own country, much as given in the work of Arctinus, which occupies the next place in the series. The poem of Lesches, according to those authorities, described the lighting of the beacon torch by Sinon; the capture, sack, and firing of the city; the meeting of Menelaus and Helen; the murder of Astyanax by Neoptolemus (not Ulysses, as in Arctinus); the capture of Æneas and Andromache by the same Neoptolemus, and their transport as slaves to Thessaly; the recognition of Æthra, mother of Theseus and slave of Helen, by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas; with other encounters and incidents of the last fatal night of the city, and the subsequent preparations for the embarkation and return of the Greeks. It appears therefore, that the compiler of the Cyclic collection³, finding two poems, or rather

¹ Poet. xxiv. ed. Bip.; conf. Gräfenh. ad loc.

² See the passages collected and collated by Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 356.; conf. Düntz. frgg. Nachtr. p. 108.

³ That the mutilation, if such it be, does not originate with Proclus, but was common to other popular text-books in the lower ages of classical literature, appears from the sculptured reliefs of the *Tabula Iliaca* (ap. C. G. Müll. de Cyc. Ep.). The action of the Little Iliad, as there represented, is precisely the same as in the Epitome; with the exception, apparently, of a prophetic address by Cassandra at the close, deprecating the introduction of the wooden horse into the city, of which address there is no mention in the Epitome.

integral parts of poems, devoted to the same adventure, had admitted that by Arctinus as the one best suited to his purpose, and suppressed that by Lesches, even at the cost of mutilating the entire work to which it belonged.

As an apology for this proceeding it might be urged, that there is reason to believe that the "Sack of Troy" by Lesches, though usually comprehended under the common title of the Little Iliad, may have partaken from the first somewhat of the nature of an independent poem. The case would be similar to that of the Thebais, which name, while denoting in stricter usage but a portion of the Theban war of succession, was occasionally extended to the whole. Upon this view, the omission of the Ilii-persis of Lesches, in deference to that of Arctinus, while in some degree requisite to give order to the series, could hardly expose the compiler to any very serious charge of tampering with the integrity of his stock of materials.

Another similar difficulty occurs in regard to the *Æthiopis*. The Epitome of that poem concludes with a simple notice of strife having arisen, during the funeral solemnities of Achilles, relative to the disposal of the arms of that hero. The Epitome of the Little Iliad, accordingly, as next in order, takes up the subject where that of the *Æthiopis* left it, with the competition between Ulysses and Ajax for the arms. Yet from various authorities it appears, that the original *Æthiopis* described the same competition and its consequences, down to the death of Ajax.¹ Another commentator however, quotes a bulky frag-

¹ Schol. Pind. Isthm. iv. 58. (frg. ii.); conf. Clint. F. H. vol. i. p. 355. sqq.

ment of Arctinus descriptive of the latter event, not from his *Æthiopis* but his *Ilii-persis*.¹ This would seem to imply that the subject, interrupted at the close of the former poem, had been resumed and completed at the commencement of the latter. But in the *Epitome*, the *Ilii-persis* of Arctinus, without any mention of the affairs of Ajax, opens where the *Little Iliad* closes, with the Trojan council relative to the wooden horse. The Robbery of the Palladium is also stated by many authorities to have been narrated by Arctinus.² It finds however no place in the *Epitome* either of his *Æthiopis* or *Ilii-persis*. Here, again, as in the parallel case of *Lesches*, this ambiguity of citation favours the surmise of modern commentators, that the titles of *Æthiopis* and *Ilii-persis*, with that of *Amazonia* formerly alluded to, originally belonged to one great poem by Arctinus³, commencing where the *Iliad* finished, and concluding with the fall of the city. The analogy would thus be complete between the triple subject and title, *Amazonia*, *Æthiopis*, *Ilii-persis*, and the *Thebaïc* series formerly noticed, *Going forth of Amphiaras*, *Thebais*, *Epigoni*. Each series would have formed a great epic trilogy, where the name of the principal part was occasionally used as common to the whole.

¹ Schol. Bekk. ad Il. xi. 515.; conf. Clint. *ibid.* p. 357. Possibly the death of Ajax may have been treated as part of the principal subject in the former poem, and alluded to episodically in the latter.

² Clint. *sup. cit.*; Dion. Hal. l. 69. (frg. i.); conf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* vol. ii. p. 1203. 1205.

³ K. O. Müller assumes (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 68. note), but only on the ground of his own conjectural restoration of the Borgian tablet, that the *Æthiopis* and *Ilii-persis* of Arctinus in this integral form comprised twelve books, being five more than stated in the *Epitome*. But we cannot venture to give effect to such problematical data.

From the details above given therefore, it further results, that the central portion of this great poem or series of poems by Arctinus, the portion namely which comprised the Competition for the Arms, Death of Ajax, Robbery of the Palladium, and other intermediate transactions between the funeral of Achilles and the sack of the city, had been omitted in the artificial adjustment of the Cycle, to make way for the first part of the Little Iliad of Lesches, which treated of the same events; just as the latter part of that poem, devoted to the "Destruction of Troy," was discarded in its turn, to make way for the Iliopersis of Arctinus.

Of actual alteration, as distinct from curtailment, of the text of the original poems in the Epitome, but a single example can be elicited by a collation of earlier and weightier authorities. Herodotus¹, among his reasons for not admitting the Cypria as a genuine work of Homer, mentions the discrepancy between that poem and the Iliad, in their respective accounts of the voyage of Paris and Helen from Lacedæmon to Troy. In the Iliad, he observes, the fugitives are described as taking a circuitous course by Sidon, while in the Cypria their passage home is performed direct in three days. But in the Epitome of the Cypria, the account of this transaction tallies substantially with that given in the Iliad. No satisfactory explanation of this anomaly suggests itself. As the single solitary instance of its kind, it cannot, in the face of so singular a harmony between the Epitome and other collateral authorities in an infinity of other cases, be attributed to any wilful tampering with his materials on the part of the author of that compi-

¹ II. 117.; conf. Eustath. ad II. vi. 290.

lation. It is more probably the result of oversight in the adjustment of his copious fund of Homeric tradition, derived from so many secondary as well as primary sources.

The following then, is the general result of the foregoing scrutiny of the various conflicting data relative to the composition and contents of the poems of the Troic series.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the outline of the Cypria, as given by Proclus, represents the original extent of the action; as being in unison both with the notices supplied from other sources, and with the evident scope of the author of the poem, to furnish a prelude or introduction to the Iliad.

The Æthiopis, according to the limits assigned it in the Epitome, terminates with the obsequies of Achilles; according to collateral authorities, it comprised also the Competition for the Arms and Suicide of Ajax. The Ilii-persis of the same poet, commencing in the Epitome with the adventure of the Trojan Horse, according to other authorities with the death of Ajax, extends to the destruction of the city and reembarkation of the Greeks. But on the supposition above adverted to, that these two works formed but separate parts of one comprehensive poem, the whole subject thus treated by Arctinus would have ranged from the conclusion of the Iliad down to the fall of Troy, as an epic trilogy, under the three titles of Amazonia, Æthiopis, and Ilii-persis.

The Little Iliad may, on a similar balance of authorities, be considered either as an integral work, commencing with the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms, and terminating with the fall of the city; or as combining two distinct but nearly

connected poems, like the Thebais and Epigoni. In this latter case, the first part would conclude with the feigned departure of the Greeks, the second would describe the catastrophe consequent on their return.

Regarding the limits of the original Nosti and Telegonia there exists no discordance of authorities ; they may therefore safely be taken as in the Epitome.

Critical
estimate of
the poems.

13. With so slender a stock of internal data for estimating the poetical value of these productions, the safest groundwork of critical speculation will be the recorded verdict of those native critics who, with all the necessary aids to guide their opinions, rank as the highest authorities in such questions. Upon the whole, it must be admitted that the balance of this evidence is by no means favourable. While the title of "Cyclic Poet" is in itself one of very ambiguous distinction, the specific allusions to the different poems are not calculated to inspire any high notion of the credit in which they stood among the antients. It is true that, owing to their near connexion with the Iliad and Odyssey, the opinions concerning them are chiefly expressed in the way of contrast with those two works, and that a fair amount of excellence may have been compatible with a considerable falling off from such standards. Their lightness in this comparative scale might also seem, in some degree, to be counterbalanced by the mere fact of their having been themselves popularly accredited as compositions of Homer. It were however certainly somewhat extraordinary, had they been distinguished by any higher poetical excellence, that with the exception, if it be one, of the qualified allusion of Pausanias to the Thebais, not one of them should have been noticed by

a single antient critic in terms of distinct and unequivocal eulogy.¹

The most tangible criteria for testing their value are supplied by the passages of Aristotle's *Poetics*, illustrative of the peculiar excellences by which that great master of the critical art held the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to be jointly distinguished from all other works of the same class. The properties on which he chiefly dwells are, unity of whole, combined with variety of detail in the action; and a preference of the dramatic or mimetic to the narrative style of exposition. For the better elucidation of the mode and extent in which these properties are displayed, he appeals, in the way of contrast, to the epic poems ranking nearest in character and merit to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. These important texts are here subjoined, as forming in themselves a concise commentary on the Cyclic school of poetry, and supplying consequently an indispensable basis of any more specific estimate of the individual poems.

Their plan
and struc-
ture.
Judgement
of Ari-
stotle.

"A subject is one, not, as some suppose, from its merely relating to the affairs of one person, for an infinite number of adventures, offering in themselves no unity, might befall a single hero; and in the same way, one man might perform many exploits not capable of being combined into a single action. Hence all those poets are at fault who have composed *Heracleïds* and *Theseïds*, or other similar poems; for they imagine that because *Hercules* was one their subject must also be one. But *Homer*, excellent as he is in other respects, has here also displayed his usual fine tact, whether acquired by art or bestowed by nature. For in composing an *Odyssey*, he has not introduced all the eventful transactions of his hero's life . . . but such alone as ranged themselves around that one action which we now call the *Odyssey*; and so also in regard to the *Iliad*."²

¹ See Appendix J.

² *Poetic*. ix. ed. Bip.; conf. *Isocr. Panath.* ed. Bekk. p. 324.

"In epic as in tragic poetry, the subject must be dramatically treated, and concentrated around a single action, united and complete, with beginning, middle, and end, so as to come home to the apprehension with the effect of one entire living being. It is not sufficient, as in ordinary prose narrative, for the connexion of different events under one head, that the mere time of their occurrence should be the same, while there may be in other respects no bond of union between them; or that they should be narrated in continuous succession, although in respect to their scope and object they may stand in no immediate relation to each other. Such, however, as we have already observed, is the method which almost all other poets have followed. The divine genius of Homer alone appears rising superior to all, in that he does not attempt to place before us the whole Trojan war; for that subject, although presenting (historically) a beginning, a middle, and end, would, if treated in its integrity, either have formed an overgrown and unwieldy action¹, or, if restricted and condensed in the execution, would have been overcharged with matter. He prefers, therefore, selecting one part and diversifying it with numerous episodes. Other poets indeed, also treat of one person, one time, and one action, but comprising many parts; as, for example, the authors of the *Cypria* and *Little Iliad*. Hence the materials of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* supply subject each for but one, or perhaps two tragedies. From the *Cypria* on the other hand may be derived many; from the *Little Iliad* about eight or more: the *Competition for the Arms*, the *Philoctetes*, *Neoptolemus*, *Eurypylus*, *Ulysses Mendicant*, *Lacænxæ*, *Ilii-persis*, *Apollus*, *Sinon*, *Troades*."²

Its appli-
cation to
individual
poems.

14. The terms in which the critic's test of unity is here applied to the *Cypria* and *Little Iliad* are somewhat ambiguous, as compared with our collateral knowledge of the contents of these poems. That they treat of one time and one action can only be true in so far as, like ordinary prose histories, they carry a continuous series of occurrences — an action of "many parts," as Aristotle expresses it, — through a corresponding course of time. The *Cypria* in fact, judging from the *Epitome*, must have partaken much

¹ οὐκ εὐσύννοτος. (?)

² Poetic. xxiv. ed. Bip.

of the nature of a metrical chronicle of events, during the thirty years from the nuptials of Peleus to the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. It has a beginning, no doubt; but it can hardly be said to have a middle in the poetical sense, there being no adventure which can rank as an epic climax or culminating point; and so far is it from having any just poetical end or catastrophe, that the conclusion is but a sudden interruption of the main stream of the action, lest it should interfere with the commencement of the *Iliad*.

The poem of Lesches, comprising in Aristotle's edition also the "Destruction of Troy," is not certainly so deficient in unity as the *Cypria*. It takes up the subject of the Trojan war after a really important crisis, the death of Achilles, and continues it through a limited but eventful period to the fall of the city, the catastrophe of the whole. It has, therefore, historically speaking, both a beginning and end. It wants, however, the "middle," that is, any one prominent climax or crisis connecting the extremities and cementing the general course of the action. The accumulation of events within the few weeks allotted to that action is also, upon Aristotle's own just principle, as incompatible with poetical unity as the extension of the *Cypria* over a quarter of a century. The contest for the arms, the death of Paris, and the arrival and exploits of Neoptolemus, though belonging to the same historical series, have obviously no real epic connexion with each other, or with the stratagem of the horse and fall of the city.

The portion however of the text of Aristotle most difficult, in its literal sense, to reconcile with the actual structure of these two poems, is the apparent

admission of unity in regard to the Person of their respective heroes, or Protagonists. In the Epitome or other extant notices of their contents, neither work can be said to offer a single character possessing any such prominence. At the commencement of the Cypria, Paris appears as the chief actor; but no sooner is Helen safely housed in Troy, than he retires from the scene. After a brief ascendancy of Menelaus, Achilles steps in and assumes the same precedence which belongs to him in the Iliad. Aristotle could hardly have assigned the functions of protagonist to Venus, who however active at the outset, also retires into the background at an early stage of the history. In the Little Iliad Ulysses appears as a principal actor, but still without any trace of poetical connexion in his performances; and his ascendancy must certainly have yielded to that of Neoptolemus, on the appearance of the latter hero in the field. The expression of Aristotle therefore, "one person one time and one action," in the above text, must be interpreted generally, to the effect that one or other rule might be observed even consistently with an otherwise defective treatment; not that all three rules were actually adhered to in the poems selected as examples.

In carrying on the same test to the other more distinguished members of the Cycle, attention is first called to the Thebais and Epigoni. Overlooking the closer poetical connexion which seems to be established between these works by the antients, and classing each, for the purpose of this inquiry, as a separate epopee, neither can be said to lie open to serious objection, either as to the limits or connexion of its subject. It must, therefore, probably be

owing to the defects of treatment, that they have, the Thebais more especially, been tacitly included in the censure of the Stagirite critic. Of the justice of that censure, our slender insight into the precise order of the events of the Thebais, how far they may have been treated in methodical succession from the curse of Œdipus downwards, how far distributed and interlaced in the relation of principal subject and episode, prevents our forming any clear judgement. The part of protagonist seems however to have been wanting or but ill defined. It is at least difficult to determine, from existing sources, whether the honour belonged to the sons of Œdipus, one or both, to Amphiaraus¹ or to Adrastus; or whether it was shared by each party in common or in succession. The action of the Epigoni is open rather to the charge of poverty than defective unity. The events it comprises are few and meagre, amounting in fact to little more than a skeleton of those treated in the latter portion of the Thebais.

The *Æthiopis*, judging from the abstract of its contents in the *Epitome*, was a mere metrical history of the life of Achilles, from the close of the *Iliad* to his death, without any apparent Aristotelian bond of epic integrity. His victory over Penthesilea, murder

¹ Weight attaches no doubt to Welcker's arguments (*Ep. Cycl.* pt. ii. p. 324. sqq.) for assigning this honour by preference to Amphiaraus. This however would involve an eccentricity in the composition of the work, not very compatible with the genius of the Homeric epopee, or indeed of epic poetry in any age. It would imply that the person selected as protagonist of a great martial adventure, was a hero who from first to last denounced it as rash, unhallowed, and desperate; who on this ground long and resolutely refused to take part in it; who was only induced to do so by the fraud and intrigues of a wife and comrades whom he despised; and who himself perished in it, after seeing his army defeated and destroyed.

of Thersites, and retirement to Lesbos, stand in no poetical connexion with his triumph over Memnon. Nor does the catastrophe of his own death, by the joint agency of Paris and Apollo, with his funeral and apotheosis by Thetis, however natural a conclusion to an Achilleïs, stand in any other relation of unity to the previous events, than what Aristotle defines as the mere historical train of succession. If on the other hand the subject, as some authorities imply, was originally carried beyond the death of Achilles to the contest for his arms and suicide of Ajax; or if, according to a third hypothesis, the original work of Arctinus, comprising both his *Æthiopis* and *Iliipersis*, brought down the events of the war from the close of the *Iliad*, in one continuous series, to the fall of the city, it would still more completely merge the character of epic poem in that of metrical chronicle.

The action of the *Iliipersis*, considered as a single poem, according to the outline of the *Epitome* is simple and united. No such unity of person can, however, be discovered. The adventures and influence of Neoptolemus, Ulysses, and Menelaus, judging at least from existing data, assume in their turn a prominence equally entitling each hero to the honour of protagonist for the time being.

The *Nosti* has little pretension to unity of any kind. The very title, by its plural formation, seems in some degree to exclude that property. By reference to the *Epitome*, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Neoptolemus, may each lay nearly equal claim to the honour of principal actor, and their adventures to that of principal subject. The secondary title however, of "*Return of the Atridæ*," would imply that the action was meant to be concentrated around the destinies of those heroes.

The Telegonia performs the same duty by the hero of the Odyssey as the Æthiopis by Achilles, conducting him through a desultory train of action or suffering to his death in his native island, by the hand of Telegonus. That hero, in his turn, is brought into fatal collision with his father by another totally distinct series of adventures on his own part. This poem, forming the conclusion of the Troic series, and of the whole Cycle, ranges through a period of ten or twelve years, the longest occupied by any other but the Cypria, which forms the commencement of the same series.

15. Neither the existing means of insight into the contents of the remaining members of the Cycle, nor their individual importance in the scale of epic literature, render it expedient to extend this analysis to the nicer mechanism of their poetical structure. It remains however, still taking as guide the text of Aristotle and the standard of Homer, briefly to consider the subordinate details of execution or style in the above more celebrated members of the collection. Among the more prominent features of excellence pointed out by Aristotle, as distinguishing the Iliad and Odyssey from other poems of their class, is the dramatic or imitative spirit of their action. "Homer," he remarks, "admirable as he is on so many other accounts, is no less so in that he alone, among poets, has rightly understood what belongs to his own office. For the poet himself ought to say as little as possible, or he would not be, as he ought to be, an imitator of nature. Other poets are accustomed to appear, as themselves the entire managers of the action, leaving little or nothing to imitative art. But Homer, after a brief preamble, introduces at once a man or woman, or some other personification

Details of
style and
execution.
Thebaic
series.

of nature, and always in the most natural and characteristic manner."

The scanty remains of the Cyclic poems can afford but little either of practical confirmation or confutation, of the stigma here indirectly thrown by Aristotle on this common defect of their epic style. But such amount of internal evidence as they supply goes far to support his authority; the extant verses in which the poets appear to speak in their own person, being in the ratio of about six or seven to one of such as can be assumed to have been placed in the mouths of their actors. On several even of the former occasions, the author seems to be introduced repeating the speeches of his heroes at second-hand; informing the reader of what they had said or done, in cases where Homer would unquestionably have imposed on them the duty of speaking for themselves. But even were the proportion of dialogue far greater in these fragments, it would afford but an imperfect index of the dramatic style of the entire works. The criterion of Aristotle, it is evident, consists in requiring the heroes not merely to act and speak their own parts, but also to support their respective characters with spirit and nature.

In regard to some other points of poetical management, taste in the selection and propriety in the treatment of descriptive or illustrative details, the existing remains and notices of the poems afford, even apart from any appeal to the judgement of the antients, considerable scope for criticism.

The Thebais, pronounced by Pausanias the best epic poem in his opinion next to the genuine works of Homer, offers, both in matter and expression, several low and offensive images. Such was the provocation which called forth, on two successive

occasions, the direful curse pronounced by Œdipus on his sons. This provocation, the immediate cause of the whole mighty war of extermination, consisted : first, in their having, in disobedience to their father's commands, served up his meal on the table equipage of their grandfather ; secondly, in their having on another occasion, set before the old king as his share of the banquet, the knuckle, instead of a more honourable portion of the animal. It might here perhaps be urged in apology, that such images, in the legend of a remote semibarbarous age, are not to be judged by the same severe standard as in the literature of civilised periods. Motives in themselves comparatively unimportant or undignified assume, it might be said, a different character when estimated in the spirit of national manners and religion. But this apology, however valid as regards the tradition itself, supplies little or no justification of the poet. His judgement ought to be displayed in the choice, as well as the treatment, of his materials ; in either avoiding or ennobling, what is mean or commonplace in the rude elements of his subject.¹ No similar degree of importance has been, or ever could have been attached, (unless in a burlesque sense) to any such incidents by the author of the *Iliad*, although a poet of an earlier and consequently still ruder age than that which produced the *Thebais*. One of the most admirable features of Homer's muse is, in fact, the fine taste with which, in the serious element of his subject, he has preferred, among the varieties of the popular legend, those most conducive to the

¹ Even the Schol. of Sophocles (Œd. Col. 1375.), who cites one of these passages, pronounces the cause of the old king's wrath "altogether mean and ignoble."

ideal dignity of his heroes. Doubtless many of the more offensive or grovelling traits in their character or conduct celebrated by his successors of the Cycle, such as the murder of Palamedes by Diomed and Ulysses¹, that of Thersites by Achilles, the stench of the wound of Philoctetes, or the slaughter of the sheep by Ajax, may have been familiar to Homer also in the current traditions. But such materials are either rejected by him altogether, or reserved for the humorous element of his narrative. The figure employed by Amphiaraus, in the solemn parting advice to his son Amphilochus as to his future conduct in life, affords also no very favourable impression of the illustrative imagery of the Thebais.² The young man is counselled, in order to ingratiate himself with those among whom he lives, and attach them to his interest, to imitate "the cunning art with which the polypus allures and grasps in his claws the fish on which he preys." The style of the poem, as represented at least by the existing fragments, is also somewhat dry and laboured³, betraying little of Homeric grace or vigour. It

¹ Reprobated by Xenophon (De Venat. i. 11.) as a corruption of the genuine heroic legend.

² Frag. Pind. p. 650. There can be little doubt, for the reasons assigned by Boeckh (conf. Leutsch, p. 52.), that this passage is paraphrased from the Thebais.

³ The first five verses of the longest extant passage (Leutsch, Rel. Theb. p. 38.; Düntz. frg. ii.) are marked by a very lame tautology in the recurrence of the commonplace terms *καλόν*, *καλήν*, *αὔταρ*, *αὔταρ* *ἔπειτα*. The construction of the ninth verse of the same fragment,

ὡς οὐ οἱ πατὴρ ἐνὶ φιλότῃτι δόσαντο,

if genuine Greek in its present form, is also as inelegant as un-Homeric. Compare Homer's far more genial mode of expression in the closely parallel verse, 455. of Il. ix. He would here also, doubtless, have written,

μή ποτέ οἱ πατὴρ ἐνὶ φιλότῃτι δάσσεσθαι.

is marked however, by a certain tinge of morbid melancholy, in good keeping with the general tenor of the subject.

Neither the remains of the Epigoni, nor the notices of its contents by classic writers, supply materials for any near estimate of its merits or defects of detail. According to some later, perhaps not very valid authorities, the absurd and unpoetical story of the Teumesian fox¹ would seem to have formed one of its episodes; which would certainly not tend to raise our opinion of the author's taste in selecting his materials.

16. The plot of the Cypria is, in its primary conception, essentially unpoetical. The woes of Terra groaning under the weight of her population; the council held in heaven for her relief; the amour of Jove with so unamiable an object of gallantry as Nemesis; and the birth of the Grecian queen of love and beauty from so offensively fantastic an alliance, while but indifferent materials even for an Orphic hymn, are utterly foreign to the genius of the heroic epopee. These mystical peculiarities of the poem, savour certainly more of the age of Pisander or Aristeeas than of Arctinus or Eumelus, and warrant the belief, that the Cypria was one of the youngest members of the Cyclic family.

Troic series.

In the details of the action, besides the stench of the wound of Philoctetes already noticed, prominence was assigned to other incidents of a trivial or offensive nature. Such are the curiosity of Achilles to behold Helen, and the joint exertions made by Venus and Thetis to bring about the interview. The blunder committed by the armament on its first expedition,

¹ Suid. Phot. et Hesych. v. Τεμεσσία.

in besieging Teuthrania by mistake for Troy, is also a miserable conceit. The degradation of Diomed and Ulysses, as murderers of Palamedes, from the heroic generosity of character which distinguishes them in the *Iliad*, has already been noticed as a grievous sin against the principles of the Homeric muse. Nor can the ensconcement of Castor and Pollux in a hollow tree to escape detection when plundering cattle, and the death of Castor in that predicament, be reconciled with the dignity of the Dioscuri or of epic composition. Another fantastically un-Homeric incident of this poem, is the visit paid to the camp by the *Cenotropæ*, nymphs of Corn, Wine, and Oil, as their titles *Spermo*, *Ceno*, *Elaïs*, denote. These heroines, by order of their father Anius king of Delos, appear in the Greek quarters during a season of scarcity, to act the part of commissaries for the supply of the troops, by converting every thing they touch into the good things figured by their names. The general tone of expression and versification in this poem, combines a considerable share of Homeric ease and spirit with a certain lightness and grace, degenerating at times into florid license, in better keeping with the Cyprian character of the subject than the dignity of epic style. It is perhaps to this, upon the whole attractive feature, that the work owes the superior popularity it appears to have enjoyed among its fellow-members of the Cycle, if indeed the length of the preserved passages and the frequency of its citation, can be held as valid evidence of any such preference.

In the *Æthiopis*, the murder of Thersites by Achilles speaks but little in favour of the taste or judgement of the author. It degrades the sublime protagonist of the *Iliad* to the level of a brutal assassin, defiling

his hands with the blood of a most despicable adversary, upon whom Homer's Ulysses is content, under similar circumstances, to inflict the chastisement of a schoolboy or a slave. The poet of the *Æthiopis* however, is not only insensible to the meanness of the action, but so impressed with its value, as to assign it an important influence on the progress of events. Sympathy for the fate of the poor buffoon causes sedition in the army, and an interruption of the operations of the siege, by the obligation imposed on Achilles of absenting himself beyond sea. The cause of his wrath against Thersites, an imputation to him by the latter of unnatural passion for the slain Amazon, is as unworthy of the Homeric muse as the vengeance exacted. No remains of this poem are extant.

The first two verses of the *Little Iliad*, which have been preserved, are in a somewhat lame and pompous tone of Homeric imitation. There can be little doubt that they are the passage, or one of the passages, which Horace had in view, in his satirical description of the mode in which the "Cyclic poet of old" was wont to open his subject. Among the other fragments which have survived, the four lines of conversation between the Trojan women on the city wall, as to the comparative merits of Ajax and Ulysses, seem, with other evidence, to favour the opinion that this was a work of more homely and familiar, occasionally perhaps humorous character, than others of the series. The travesty of Ulysses as a mendicant, and his intrigues in Troy, also belong to the *Odyssaic* class of adventure. The scene in the wooden horse alluded to in the *Odysey*¹, which

¹ iv. 285.; Schol. *ad loc.*; conf. Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* p. 72.

evidently partakes of the comic style, has also been supposed, on plausible grounds, to have been more fully treated by Lesches. But this consideration can hardly palliate so ludicrous and offensive an ebullition of insane fury on the part of Ajax, in the last tragic act of his life, as the slaughter of the sheep, by mistake for the warriors of the camp. To such an exploit even the countenance of Sophocles cannot impart dramatic dignity. The degradation by that poet, in the same tragedy, of the character of Menelaus from its nobler Homeric standard, may also be reasonably traced to a Cyclic source. The latter half of the action however, according to the limits assigned it by Aristotle, could hardly have admitted any tinge of the burlesque; and accordingly, the fragments connected with that part of the poem describe in gloomy and severe, though somewhat tame and prosaic language, some of the horrors of the last fatal night of the city. This apparent difference of style in the two subdivisions of the poem of Lesches, favours the view above expressed, that each may have been originally invested by its author with a certain independance of character; the lighter Odyssaic adventures being confined to the first of the two. The other fragments of this part of the text are in an easy flowing vein of versification, justifying, upon the whole, a more favourable opinion of the general style than the two lines of exordium.

In the *Ilii-persis* of Arctinus, the cowardly flight of Æneas from the city on the day before the assault of the Greeks, degrades the most unexceptionable Trojan character of the *Iliad*, no less effectually than the characters of Ulysses, Diomed, Ajax, and Achilles, are degraded in the *Cypria*, *Æthiopis*, and *Little Iliad*.

The single extant fragment, describing the two sons of Æsculapius and their art, is in an agreeable unaffected vein of Homeric versification.

The only offensive incidents in the *Nosti*, are the marriages, of Telemachus to his father's concubine, and of Telegonus to his father's widow. The few remaining lines of the text are not marked by any distinctive features of style.

The *Telegonia*, as it was the last both in the order of its subject and the date of its composition, was apparently the worst poem of the Cycle. While it still further debases the character of Ulysses, it closes his family history by a senseless and disgusting catastrophe. His wanton desertion, in his old age, of the virtuous Penelope, to whom, in the midst of numberless trials and temptations, he had evinced so devoted a constancy in his rampant days of youth and manhood; his bigamy with a barbarian mistress during her lifetime; and his subsequent return to Ithaca, reunion with Penelope, and death by the hand of his own adulterous offspring, form a tissue of adventures all equally un-Homeric and unpoetical. The ultimate settlement of the family by the pair of unnaturally incestuous marriages also recorded in the *Nosti*, with the boon of immortality conferred on the guilty parties to the exclusion of the deceased hero himself, offers a most appropriately absurd conclusion to a tasteless and extravagant narrative.

Lest the judgement here passed on the Cyclic poems, in absence it may perhaps be said, and all but unheard, should seem severe, it will be proper in conclusion to remind the reader, that it has been drawn up with immediate reference to the Homeric standard of excellence, an ordeal which they all appear

to court by the very claims they advance to Homeric honours, but which few productions of any age and otherwise acknowledged excellence can sustain. It must not however be forgotten, that much of what is objectionable in theory may possess considerable merit in the execution; and many consequently of those conceptions, which in the existing outline or skeleton lie open to serious objection, may, as worked up by a fervid imagination in glowing colours, have possessed their own characteristic value, which we are now deprived of competent means of estimating. In partial illustration of these remarks, appeal might be made to the expressive gloom and melancholy, which dimly beaming through the fragments of the Thebais, harmonise so well with the spirit of the action; and to the fantastic grace and levity which, with equal adaptation to the genius of the poem, distinguish the extant passages of the Cypria.

Special relation of the poems to the Iliad and Odyssey.

17. It remains but to advert once more, with the form and character of these poems thus more fully before us, to the evidence they supply of the fallacy of the late popular theories regarding the origin of the Iliad and Odyssey. Even those who have here carried scepticism to the greatest length, have hardly ventured to maintain that all these bulky epopees, with other equally voluminous non-Homeric compositions of remote date, were, as the Iliad and Odyssey have been pronounced, compilations of fugitive ballads rather than integral works by single authors. Nor will it now probably be disputed in any reasonable quarter, after the more searching investigation to which this chapter of literary history has of late years been subjected, that several at least of the Cyclic poems date, in their integral form and com-

pass, from a period several centuries prior to the rise of the supposed primitive system of bookmaking, to which their two great prototypes have been assumed to owe their existence. When therefore we find, with all the variety of their subjects, how carefully those among the Cyclic poems devoted to the Trojan war abstain from trespassing on the action of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; when we find the *Cypria*, at the expense of a most impotent conclusion, halting at the close of its thirty years' narrative, in what is still but the middle of its own subject, lest it should encroach on the commencement of the *Iliad*; when we find *Arctinus* taking up the thread with equal servility where the *Iliad* lays it down, and both *Arctinus* and *Lesches* concluding where the *Odyssey* commences; when we find lastly the *Nosti*, the only poem which ventures to interfere with the *Odyssey* in regard to time, carefully avoiding all encroachment on its action, running a parallel but completely independant course; when we add to this the united testimony of the antients, confirmed by the existing remains, to the imitative character of these works, and to the obsequious manner in which their authors borrowed incidental allusions or episodical details from the text of *Homer*, as materials for their own most important heads of action,— we cannot fail to recognise, in the earlier Cyclic poems, inferior specimens of the same order of comprehensive epopee, of which the genuine *Homer* had in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* furnished the standard models. The two prototypes must by consequence emanate, in their existing substantial integrity, from a far more remote period of antiquity.

The Cyclic poets, it must also be remembered,

are the same "Homerids" who in the Wolfian school of commentary, whether as amplifiers or interpolators of a more or less entire Iliad and Odyssey, figure as authors of many of the very noblest and most characteristic passages or episodes of each poem. The question then occurs: how happens it that authors who, in their subordinate capacity of botchers of existing works, stand forth as minstrels of surpassing genius, should, the moment they turn that genius to the composition of an original poem, of a Cypria for example or an Æthiopis, relapse into mediocrity or plagiarism? He must be a very indulgent, but not very discerning critic, who can believe that the united talents of the authors of all the preserved passages of Homeric epopees, passages representing, we are entitled to assume, the cream of the original compositions, should ever have produced the episode of "The Shield," the Deputation Scene of the ninth book, or the Interview between Priam and Achilles in the last book of the Iliad.

CHAP. XIX.

HOMERIC HYMNS AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

1. GREEK HYMNS AND THEIR VARIOUS ORDERS — 2. HOMERIC HYMNS. THEIR CLAIMS TO EMANATE FROM HOMER. — 3. HOW FAR USED AS EXORDIA OR PROCEMIA TO OTHER COMPOSITIONS. — 4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LONGER HOMERIC HYMNS. — 5. DELIAN HYMN TO APOLLO, AND ITS AUTHOR. — 6. ITS AGE AND STYLE. — 7. PYTHIAN HYMN TO APOLLO. — 8. ITS CONNEXION WITH THE DELIAN HYMN. AGE AND STYLE. — 9. HYMN TO HERMES. — 10. ITS STYLE AND DIALECT. ÆOLIAN ORIGIN. — 11. HYMN TO APHRODITE. — 12. HYMN TO DEMETER. — 13. ITS AGE AND STYLE. — 14. HYMN TO DIONYSUS. SHORTER HOMERIC HYMNS. — 15. BATRACHOMYOMACHIA. ADDRESS TO CUMA. CAMINUS. IRESIONE. — 16. MARGITES. — 17. CERCOPE. PHOCAÏS, EPICICHLIDES, ETC.

1. A HYMN may be defined a Song or Ode in honour of the Deity or other object of religious veneration. The term consequently, in familiar usage both antient and modern, is limited solely or chiefly to lyric composition. To the Lyric Hymn in the stricter sense, that is, the melic and choral orders of poetry comprised under that title, attention will be directed in the ensuing Book devoted to the lyric literature of this period. The epic or Homeric hymns however, claim on special grounds a place in its epic literature; first, owing to their immediate relation, both in origin and style, to the school of poetry from which they derive their title; secondly, as really partaking more of the epic than the lyric character.

Greek
hymns, and
their vari-
ous orders.

To this branch of composition tradition refers the earliest efforts of the Hellenic Muse, the works of her Olen, Orpheus, Thamyris, and other bards of mythical ages. Any general remarks therefore on the origin or distinctive properties of the hymn, might appear, on strictly chronological principles, to belong to a former

chapter, devoted to the history of these mysterious personages. But the purely mythical character of those poets, and the consequent absence of all genuine materials for any practical illustration of the subject in connexion with their names, have rendered it preferable to combine its entire treatment with a period when such materials were abundantly at hand.

The Hellenic hymns may be classed under the three heads of mythical, mystical, and philosophical.

Those of the mythical order celebrate the genealogy, actions, or attributes of the popular Pagan deities, in their familiar anthropomorphic capacity.

In those of the mystical order the more recondite notions of the Divinity were expounded, as typified, either by the same popular deities under some more subtle variety of title and character, or by other essentially mystical members of the Pantheon.

The philosophical hymns celebrated the divine attributes of power, wisdom, or justice, as conceived in the schools of national philosophy. These attributes here also were frequently symbolised in the persons of popular deities to whom they were held to be peculiar, or under such other variety of moral or physical abstraction as the fancy of the individual poet, or of the sect to which he belonged, may have suggested.

To the hymns of the two latter classes, which do not, as may be supposed, always admit of being very accurately distinguished from each other, may be numbered a large proportion of those in the Orphic collection, as also of those ascribed to Linus, Musæus, and other fabulous poets. The hymns of the mythical class, to which the entire Homeric collection belongs, with the exception of one to Mars of a philo-

sophical tendency, appear to have been composed in great part for the service of the popular religion, and recited in connexion with the rites to which, in style or subject, they were adapted; the procession, the sacrifice, the dance, or the banquet. That this however was the case with all, even of the earlier more genial among them, is little probable, from the discreditable and even ludicrous light in which the character and conduct of the deities are often exhibited in their text. Such compositions therefore as the Homeric hymn to Mercury, were probably destined less for the solemnities of the altar, than, like the Song of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, for familiar occasions of festive conviviality, where the adventures of the popular objects of worship were made, like all other subjects, to contribute their share to the common fund of mirthful entertainment.

How far the mystical hymns current in the popular literature may have been destined for religious ceremonial, is also questionable. Considering the close veil of secrecy under which every thing connected with the Hellenic mysteries, in the higher sense, was shrouded, it can hardly be presumed that the odes performed in their celebration would be generally circulated, at least during the flourishing age of Hellenism. At the later period however, when the penal ordinances by which the inviolability of the mysteries was enforced became powerless, the obstacles to a promulgation of their genuine ritual might be removed; and, in so far, traces of it might be contained in the hymns of the Orphic and other similar collections. The philosophical hymns belonged, probably, at every period, to the literature rather than the religion of the nation.

Homeric
hymns.
Their
claims to
Homeric
origin.

2. The Homeric hymns¹, while almost exclusively of the mythical class, are also in great part of purely epic character and style. This is more especially the case with the longer hymns in the collection, those namely to Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter, and the first of the three to Dionysus; six in all, reckoning that to Apollo, on grounds to be considered hereafter, as two compositions, blended in the course of transmission into one. They may in fact be styled theological ballads, narrating popular passages in the lives of the deities celebrated. To the above number must be added the Song of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, as being in all essential respects an epic hymn to Vulcan. It requires, indeed, but a slight variation of the introductory lines which now connect that narrative with the main action of the *Odyssey*, to constitute it as independant a poem as the hymn to Aphrodite or Hermes in the Homeric collection. Of the remaining shorter members of that collection, some may also in so far lay claim to the epic character, as comprising narratives of divine adventures. In most of these cases however, the historical is so subservient to the eulogist or laudatory element, as to turn the balance on the lyric side.

That the claims of this compilation², or of any por-

¹ The edition here chiefly referred to is that of Franke, Lips. 1828; conf. Ilgen, *Hymn. Homer.* 1796; Matthiæ, *Animadv. in Hymn. Hom. cum Prolegg.* 1800, Hermann, *Homer. Hymn. et Epigram.* 1806.

² Hymns under the title of "Homer," or "Homeric," including apparently the chief of those now extant, are frequently alluded to by the antients (Vit. Hom. Herod. ix.; Diod. Sic. i. 15., iii. 65., iv. 2.; Pausan. ix. xxx. 6.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. iii. 14.; Schol. Nicand. Alex. 130.) in a collective sense; and it seems not improbable that they had been digested as a separate compilation, by the Alexandrian critics or some later school of grammarians. The hymns now extant usually appear in a collective form in the existing MSS., combined however,

tion of it, to emanate from the original Homer rest on no satisfactory basis, is the general, it may almost be said the unanimous judgement of the modern critical public; a judgement partly founded on the absence of competent testimony in favour of the vulgar opinion, partly on the internal evidence of the works. The most important authority in opposition to the modern opinion is Thucydides.¹ By that historian, the first hymn in the collection, addressed to the Delian Apollo, and describing its own author as the "Blind bard of Chios," has been quoted, in allusion to certain solemnities of the Delian sanctuary, as a genuine work of Homer. This opinion has also found favour with other respectable classics.² Some modern commentators would set aside this passage of the historian as a mere conventional deference to the popular opinion of the day, and involving no personal guarantee on his part of its critical accuracy. This interpretation however cannot here be admitted. So deliberate and unqualified an appeal to Homer, as a historical authority on a nice point of remote antiquity, could hardly, under any circumstances, be so construed. But the specific allusion by Thucydides to Homer's "mention of himself" in the quoted verses, is conclusive evidence that the quoter actually believed the hymn to be a genuine work of the author of the *Iliad*. The degree of deference due to the authority of the historian is another question. Thucydides was not a professional critic, and flou-

in almost every case, with other similar works of what are called the "Minor Greek Poets." For these MSS. see *Matthiæ, Præf. ad Hymn. Hom.* p. ix. sqq.

¹ III. 104.

² *Aristid. tom. II. p. 409. ed. Oxon. 1730; conf. Agon Hom. et Hes. Göttl. p. 253.; Aristoph. Birds, 574.*

rished before the grammatical art was sufficiently matured to warrant the belief that, in the course of his Homeric studies, his attention had been seriously directed to the nice distinction here involved. Nor, even in that case, could his judgement be placed in competition with the opposite verdict of the great majority of the professional grammarians and literary antiquaries of the succeeding generation.

That such was their verdict cannot be questioned. It is true that not only the Delian but other of the longer hymns ¹, in the ordinary appeals to their text, are quoted by respectable authors as the compositions of "Homer." But, in most of these cases, the citation may safely be taken in the familiar or conventional sense, as referring to the school rather than the person of the poet. On other occasions, they are characterised as the hymns "ascribed" to Homer; and the same Delian hymn cited as genuine by Thucydides was provided, in more critical quarters, with a distinct author in the person of Cynæthus ², a Chian rhapsodist of the 69th Olympiad. That the claims of these poems to Homeric origin were not countenanced by the Alexandrian grammarians, the highest authority in such matters, may be confidently inferred from the circumstance, that among the peculiarities of facts or phraseology pointed out as repugnant to the genuine tradition or usage of Homer, by those critics in their commentaries on the Iliad

¹ See Diod. sup. cit., of a Hymn to Dionysus; Nicand. sup. cit., Pausan. i. xxxviii. 3., ii. xiv. 2., iv. xxx. 3. alibi, of the Hymn to Ceres; Antig. Caryst. 7., of the Hymn to Hermes; Paus. x. xxxvii. 4. of the Hymn to Apoll. Pyth.; conf. Steph. Byz. v. Τευμησσός.

² Hippostrat. ap. Schol. Pind. Nem. ii. 1.

and Odyssey, several are found in the text of the hymns.¹ The familiar adage, "that the poet has nowhere distinctly alluded to himself or his concerns," were also entirely unmeaning, had the Delian hymn, the author of which describes himself as "a blind old man residing at Chios," been generally held to possess any solid pretensions to genuine character. Other negative arguments of the same kind might be accumulated. One or two will suffice, from an author of deserved reputation as a Homeric scholar and geographer. Strabo² asserts that the name Samos is never given by Homer to the island on the coast of Ionia, to which it was afterwards almost exclusively appropriated; being limited by him to the Cephallenian Samos, now Cefalonia, and to the Thracian Samos, afterwards Samothrace. The Ionian Samos is, however, mentioned under its familiar title in the Delian hymn.³ In another passage of the geographer⁴, Cnidus, also mentioned in that hymn⁵, is specified, on the same negative authority of the Iliad and Odyssey, as not yet founded in the days of Homer. The same rule of critical distinction might be extended to the names Europa⁶, Peloponnesus⁷, and other terms repugnant to genuine Homeric usage, which occur in the various members of the collection.

3. It has been conjectured by modern critics⁸, that these hymns were originally mere exordia or preambles, prefixed to other longer more regular compositions, epic or lyric, in the public recitals of the rhapsodists at the popular religious solemnities.

How far
used as
Exordia or
Proœmia
to other
composi-
tions.

¹ Wolf, Prolegg. p. 246. note.

² x. p. 457.

³ 41.

⁴ xiv. p. 653.

⁵ 43.

⁶ Strab. p. 554.

⁷ Strab. viii. p. 369.

⁸ Wolf, Prolegg. ad Hom. p. 107.

Among other arguments urged in favour of this view, is the occasional recurrence of certain lines of introductory or valedictory commonplace at the commencement or close of the text, intimating that the poem just recited was but a part of a series, and announcing a transition to some other object of celebration. That many of the minor compositions in the collection were of this nature might, even in the absence of more specific reasons, be inferred from their general style and tenor. Their brevity, and the abruptness of their conclusion, while scarcely compatible with the dignity of independent composition, harmonise well with the inaugural prelude to another longer poem. That such invocations were a customary preamble to the heroic song of the bard also appears, not only from the testimony of Pindar¹ and other later writers, but from the terms in which Homer in the *Odyssey*², describes Demodocus as prefacing his Song of the "Wooden Horse" by an address to some patron deity.

The extension of this theory however to the whole collection, especially to the bulky poems which form the first part of it, cannot be so readily admitted. The length and epic fulness of those poems seem incompatible with any such purpose. A short address to a popular deity might have a happy effect, prefixed to a narrative of adventures where his agency had been conspicuous : an address to Minerva, for example, before the *Doloneia* ; or to Hermes, before the last book of the *Iliad*. But to have prefaced one of these subjects by another long narrative, distinct and

¹ *Nem.* ii. init. ; *Plut. de Mus.* iv.

² viii. 499. ; *conf. Welck. Ep. C. pt. i. p. 302. sq.*

complete in itself, and describing other and different portions of the life and exploits of the same deity, were a breach of that propriety which distinguishes the Greeks in all that belongs to the mechanism of their literature. Appeal has been made to the title *Proœmium*, frequently applied by the ancients to the Homeric hymn to Apollo and to various other compositions of the same class. This title has been interpreted, according to what is no doubt its more familiar acceptation, as denoting that the compositions so designated served as introductions to other longer poems.¹ It seems however certain, that the term is here applied in a nobler and more extended sense, as indicating the first or inaugural ode of a series of similar hymns, many of which were recited in the popular national solemnities; some during the advance or procession to the sanctuary or altar, others in the course of the sacrifice, others at the sacrificial banquet, or at the close of the whole ceremonial. Hence may be explained how the title *Proœmium*, when employed in this more dignified sense, either in the case of the Homeric hymns or of other similar compositions, is limited solely or chiefly to those in honour of Apollo.² This evidently implies that the triumphal hymns of the god of music were habitually preferred as inaugural odes, even perhaps where the rites that followed were common to other deities. That such was the fact is further warranted by the verses³ towards the close of the Delian hymn,

¹ Schol. *Æsch.* Sept. c. Theb.

² Thucyd. et Aristid. sup. cit.; Pausan. x. viii. 5.; Plat. *Phæd.* p. 60 D; Diogen. Laert. viii. 57.; *Æschyl.* Ag. 31.; conf. Plut. de Mus. iv.

³ 158. sqq.

where the series of similar compositions at the Delian festival, in honour not only of Latona and Artemis, but of mortal heroes and heroines, is described as opened by a hymn to Apollo.¹ A like preference was awarded in later times to the Pæan, or convivial song of the same god, in the musical exercises of social banquets and Symposia. Hence also, may perhaps be explained the existing combination of the Delian and Pythian hymns into one poem, as now edited. Assuming them to have originally succeeded each other in the customary order of celebration, the one as the proœmium, descriptive of the birth and first establishment of the worship of Apollo, the other recording the spread of his influence, they might naturally, in the subsequent vicissitudes of their text, have been confounded by transcribers and editors into one. In support of this view it may further be remarked, that while the title Proœmium is familiarly applied in the extant citations to the Delian hymn, the Pythian hymn is nowhere similarly designated. The originally independent character of the regular epic hymn, is further vouched for by the authority of Homer himself in the *Odyssey*, where the song of Demodocus, while recited by the bard as an integral poem, is in all essential respects identical in character with the hymns of Homer's successors and imitators. Even consistently with this separate independence of character, such compositions might no doubt have been sung as

¹ The phrase *Prosodium*, or "Processional Hymn," seems in its origin if not in its subsequent usage, to have been similarly restricted to odes to Apollo; and to have been nearly synonymous, therefore, with that of "Proœmium" in the sense here in question. Paus. iv. iv. 1., iv. xxxiii. 3., v. xix. 2., ix. xii. 4.; conf. Boeckh, *Fragm. Pind.* p. 586.

inaugural proœmia to a series of rhapsodial performances; but not as introductory parts or appendages of the separate rhapsodies.

4. The six longer, more properly epic hymns of the collection, or the seven, including the song of Demodocus, all observe more or less strictly, within their narrow limits, the law of poetical unity enjoined by the standard models of the school from which they proceed. In each some one action or adventure of the deity is constituted a central point, around which his other claims to veneration or honour are distributed as accessory or episode. This principle of unity is but rarely or partially observed in the epic hymns of later poets, where various, often numerous incidents in the fabulous life of the same god are accumulated, without any common bond of unity, in one continuous narrative.

Character-
istics
of the
longer
Homeric
hymns.

In the mode of treating their respective subjects, especially in the moral and religious element of their text, the six standard Homeric hymns are marked by much variety of character. In none can be recognised any great amount of that reverential spirit which ought to pervade solemn addresses to the Deity, and by which many minor compositions in the collection are more or less distinguished. The hymn to Ceres is, upon the whole, characterised by the greatest degree of gravity and solemnity, verging upon the mystical, as befitted the mysterious attributes of the heroine. The praises of the Delian and Pythian god, while in a livelier more festive vein, are also not deficient in epic dignity. In the adventures of Dionysus these features are tempered by a certain admixture of comi-tragic humour; which in the hymn to Mercury degenerates into pure comedy,

often of a very indecent description. In the hymn to Aphrodite, the amorous class of adventure is treated with freedom but elegance, and apparently without intentional levity or breach of propriety. The hymn to Vulcan, in the *Odyssey*, is a brilliant example of a plainly licentious subject treated in the purest spirit of comic satire, without any approach to grossness or indelicacy. The three latter compositions offer, each, a more or less pointed evidence, in addition to that supplied by the *Iliad*, how keenly the primitive Greeks were alive to the absurdities of the popular religion, and with what boldness they turned them to account in the indulgence of their innate propensity to select, by preference, the victims of their ungovernable spirit of satire from the highest quarters.

That the hymn to Apollo, which appears as one in the present editions, comprises two originally distinct compositions, one to the god in his character of Delian, the other in that of Pythian, is an opinion now generally, or even universally adopted. The evidence in its favour, both historical and internal, is conclusive. The chief argument of the latter kind is, that the existing combination of two distinct heads of subject in the same poem involves, not only a violation of the epic unity common to all the other compositions of the same class in the collection, but a complete sacrifice even of that ordinary degree of continuity in the treatment of those two heads, which is essential to constitute a single narrative. This internal evidence is supported by the indirect testimony of Thucydides and Aristides, who, in citing the concluding lines of what now forms the first or Delian subdivision of the hymn, describe them as

the close of a separate work.¹ A similar inference results from the distinction above noticed, as drawn by the antients, in quoting the Delian subdivision by the title of proœmium, the Pythian under the ordinary designation of hymn or poem. The hypothesis therefore, of two originally separate hymns, may confidently be adopted as the basis of any critical remarks on their composition.

THE DELIAN HYMN TO APOLLO.

5. After an introductory tribute of praise to the god, describing the honours he enjoyed in the assembled court of Olympus, and a short congratulatory address to Latona, the poet enters on the main subject of the hymn, the birth of Apollo in Delos, and establishment of his favourite seat of worship in that island.

Delian
hymn to
Apollo,
and its
author.

Latona, when pregnant by Jupiter of the infant deity, and persecuted by the jealousy of Juno, wanders from coast to coast and island to island, vainly seeking a resting-place where she may give birth to her divine progeny. All refuse her an asylum, dismayed by the prospect of so terrible a colonist settling on their

¹ Locc. sup. cit. This confusion of two hymns into one by later transcribers was first pointed out by Ruhnkenius, *Epist. Crit. ad Hymn. in Cerer.* p. 91. More recent commentators, under the influence of the prevailing mania for such speculations, assume each of these poems in its individual capacity, with all or most of the other members of the collection, to be mere patchworks by successive generations of rhapsodists or compilers, working possibly upon some primitive basis of genuine matter. The process of analysis by which it is endeavoured to give effect to this view consists chiefly, as in the case of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in picking petty flaws and holes in the mechanical structure of the text; partly, in the reduction of the more prominent characteristics of originality or individuality, often of merit as well as defect, the very salt and flavour of a national literature, to some arbitrary standard of dry uniformity, established at the discretion of the critic. See *Herm. Epist. ad Ilgen.* p. xx. sqq.; conf. *Matthiæ, Prolegg. ad Hymn. Hom.* p. 15. sqq.

shore. At length she arrives at the rugged islet of Delos, and tempts it to compliance, by contrasting in glowing colours, with its present dreary and deserted state, the honours and wealth to be lavished on its barren rocks, were they to become the chosen sanctuary of Apollo. The nymph of the island expresses alarm lest the deity, on entering the world, ashamed of his mean birthplace, should indignantly trample her under foot, overwhelm her in the sea, and transfer his residence to some more favoured spot. Reassured however by Latona, with an oath on the Styx; that all the fair prospects held out shall be realised, she joyfully consents.

Provided with a refuge, the goddess is seized by her pains, which are prolonged during nine days owing to the absence of Ilithyia, detained in Olympus by the invidious influence of Juno. At length, through the interference of the other female deities, who sympathise with their afflicted kinswoman, the celestial midwife, eluding the vigilance of Juno, affords her assistance, and the divine babe is brought forth amid the rejoicings of the assembled friendly goddesses.

On entering the world he selects the bow as his weapon, music and augury as his favourite arts, Delos as his terrestrial abode. This preference at once secures the island the promised affluence and honours. "But the period when the god views with greatest delight his chosen seat, is during the celebration of his festival by the Ionians, convened in solemn assembly with their wives and children, and listening to the daughters of the island chanting his hymns of praise."

The poem concludes with an apostrophe to the author, "as the blind old bard dwelling in Chios, whose songs were destined to a lasting preeminence in fame and popularity over those of all other poets;" with an appeal to the grateful remembrance of the Delian damsels; and a promise "to sing their praises in his wanderings among the cities of men."

The most interesting feature of this hymn, as bearing on the question of its origin, is the personification of the "blind bard" himself addressing the Delian damsels, which formed, in the days of Thucydides, an argument of the genuine character of the poem. It will be considered by the more discerning critic of the present day, for reasons already given, as

it was probably by Aristotle and Aristarchus, equally strong evidence of imposture. Dismissing therefore the pretensions of the passage to emanate from the true Homer, various other conjectures offer themselves as to its real import or author. Some commentators have surmised, with more simplicity than sagacity, that the hymn actually was composed, not indeed by *the* "blind bard," but by *a* real blind bard of Chios, who thus, in genuine good faith, and in his own proper person, claims a precedence in merit and fame over all other mortal poets. This were certainly a very wonderful, scarcely credible, coincidence between the real history of the hymnographer and the fabulous history of the true Homer. It would also require a wide stretch of credulity to believe, that any successor and imitator of the genuine Homer would have ventured, in a solemn address to a great popular assembly, to boast himself superior to his master in glory and future fame; or that an Ionian public would have listened with indulgence to such absurd pretensions.¹ The only plausible or rational alternative that remains is, to assume that the author of the hymn, whether Cynæthus, to whom Hippostratus² ascribes it, or some other Chian rhapsodist, had pirated, together with the style, the person also of his chief as figured in the tradition of his own native town; and had passed off, or endeavoured to pass off, his work as a genuine production of Homer. The hymn would thus possess another source of interest, as being the earliest ascertained specimen of this species of literary fraud.

¹ This consideration supplies another strong argument against the theory which would ascribe the hymn to the primitive Lacedæmonian Homerid Cinæthon. See Appendix H.

² Schol. Pind. Nem. II. 1.

Its age and
style.

6. Upon a just critical estimate of the circumstances under which the counterfeit was produced, must mainly depend our judgement as to its antiquity. Its composition can hardly be carried back to the earlier flourishing period of the Ionian colonies, when Delos, under their protection and patronage, enjoyed, in addition to her sacred privileges, a full share of the common prosperity. Literary forgeries of this nature were little in keeping with the genius of that period, and still less likely to be successfully palmed on the ritual of a great national solemnity. A more probable date for the spurious production would be the age of Pisistratus; by whom the sanctuary, already shorn, it would seem, of its antient splendour, and comparatively neglected, was renovated and purified, and thenceforward remained a dependant of Athens.¹ A more favourable opportunity could hardly have been offered to an ingenious forger for promulgating his labours, than that of the reinauguration of a great national seat of worship, under the auspices of a family, whose literary ascendancy was proverbial for the successful exercise of such imposture.²

The geographical allusions afford few criteria for fixing the epoch of the poem, and those necessarily open to suspicion in the case of a supposititious work. The circumstance that, in v. 31., Ægina is passed over without epithet, while Eubœa is cele-

¹ Thucyd. iii. civ.; Herod. i. lxiv.; conf. Matth. Proleg. p. 23. sq.

² To the difficulty made by Ruhnkenius, Welcker, and others, as to the citation by Thucydides of a hymn of so recent date as the genuine work of Homer, but slight importance can attach. There can be little doubt that compositions forged in the time of the Pisistratidæ were imputed not only to Homer, but to Orpheus, Musæus, and other purely fabulous bards, as early, and by as competent judges as Thucydides.

brated for its nautical enterprise, might seem to imply that the hymn was composed prior to the maritime power of the former island. Eubœa however was a dependant, Ægina a rival of Athens. An ingenious forger, writing under Attic auspices, would adapt his allusions accordingly. The language and versification, while Homeric in their general style, differ, in occasional points of idiom and phraseology, widely from the usage of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.¹ Although the text, like that of most other members of the collection, presents various gaps and incoherences, the result of corruptions accidental or wilful, they are not such as to interfere with the general connexion and unity of the narrative.²

The fable of the poem is well conceived, and upon the whole well managed in the execution. The general tone of the narrative is dignified and pleasing, and the dialogue between the nymph of Delos and Latona, in negotiating the god's settlement on the island, is both spirited and elegant. But the attempts to soar a higher poetical flight are not successful, and both sentiment and imagery betray an occasional lameness and poverty. The exaggerated description, in the exordium, of the humble and reverential honours paid by the assembled deities to Phœbus in the circle of Olympus; of their rising, inclusive of Jove himself, from their thrones at his entrance, and "trembling" when he strings his bow;

¹ In νν. 19. 158. ὕμνῳ, εὐμνος, 20. νόμοι βεβλήταται φθῆς, 46. θέλοι, 68. πρυτανευόμεν, 157. θεράπναι, 162. κρεμβαλιαστῶν, 163. μιμαίσθαι, 173. ἀριστεύειν, here of things, with Homer of men only; also 123. θήσατο, suckled, with Homer sucked; to which other examples might be added.

² In ν. 59. the original reading was probably *θηρὸν ἀναίξει βομμοῖσι, θεοὶ δέ σ' ἔχουσι*, which restores the sense; the cæsura occurs elsewhere in the secondary Homeric poems.

is so extravagant a compliment to the poet's own hero, at the expense of Jupiter's acknowledged superiority in rank and power, as to produce a burlesque, rather than the impressive effect which was intended. The same remark extends to the servile performance by Latona of certain menial offices to her son. The description of Iris running her messages on foot¹, between Olympus and Delos, is also both unpoetical and un-Homeric. The figures of immortality and eternal youth², employed to illustrate the brilliant appearance of the Ionian assembly, (consisting, in great part, of persons of advanced age,) with their ships and cargoes, is an unmeaning hyperbole.

THE PYTHIAN HYMN TO APOLLO

Pythian
hymn to
Apollo.

7. Celebrates the Pythian or Delphic sanctuary of the god, as the preceding poem had celebrated his Delian birthplace. After a preamble describing the joyful welcome of Phœbus by his fellow-deities, on his return to Olympus from his periodical visits to favoured seats on earth, and a brief allusion to some other less important events in the life of the god, the poet enters on the main subject of his song.

Phœbus, descending from Olympus in quest of a site for his prophetic shrine, and traversing Pieria and Thessaly, crosses the sea, first to Eubœa and thence to Bœotia. After passing the as yet uninhabited site of Thebes, his attention is attracted by the beauty of the fountain Tilphussa, near Haliartus, on the shore of the Cephissian lake. On his proposal to construct his temple by her side, the nymph, jealous of her own dignity, artfully dissuades him, urging the disturbance to which his rites and worshippers will be exposed, by the carriages and beasts of burthen which assemble to water from her stream. She suggests, as a more

¹ 108. The same defect is observable in the hymn to Ceres, 317.

² 151.

appropriate site, a spot in the vale of Crissa in Phocis, where he will be free from any such annoyance. Thither accordingly he repairs, and marks out the foundations of his sanctuary, which is constructed by the celebrated architects Trophonius and Agamedes. He finds however the neighbouring Castalian spring occupied by a fierce dragon, the terror of the surrounding country, the same monster to whom Juno had committed the guardianship of her own equally monstrous son Typhœus. An episode follows describing the birth of this unnatural offspring of the divine queen. Apollo destroys the dragon, and from the stench of its carcass the animal and the oracle receive the common name of Pytho, the god his title of Pythian. Indignant at the deceit practised on him by the Tilphussian nymph, in suppressing all mention of the dragon, he returns into Bœotia; and, after marring the beauty of her fountain by heaping rocks on the issue of its waters, he builds an altar to himself by its side. Hence his title of Tilphussian Apollo.

His next care is to provide ministers for his sanctuary. This honour he determines to confer on a crew of Cretan navigators, whose ship he descries afar off at sea on its voyage from Cnossus to Pylos. Assuming the form of a dolphin, he springs into the vessel, and by his supernatural agency propels her against the will of the pilot, past her previous destination, to the port of Crissa. Here, assuming his natural form, he reveals himself to the mariners, announces their own future lot, and accompanies them in festive procession from the shore to the sanctuary, which in honour of his late disguise acquires the surname of Delphian, the god that of Delphinian. On establishing his ministers in their sacred abode, he promises to make up its lack of fertility by a rich revenue of pious offerings, so long as their own conduct shall be such as to merit his favour and confidence. "But should ever the purity of life indispensable to his ministry be stained by vice or impiety, they will forfeit all claim to his protection, and be for ever subjected to the discipline of other severe and unrelenting taskmasters."

This concluding passage of the hymn sheds a ray Its age. of clear light on the date of its composition, or at least marks out the limits of the earliest period to which it can be assigned. The presidency of the Pythian oracle was originally held by the town

of Cirrha or Crissa, situated about half-way between the port of the same name and the sanctuary. About the XLVth Olympiad¹ (595 B. C.), the Crissæans were accused and condemned by the Amphictyons of impiety and abuse of their functions, which, after a ten years' contest called the Sacred War, were transferred to Delphi, the town that had sprung up around the site of the temple. Crissa itself was destroyed, and its inhabitants reduced to slavery. To this fatality it is, there can be no doubt, that the prophetic warning alludes, so emphatically uttered by Apollo at the close of his address to the members of the infant Crissæan colony. The hymn cannot therefore be dated, unless credit be given to the author himself for a large share of Pythian inspiration, prior to the XLIXth Olympiad (585 B. C.). It may probably be an early commemoration of the above catastrophe.

Connexion
with De-
lian hymn.

8. While the want of connexion between the close of the Delian and the commencement of the Pythian hymn, affords one among other arguments against their having originally formed an entire work, there is a certain abruptness in the introductory lines of the latter, as it now stands, which seems equally incompatible with their having formed the exordium to an altogether independant poem. This anomaly is owing, probably, to the proper preamble of the Pythian hymn having been lopped off to facilitate the combination of the two. Upon the middle view however, above suggested, of two originally separate hymns habitually recited in succession, the incongruity would be less striking. The formula with which the Delian hymn

¹ Clinton, F. H. ad an.; conf. Paus. x. xxxvii. 4. sqq.; Pauly, Real-Encycl. d. class. Wiss. vol. II. p. 902. sq.

concludes, a declaration by the poet that "he will not cease from celebrating Apollo," by announcing a continuation of the general subject, serves both as introduction to the following and epilogue to the previous composition. It has indeed been surmised that these two odes ought to be considered, in their original form, as rivals rather than sisters; composed, the one for the Delian, the other for the Pythian festival, in vindication of their respective claims to priority of honour and distinction. This opinion, however, need not interfere with that of the two poems having been habitually recited as a connected series. In whatever spirit of independence, or even of rivalry, they may have been originally composed, they illustrate, each distinctly and without any such collision as to detract from their combined effect, two separate stages in the life of their common hero. The outline and general conduct of the narrative in each are also marked by so close and curious a correspondence, as abundantly proves the one to have been composed with the model of the other before its author. In each the divine protagonist, who in the Delian hymn is properly Latona, in the Pythian hymn Apollo himself, wanders in quest of a permanent seat. In each the search is at first in vain, owing to the unfavourable or inhospitable nature of the countries visited. In each the action opens with a description of the court of Olympus, and the honours enjoyed by Phœbus in its halls; and concludes with an apostrophe from the mythical to the real history of the localities celebrated. In each ¹ the same figure of poetical rhetoric forms the transition from the introductory to the historical portion of the narrative. The dia-

¹ Del. 19.; Pyth. 29.

logue between the god and Tilphussa in the Pythian hymn, however different in its results, is also closely analogous in general style and tendency to that between Latona and Delos; while the mode in which Apollo meets the expostulations of his Cretan ministers on the rugged sterility of their new residence, finds its close parallel in the promises of Latona to Delos, to make amends for the same natural disadvantage of her soil.

Style and
composition.

The fable of this poem offers a greater variety of adventure than that of the Delian hymn. The action is, upon the whole, well conceived and conducted. But the long episode of Typhœus, though not inconsistent with the Homeric standard of art in a regular epic poem, is too bulky an excrescence on so short a composition. An unreasonably large portion of the narrative is also devoted to geographical descriptions. Some of these are both spirited and correct, exhibiting a personal knowledge of the localities, with episodical notices of curious and interesting matters of local custom or mythology. Others are broadly inaccurate¹, with evident symptoms of servile

¹ Ocalea is placed between Onchestus and Haliartus (64.); its real site being between Haliartus and Delphi. The god is also made to cross the Cephissus at Ocalea, a town many miles distant from any part of the course of that river. The anomalies of Crissean or Delphic topography (vv. 91—104.), which are common to other authors, originate in the twofold confusion between the sacred town and the port of Crissa, and between Crissa and the actual site of the temple. The ship, in its course along the western shore of Peloponnesus, is also made to pass the inland towns of Æpy and Thryum, obviously from the author's anxiety to string together Homeric names. A glance at any good map will show how strangely the other sites are confounded. The notes of the modern commentators on v. 250. (ed. Frank.), afford good evidence how essential a knowledge of Greek topography is to the critic of Greek literature. The highest summit of Ithaca, supposed by them to overtop the neighbouring ridge of Cefalonia, is a mere hill in comparison with Mount Ænos of the latter island.

adoption and misapplication of parallel portions of Homer's topography. Another peculiarity of this hymn is its etymological tendency. Most of the principal occurrences have been made to supply punning interpretations of the titles of the god, or of his favourite sanctuaries. This is a species of pleasantry, which, partially countenanced by the example of Homer, has, as frequently happens, been carried to a vicious extreme by some of his copyists. The derivation of the name Pytho from the stench of the dragon, is as poetically mean as it is historically false. The illustrative and descriptive details of the poem consist in a great measure of Homeric commonplace. Several passages however are distinguished for originality as well as beauty. The opening picture of the joyous life of the gods in Olympus is brilliant and graphic, and the apostrophe to the comparatively low state of mortals on earth is in a happy spirit of contrast. The fable of the divine dolphin hurrying the unwilling navigators past their previous destination to the port of the god, is well conceived and well told; and derives additional interest from its connexion with the natural history of this coast¹, where the animal abounds, and is the hero of numerous other mythical adventures. But the figure of the mysterious fish actually springing out of the sea, and stretched like a bag of ballast in the hold, constraining the course of the ship, is less appropriate than if the god had been made to exercise his influence from his adopted element. The episode of Typhœus, though out of proportion to the main narrative, is in itself a spirited version of this obscure mythical allegory. The prevailing style of

¹ See the author's *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, vol. i. p. 173.

language and versification is more purely Homeric than that of the preceding hymn, and the non-Homeric phrases are comparatively rare. The whole in fact is marked, both as to expression and allusion, by a superior tone of epic antiquity. The few deficiencies or corruptions in the body of the text, whether owing to time or the license of transcribers, are not such as to interfere with the general continuity of the narrative.¹

HYMN TO HERMES.

Hymn to
Hermes.

9. The poem opens with the usual homage of praise to the god, and a short account of the amour of Jupiter with the Cyllenian nymph Maia, to which Hermes owed his birth. The poet then passes on to the immediate subject of his song; the exploit by which the infant deity established his renown as God of Theft and Intrigue, and which led to his subsequent alliance and good-fellowship with his brother Apollo.

Within a few hours after his birth, the divine urchin plans an expedition to plunder a herd of the sacred cattle of Apollo on the slopes of Pieria, in order to stock his native pastures of Arcadia. Slipping slyly out of his cradle, he stumbles, at the threshold of his mother's cave, upon a tortoise. Struck with the valuable invention the materials for which had thus spontaneously offered themselves, and with the advantage to be derived from it in the sequel of his enterprise, he returns to the cave, scoops out the body of the tortoise, converts the shell into a lyre, and hides it in a corner of his cradle. He then resumes his journey. Reaching Pieria about sunset, he selects fifty head of oxen, and drives them off during the

¹ In 31. for *δῆπός' ἀνωόμενος* read *δῆπὼς μνωόμενος*, the genuine Homeric form in such cases; conf. II. x. 545., xvi. 113. The harmony of the narrative, which seems to be wanting between 174. and 175., may be restored by marking a pause and division of paragraphs after the former line. Verse 175. would thus be an appropriate resumption of the interrupted subject.

night, backwards, with their tails in the direction of their course, concealing his own footmarks by wrapping his feet in a thick coat of sedge and brushwood. Unobserved but by a vinedresser of Onchestus, on whom he enjoins secrecy, he arrives in Arcadia by daybreak, and houses his booty in a cave on the banks of the Alpheüs, after slaughtering a pair for immediate use. He then returns to his mother's cavern, glides through the keyhole of the door, and nestles himself in his cradle. His absence had not been unobserved by Maia, who chides him for his boldness, and predicts the trouble in which his roguery would involve her.

The bereaved god in the meanwhile discovers his loss, and proceeds in quest of his plundered stock. Guided by the information of the garrulous Onchestian peasant, and his own prophetic art, he speedily traces the offender to his hiding-place, where he is discovered enveloped in swaddling clothes, and in all the assumed graces of infantine innocence and unconsciousness. The offence is strenuously denied, and the accused party appeals to the tribunal of Jupiter. Both plaintiff and defendant proceed accordingly to Olympus, where the hearing of the cause creates great mirth in the divine circle. Jupiter pronounces that Hermes, as a test of the sincerity of his disclaimer, shall, laying aside all guile, aid Apollo in the search after his lost property. The order is complied with ; but, on reaching the receptacle of the stolen goods, Mercury produces his lyre, and so fascinates Apollo by its strains as to induce him at once, not only to cede all right to his cattle in return for so precious an acquisition, but to bestow other handsome presents on the inventor of the instrument, in earnest of reconciliation and future friendship. These gifts consist of a golden wand of office, and the services of three prophetic nymphs of Parnassus, by whose agency Hermes will be enabled, indirectly, to exercise the oracular functions of Phœbus, which the same decree of Jove that bestowed them on Apollo himself, had prohibited him from directly imparting to any other deity. But before finally concluding the bargain, Apollo exacts from his brother an oath by the river Styx, not only that he will not steal the Lyre back again, but that the entire property of the Pythian sanctuary and its owner shall, in all time coming, be exempt from Mercurial depredation.

This hymn, while a work of very different character from either of those above examined, and in-

ferior to both in dignity of subject and treatment, surpasses them greatly in originality, and in ethic and dramatic spirit. Much of the humour of the poem consists in the same vein of contrast which runs through the religious, or, in other words, the whole primitive, comedy of Greece: between the abstract dignity of the celestial nature, and the anomalies consequent on its investment with human attributes; between the Herculean exploits of the divine urchin, and his baby form and habits; between his precocious boldness and ready wit, and his childish waywardness and simplicity. Such a combination of conflicting qualities, in a mere human hero, were incapable obviously of being worked up with any effect into the burlesque. It is the supernatural element of the subject which alone gives point and seasoning to an otherwise palpable extravagance. Hermes, in his capacity of god, is gifted from the first moment of his existence with divine power and energy. As the patron deity of cunning and intrigue, he is at once qualified to compete with and surpass even Apollo, hitherto considered as unrivalled in those arts. Still, as a member of the Hellenic pantheon, he is subjected to the natural drawbacks of humanity, and hence at his birth to those of infancy. The obligation therefore to perform, through the agency of his imbecile human-personality, the mighty deeds by which he is ambitious, on his appearance in the world, at once to assert his rank among his fellow-gods, is what forms the essential spirit of the jest.

10. The poem is in itself a very unequal composition. The first part of the narrative, allowance being made for corruptions of the text, is well connected, replete with dramatic effect, and with touches

of drollery and repartee in a very characteristic vein of Hellenic humour. Among the passages of this kind may be quoted the address of the little god to the tortoise at their meeting, expressing his childish delight at her so readily offering herself as a victim to the success of his first enterprise. In the dialogue between Apollo and the vinedresser, the display of affected reserve and indifference, combined with garrulous self-importance, on the part of the latter, when divulging the secret intrusted to him, shadows forth in a very happy manner the shrewd genius of the Greek peasant. According to Hesiod the babbler was severely punished for his indiscretion.¹ In the first interview between the divine brothers, the ready effrontery with which the little culprit, from his cradle, repels the charge brought against him, is also in a lively vein of drollery; and the sequel of the scene in the cavern, from v. 296. downwards, though hardly defensible on the score of propriety, is in good keeping with the burlesque tendency of the whole fable. Throughout the scenes in the cave of Maia, the pastoral rudeness of the mountain nymph's abode is contrasted, in the same comic spirit, with the riches stored up in its treasure-house for the support of her divine dignity.² The nursery of the god, with its furniture and internal economy, is also brought home to the imagination with much truth and little effort. From the conclusion however, of the proceedings before the Olympian tribunal, which are also conducted with some spirit, both action and description flag. The long conversation between Hermes and Apollo concerning

¹ Marcksch. frg. 165.² 248. sqq.; conf. 61.

their respective functions, and the complimentary harangues to each other on the adjustment of their quarrel, are as deficient in interest of matter as liveliness of manner. The elegant figure employed by Hermes to illustrate the union between the sweetness of the lyre and the skilful touch of the artist¹, so closely parallel to a passage of Shakspeare's Hamlet, with the oath against future depredation², form almost the only relief to the general monotony.

This inequality of character in different parts of the poem, with a certain amount of incoherence in the details of the text, has afforded a more plausible opening perhaps than usual, to the customary speculations³ as to an original incongruity of component elements. Neither consideration however, can afford any solid ground for such conclusions. The incidental anomalies of structure are sufficiently explained by the corruptions of time or transcript, to which, in common with most others in the collection, this hymn has been subjected. It happens also that, as in the case of the Iliad, the condemned parts of the text, in the late schemes for its reconstruction, comprehend almost every one of the passages which really constitute the main pith and spirit of the action; the leaven, as it were, of the whole lump.⁴ The inferiority of the concluding portion of the hymn, may be more naturally laid to the

¹ 482. sqq.

² 514. sqq. 523.; conf. 178.

³ Matthiæ, Prolegg. ad Hymn. p. 35. sqq.; Herm. Epist. ad Ilgen. p. xli. sqq.

⁴ Such are, the adventure with the tortoise and invention of the lyre; the retrograde driving of the oxen; the conversation between Bacchus and the vinedresser; the burlesque scene in 294. sqq.; with 265. sqq., 273. sqq., and many other lively sallies of the comic humour of the little god or his poet. Matth. Prolegg. ad Hymn. p. 40. sqq.; Herm. Epist. ad Ilgen. sup. cit.

charge of a single author than of two. It consists chiefly, or solely, in the absence of those humorous scenes in which alone the genius of the poet qualified him to excel. The winding up of the subject, after the reconciliation of the two litigants, while in itself indispensable, offers materials of a comparatively grave or commonplace character, no way adapted to the genius which succeeded so much better in the first part of the hymn. All therefore that can reasonably be inferred is, that while the author had the art to enliven subjects in harmony with the peculiar bent of his own talent, he wanted, like other more distinguished writers, the judgement to abridge or abstain from such as were foreign to it. He has, accordingly, clogged the more spirited portion of his narrative with a tedious accumulation of concluding details, reconciliatory courtesies, and interchange of compliments between the two gods, of which a very small share would have sufficed for the required object.¹

The other objection urged to the original integrity of the hymn, that the story of the tortoise, with the invention of the lyre, stands in no just connexion with the robbery of the oxen, the real subject of the narrative, is altogether groundless. In no work of the kind is the action conceived in a more complete or more delicate spirit of unity. The scope, both poetical and mythical, of the narrative was obviously twofold. It was not merely to establish the credit of the infant god as patron of Intrigue and Theft, by the rob-

¹ That the popular legend originally extended to all these details is further evident from Apollodorus (III. x. 2.), whose abstract comprises the whole substance of the story, abridged probably from this very hymn.

bery of the shrewdest of his divine relatives, but to illustrate the origin of the joint sanctuary of the two deities at Delphi.¹ The mere detection of the theft, and restitution of the cattle, would have been but a lame or even a dishonourable winding up for the hero of the hymn. The cession of the plundered property, without an equivalent, would have been equally discreditable to Phœbus. It was therefore indispensable in the spirit of the piece, that means should be found of accommodating the dispute on terms honourable to each party. For this object, an elegant expedient suggested itself in another celebrated feat of Mercury, the invention of the lyre, the favourite instrument of Apollo, and the acquisition of which by the latter deity, could not fail to lay him under a heavy debt of gratitude to the donor.²

Dialectical
peculiar-
ities.

The style of this hymn, especially of its first and more spirited portion, is marked by greater originality than that of any other poem in the collection. Its humour is of a description peculiar to itself, quaint and sententious, often coarse, widely different from the genial pleasantry of the *Odyssey*. Nor indeed, with the usual amount of Homeric mannerism, is there any direct trace of an ambition either to imitate or emulate Homer. In order rightly to appreciate certain idiomatic peculiarities of this comic vein of expression, a greater insight would be necessary, than we possess, into the nursery and schoolboy vocabulary of Greece³, upon which much of the spirit

¹ Plainly hinted also, in 172, 173.

² The old commentators accordingly, with a better insight into the genius of their own literature, dwell pointedly on this transaction, as essential both to the spirit and the unity of the adventure. Bekk. *Anecd. Gr.* p. 752.

³ Verses 378. sqq., for example, have been condemned by some of the

of the urchin deity's humour seems to depend. There are also various, properly dialectical peculiarities, which shed light on the origin of the work and the native country of its author. These are in great part Hesiodic idioms, betraying the usage of an Æolian, probably an Arcadian or Bœotian poet. The parallel passages in which those idioms occur, at intervals throughout the hymn, are in themselves strong arguments of its substantial integrity of authorship.¹ The familiar allusion to the seven

commentators above cited, on account of the very peculiarities probably which really constitute the principal value of the passage; and in 385., *νηλέα φωνήν*, to all appearance a Greek baby phrase, stigmatising Apollo as a telltale, has been corrupted into *ν. φώρην* in some of the printed texts.

¹ Among the traces of Æolism, the more remarkable are *ν. 106. ἀθρόας οὐσας*, *ν. 133. περὴν*. The latter term modern commentators have corrupted into *περᾶν*, the former into *ἀθρό' οὐσας*. In *ν. 172.* the present reading, *ἀμφι*, was probably *ἄμμε*, restoring the now deficient sense and syntax of the passage (conf. 465., and *Od. vii. 223.*). Another Æolism would be *φῆ* in *ν. 241.*, if Hermann's here very reasonable correction be admitted. As examples of Hesiodic phraseology may be cited, the title *Λητοίδης* for Apollo, unexampled in Homer or the remaining Homeric poems, but which occurs six times in this hymn, and twice in Hesiod; and the phrases *ἀμαρύσσω*, *ἀμαρυγή*, *τετράς*, *κᾶλα*, *φιλότης*, *γηρύομαι*, *θανματὰ ἔργα*; all common to the hymn and to Hesiod, unknown to Homer. Those of *γέροντα κνώδαλον* and *θῆλυς αὐτμή* are also in character, if not to the letter, purely Hesiodic (*Theog. 696.*, *Scut. Herc. 395.*); and the homely proverb in 36. occurs in the "Works and Days" of Hesiod, 363. Other peculiarities of idiom are, the use of *αἰών*, singular and plural, in the sense of intestine or vital parts; of *κραίνω* and *ἐπικραίνω* (*vv. 427. 531. 559.*), in the sense of "celebrate;" *ν. 28. σῦλλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα*; 149. *ἡκα ποσὶν προβιβῶν*. Add the following non-Homeric contractions, 173. *κᾶγῶ*, 382. *φιλω*, 405. *ιδύνω*, &c. Among the apparent anomalies of syntax, some may be remedied by a change of punctuation. Thus in 80. read *ἔφραστ' ἢ δ' ἀνύητα . . .* In *ν. 240.* the punctuation

*ὥς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκέργον ἰδὼν ἀλέεινε· ἔ αὐτὸν;
ἐν δ' ὀλίγῃ συνέλασσε κέρη χειρὰς τε πόδας τε.*

would give sense, though adding another peculiarity of idiom to those already chargeable on the author.

strings of the lyre¹, combines with other considerations to establish the date of the poem as posterior to the age of the Lesbian Terpander, who first brought this more improved form of the instrument into popular use, in the early part of the seventh century B. C.

HYMN TO APHRODITE.

Hymn to
Aphrodite.

11. The opening lines of this poem celebrate the power and influence of

The goddess to whom all the inhabitants of earth and heaven bow submissive, with the exception of the three virgin deities, Pallas, Diana, and Vesta. The two former despise her authority, devoted, the one to martial adventure and elegant art, the other to the pleasures of the chase and of pastoral life. The latter resists her influence, as incompatible with her own chosen office of guarding the purity of the sanctuary and the domestic hearth.

Jupiter, indignant at the haughty manner in which Venus exercises her sway, in subjecting even himself to the trammels, not merely of heavenly but terrestrial love, resolves that she shall in her turn undergo a like humiliation. He accordingly inspires her with an ardent passion for the young Dardanian prince Anchises, then tending his flocks on Mount Ida. Arrayed in all her charms, she appears before the hero in his rustic dwelling, in the assumed character of a daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia, and describes how she had been impelled by the irresistible decree of Fate to present herself as his destined spouse. She entreats him therefore to conduct her unscathed to the dwelling of his parents, in order, that, if satisfied to accept her as their daughter-in-law, they may celebrate the marriage with the accustomed rites. Anchises joyfully accedes to the proffered alliance, but inflamed with love, insists on the consummation of the nuptials preceding the sacred function. To this proposal, with ill-disguised willingness, she consents. In the sequel she discloses herself; appeals, in proof of the ardour of her affection, to the shame that will attend her return to Olympus after having submitted to mortal embraces; and, apostrophising the unhappy fate of his kinsman Tithonus, laments the cruel

¹ v. 51.

destiny which prohibits her from gifting him with immortality and perpetual youth, and presenting him as her lawful spouse in the divine circle. At parting she dwells on the favour hitherto shown by the gods to the royal race to which he belongs, as an earnest of her constant attachment to himself, and predicts the fame and dominion which Æneas, the future issue of their love, is destined to enjoy.

This hymn is by far the best poem in the whole collection; unsurpassed, perhaps, by any similar production in any age or country. Although there may not be critical grounds for ascribing it to Homer, it were scarcely unworthy of his genius in general merit; while there is little in the details, either of language or historical allusion, seriously repugnant to its claims to such an honour. The author has treated a licentious subject, not merely with grace and elegance, but with an entire freedom from meretricious ornament. No where in the Greek mythology does the goddess of love appear under more pleasing colours than in this adventure, described by herself as the transaction of her life most derogatory to her divine honour. The reproach of capricious indulgence, by a deity of highest rank, in a degrading passion, is removed by an appropriate application of the usual expedient, the stern law of Fate as administered by Jupiter; and, apart from her actual submission to that law, her conduct is free from all taint of levity. The mixture of gallantry and amorous impetuosity in Anchises is admirably portrayed. The terms in which he announces his resolution to assert, at all hazards, his rights as lover in anticipation of those of husband, are perhaps more purely Homeric, in conception, style, and versification, than any extant passage beyond the margin of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. The episode of Tithonus

and Aurora also embodies, in a singularly effective manner, both the moral and poetical features of that beautiful fable. The state of utter inanition to which the once vigorous hero was reduced, by the fatal neglect of Aurora to secure for him from Jove, together with the boon of immortality, an exemption from the evils of old age; his feeble attenuated voice and shrunken helpless frame; with the affectionate solicitude of his divine mistress to alleviate the wretchedness of his lot, are all described with inimitable grace and tenderness.¹

It has been justly remarked², that this composition, though classed by the custom of later ages under the title of hymn, really partakes more of the nature of a poem in honour of the Dardanian race of princes: of those personal graces especially, which obtained them so large a share of amorous attention on the part of the gods. The simple purity of its style, with the general tenor of its historical allusions, also vouch for its great antiquity. The conjecture therefore naturally arises, that the hymn may have been composed by an Æolian Homerid, as a tribute of respect to the accredited descendants of Æneas, who still held sway in the valleys of Mount Ida. This view is further justified by a comparison of the prophecy by Venus of future dominion to Æneas, with the like prediction by Neptune in the

¹ The poet is here guilty of a very curious anachronism, in describing Tithonus as already, in the youth of Anchises, reduced by extreme old age to second infancy. Tithonus, as brother of Priam, was coeval with Anchises, and must therefore have been still in the vigour of manhood, or even of youth, at the epoch of this adventure. Homer accordingly, in the *Iliad*, makes Aurora, a generation later, "rise out of the bed of Tithonus," as her still vigorous husband.

² Matthiæ, *Prolegg. ad Hymn.* p. 67.

twentieth book of the *Iliad*, of which this passage of the hymn is an evident paraphrase. The author's deference to the genuine Homeric tradition, is further evinced by his making Tros father of Ganymede as in the *Iliad*, not Laomedon as in the *Little Iliad*; and the compensation for his loss a present of horses as in the former poem, not of gold ornaments as in the latter.¹

The superiority of this hymn to its fellows consists not merely in its own excellence, but in its better state of preservation: a property indispensable, in some degree, to that ease and elegance of style and numbers by which it is distinguished.

HYMN TO CERES.

12. Jupiter having consented that Proserpine shall become the spouse of Pluto, and queen of the infernal regions, her destined husband, issuing with his chariot from a chasm in the earth, seizes her while sportively flower-gathering with other nymphs on the Nyseian plain, and carries her off to his subterranean kingdom. Ceres, in the distance, hears her cries, and, ignorant of her real fate, wanders distractedly over the face of the earth in search of her lost child. At length, through the good offices of Hecate, she discovers the author and the motive of the outrage.

Hymn to
Ceres.

Distressed and indignant, above all at the treacherous and heartless conduct of Jupiter, she absents herself from Olympus, preferring to indulge her affliction among the haunts of men. Sitting alone one day by the side of a well in the neighbourhood of Eleusis, disguised as a female of the middle class, she is accosted by the daughters of Celeus, a chief of that district, who sympathise with her sorrow, and offer her an asylum in their paternal dwelling. She is kindly received by Celeus and his wife Metanira, and her melancholy is relieved by the lively jests of Iambe, the humorous waiting-maid of the damsels. In return for the hospitality afforded her, she undertakes the office of nurse to Demophon the infant son of her host, and inspired by gratitude to her benefactors, determines to confer on the babe the gift of immortality. For this purpose she feeds him with ambrosia by day, and makes his bed in the vestal fire of the palace hall by night. Her inten-

¹ See above, Ch. xv. § 9.

tion however is frustrated by the imprudent curiosity of Metanira, who detecting her in the performance of the mysterious ceremony, and terrified for the safety of her infant, alarms the household with her screams, and dissolves the charm. The goddess then reveals herself, chides Metanira for her interference, but promises at least a full share of mortal prosperity to her young pupil. She then commands them to build her a place of worship, where her rites shall in future be solemnised according to a form to be prescribed by herself, and bids them farewell.

Her orders are devoutly obeyed by the Eleusinians, and she takes up her abode in her new sanctuary. In the meanwhile universal sterility pervades the earth. Jove, alarmed for the safety of the human species, sends Iris to invite the offended goddess to a conference in Olympus. But she steadfastly resists all conciliatory advances, until her daughter shall have been restored to her. Jupiter then despatches Hermes to Erebus, with a request that Pluto will permit his spouse to revisit the earth. The infernal god complies, and Proserpine returns to her mother. In the end it is agreed that she shall, in future, pass two thirds of the year above ground with her mother, the remainder with her husband in the lower regions. The earth then resumes its fertility, and Ceres institutes her sacred mysteries at Eleusis.

Although the form in which this hymn is embodied admits of its being ranked under the mythical head of composition, the subject partakes largely also of the mystical character. It exhibits in fact, under poetical disguise, the fundamental doctrine of the Eleusinian mysteries. Much of its allegory, as depending on a better knowledge than can now be hoped for, even of the less recondite portion of those rites, must remain a dead letter to the modern reader. The general outline however, of the adventure, the descent of the daughter of Ceres to the infernal region, the sterility of the earth during her absence, the renewal of vegetation on her return, and the decree that she shall dwell two thirds of the year above and the remainder below ground,—interprets itself very obviously of the vicissitudes of

the natural year, of the consignment of the seed to the soil, and its reappearance as crop in its season, of the failure of the vegetation during the winter months, and its restoration in spring and summer.¹ Such materials, even under the most ingenious disguise of human persons or adventures, are but little adapted for poetical treatment. Hence, although the action is of a more tragic character than that of the other epic hymns, and the author is at some pains to heighten its pathetic effect, it fails to excite any warm sympathy. The woes of a disconsolate mother, type of an adverse harvest, mourning over the loss of a daughter, emblematic of a failure in the seed, or the outrages committed on such a heroine, by a ravisher representing the soil during the period of germination, however touchingly described, can but little affect the feelings even of the most tender-hearted audience.

13. This poem, preserved in a single manuscript, labours, to an equal or perhaps still greater degree than its predecessors of the collection, under the disadvantage of a corrupt text; teeming, not only with errors of transcript, but with gaps or mutilations, extending in some instances over a space of many lines. More than usual scope has thus been given to the efforts of modern commentators, to set aside its claim to original integrity of composition. That the existing poem differs in some essential particulars,

*Its state of
preservation.*

¹ In the more esoteric mysteries, there can be little doubt that under the same image was figured the immortality of the soul, in connexion perhaps with the metempsychosis, the successive growth, death, and renovation of created life. A similar figure is adopted in the New Testament: "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. . . . Thou sowest not the body that shall be, but bare grain. . . . So also is the resurrection of the dead." 1 Cor. xv. 35. sqq.

from the same or a similar composition current during the Roman empire, appears from several passages of Pausanias. That author, while quoting from a Homeric hymn to Ceres, popular in his own day, verses still read in that now extant¹, cites, as from the same work, a passage not only no longer to be found in the existing text, but at variance with its contents. The daughters of Celeus are described in that quotation as three in number, called Diogenia, Pammerope, and Sæsara²; while in this hymn four are enumerated, under the names of Callidice, Clisidice, Demo, and Callithoë.³ The discrepancy, however, can afford no reasonable ground for any further inference than that the text has been subjected to alteration; and this seems to be proved by the fact, that in the sequel of the narrative⁴ three damsels only are mentioned, as in the version of Pausanias. It seems indeed natural, that compositions of this class should be liable to changes in the proper names and other incidental details, to suit the taste or current tradition of different localities. While the actual deficiencies of the existing text extend but to matters of detail, which the imagination of the reader has little difficulty in supplying, the epic action of the hymn possesses not only a full historical continuity, but a poetical unity in close conformity with the Homeric standard. The

¹ 154. in I. xxxviii. 3., 474—476. in II. xiv. 2., 417. sqq. in IV. xxx. 3.

² I. xxxviii. 3.

³ 108. sqq.; Frank. ad loc.; conf. Matthiæ, Prolegg. p. 77. sqq. It appears from Pausanias locc. cit. (conf. IX. xxxi. 6., I. xxxix.), that in his time there were extant hymns ascribed both to Homer and Pamphos, in which this adventure of the goddess was treated in substantially the same manner, but with incidental diversities of detail. This might naturally lead both to confusion in his citations, and to varieties of reading in the text of the works.

⁴ 285. sqq.

main subject is the Anger of Ceres, its origin and consequences; and the narrative proceeds upon this basis, in its chain of cause and effect, from the commencement to the conclusion, with as much regularity as the action of the *Iliad* follows out the anger of Achilles. The indignation of the goddess at the treatment of her daughter, produces her resolution to suspend her functions until satisfaction be obtained. The calamities consequent on her sullen rejection of all offers of reconciliation, constrain Jove to give way and submit to a compromise. Nor is there any episodical excrescence liable to censure. Besides the poetical scope of the action, the restoration of Proserpine to her mother, there is also a historical scope, in the foundation of the Eleusinian sanctuary and mysteries. These two objects are blended in a very ingenious manner, by means of the asylum afforded the goddess in the family of Celeus.

The style of the narrative is unequal; sometimes ^{Style} dry, like the subject, even laboured and affected, sometimes rapid and spirited. The despair of the bereaved parent, and her morbid disconsolate state during the year of separation, are portrayed with a truth and feeling which would do justice to a more real calamity. Her first interview with the kind-hearted Eleusinian damsels, and the description of their sportive eagerness to serve the afflicted stranger, are well worked up, and, on the whole, perhaps the most agreeable part of the narrative. The dialogue is occasionally spirited, but the illustrative imagery labours under the same tone of mysticism common to the action. The attribute of the Golden Sword ascribed to Ceres, (with Homer proper to Apollo), is in its literal import either sense-

less or inappropriate, and can only be defended on the plea of some symbolic signification. The lively opening scene, where Proserpine is surprised sporting on the flowery meadow, is marred by the monstrous hyperbole of the hundred-headed narcissus, which the infernal ravisher causes to spring up in order to beguile his victim away from her companions, and which she is in the act of grasping "with both hands" at the moment of her seizure. The introduction of Styx and Pallas among the attendant nymphs of the heroine, who sport with her on the meadow, savours more of the mystical than the poetical. The refusal by Ceres of the ordinary cup of welcome¹, with the substitution in its stead of the mysterious potion administered to the initiated in the Eleusinian rites, also imparts an unnatural effect to the otherwise interesting account of her hospitable reception in the hall of Celeus. The charm of the pomegranate seed, on the swallowing of which the ultimate fate of Proserpine depends², and the allegorical virtue of which is lost to the modern reader, partakes, poetically considered, more of Oriental tale than of Greek epic legend. There can be little doubt from the mysterious and inexplicit tone of the allusion to this ceremony, that it formed part of the more recondite secrets of the sanctuary, on which the poet did not venture to enlarge.³ The episode of the infant Demophon, in spite of its essentially mystical character, is not deficient in poetical effect.

Dialectical
peculiarities and
age.

On grounds of internal evidence this hymn may advance reasonable claims to antiquity. Its dialect

¹ 207.

² 372. 412.

³ Conf. Pausan. II. xvii. 4.; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 704.

and general phraseology are, with the exception of a few contracted forms, Homeric; and the story, though treating of a subject so nearly connected with Athens, contains no trace of later Athenian fable. Eleusis, as a town, can hardly have been of much importance till after Homer's time, not being mentioned even in the Catalogue of the Iliad; yet the antiquity of the rites there celebrated cannot be doubted, nor their extension at an early period, probably by the original emigrants, to the Ionian colonies. Still however, it is not likely that all the more subtle local details of the solemnity should have attained, prior to the rise of Athenian ascendancy about the time of Solon or the Pisistratidæ, so complete a maturity as that in which they appear in the action of this poem. This consideration, with the Attic tendency of the few non-Homeric idioms in the text¹, renders it probable that the author may have been an Attic Homerid of that period.

THE HYMN TO DIONYSUS.

14. The youthful deity is surprised asleep on the shore by Tyr-
rhenian navigators, who seize and carry him off in their vessel.

Hymn to
Dionysus.

¹ Such are *ελεωός* for *ελεεινός*, 284.; *έρω* for *έρέα*, 406.; *κάρα* for *κάρατα* 12.; *άλφι* for *άλφιστα*, 208.; *φθής*, 494.; and the Synizesis in *τοκῆς· ἐμὲ δ' αἶτε*, 137., common to Hesiod (Works, 261.; conf. 246.), but altered by Hermann and Franke into *τοκῆς· ἐμ' αἶτε*, contrary to both authority and syntax. Peculiar to this hymn is the epic idiom *ὡς ἔφατο* (316. 448.), subjoined to speeches of heroes or heroines reported in the poet's own words, not those of the speaker. These, with other parallel passages (93. sq. 363. 90. 306.), suffice in themselves to set aside the sceptical doctrine as to different authors for the first and last portions of the hymn. There is no reason to assume any hiatus after 37. The text is quite consistent, as well remarked by Voss and Ilgen. In 262. read *γῆρας* for *κῆρας*, by reference to familiar usage and to the parallel of 242. 260.; in 344, 345. *ἡδ' ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀτλήτοις θεῶν*; in 428. *ὑπέρμορον* for *ὥσπερ κρόκον*; in 479. with Hermann, *ἔγος* for *ἐχός*.

They attempt to bind him, but the fetters refuse their office. The god, seating himself on the deck, smiles contemptuously at their efforts. The pilot, presaging the supernatural character of the prisoner, urges his immediate restoration to liberty; but the captain bids his wiser comrade mind his own business, expressing a determination to obtain either a good price abroad for his prize, or a high ransom at home. Suddenly the ship is filled with prodigies. Wine gushes up from the hold. A vine, teeming with clustering grapes, curls around the sail, and ivy encircles the masts. The god himself assumes the form of a lion, and conjures up a shaggy bear as his ally. The lion seizes the captain; the crew, leaping into the sea, are changed into dolphins. The pilot alone is spared, and assured of the divine blessing in reward of his piety.

The narrative of this hymn is conceived in a tragicomic spirit. The style, though correct and perspicuous, is concise and abrupt, sometimes even to laconism, as if the author were in a hurry to get through his subject. The versification and imagery are, however, simple and elegant. The action, though brief, is harmonious and connected, and the little dialogue introduced spirited and natural. Hence, as the text has escaped any serious mutilation, this hymn, within its own narrow limits, may rank as the most perfect work in the collection, next to the hymn to Venus.

The adventure here described is perhaps the most truly poetical in the mythical biography of Dionysus, being free from that wild semibarbarous mysticism, which renders his remaining exploits less favourable materials for epic treatment. That its merits were appreciated by the artists, as well as the poets, of the best ages, is evinced by the frieze of the elegant monument of Lysicrates, still existing at Athens; for the sculptures of which, now partly to be seen in the British Museum, it supplied the subject.

SHORTER HOMERIC HYMNS.

The remaining compositions classed under the common title of Homeric Hymns, in number twenty-seven, are, with trifling exception, so much alike in character, and so devoid of interest either in respect to matter or style, as to offer little inducement to critical commentary. The greater portion of them, comprising each but a few lines, are little more than detached specimens of those introductory or valedictory commonplaces, which form the prologue or epilogue of the more bulky members of the collection. The address to Mercury, occupying the whole of hymn XVII., is a nearly literal repetition of the exordium of the foregoing complete poem in honour of the same god. Others, of somewhat greater length, comprising desultory descriptions of the origin and attributes of the divinities invoked, may have been from the first independant compositions destined for individual recital, either in the public solemnities or the more familiar rites of private conviviality. On these latter occasions it appears, not only from the testimony of antient authors¹, but the internal evidence of the minor hymns, to have been customary to propitiate the deity by such short invocations, similar to the modern grace, both before and after the banquet. Many seem to have belonged to the class of procœmia prefixed by the rhapsodists to their extracts from Homer and other poets, in the

Shorter
Hymns.

¹ Athen. xiv. p. 628. ; conf. Plat. et Plutarch. in Symposs. ; alios.

public recitals. Two alone¹, one to Pan and another to Dionysus, partake each, in a small degree, of the epic character. The former, after the usual tribute of praise, offers a concise description of the birth of the cloven-footed god, and of the effect of his uncouth appearance, first on his own mother, and subsequently on Jove and the assembled deities, when presented at the court of Olympus. Pan is a god unknown apparently to either Homer or Hesiod; and of whose name or worship the first symptoms cannot be traced higher than the commencement of the 6th century B.C.² Of the remaining members of the collection, some are marked by a mystical or philosophical spirit, little compatible with their pretensions to Homeric origin, and which would better qualify them for a place among the works of the pseudo-Orpheus, or other poets of a later more artificial character. That to Mars³ is of the purely philosophical order. The god is invoked as the figurative type of fortitude, endurance, and other similar virtues, in the moral rather than the martial sense.

The style of these minor compositions is characterised generally by the same monotony as their subjects. Some consist of little more than strings of epithets. Among the more elegant may be quoted one to Artemis⁴, another to the Tyndaridæ⁵, as twin stars and patrons of navigation, and a third to Vulcan.⁶ That to Pan also contains some agreeable passages.

¹ XIX. XXVI. Franke.² Matth. Proleg. p. 101.³ VIII.⁴ XXVII.⁵ XXXIII.⁶ XX.

MISCELLANEOUS HOMERIC POEMS.

BATRACHOMYOMACHIA.

15. A mouse, while slaking his thirst on the margin of a pond after a hot pursuit by a weasel, enters into conversation with a frog on the merits of their respective modes of life. The frog invites the mouse to a nearer inspection of the abode and habits of his own nation, and for this purpose offers him a sail on his back. When the party are at some distance from land, the head of an otter suddenly appears on the surface. The terrified frog at once dives to the bottom, disengaging himself from his rider, who, with many a struggle and bitter imprecations on his betrayer, is engulfed in a watery grave. Another mouse, who from the shore had witnessed the fate of his unfortunate comrade, reports it to his fellow-citizens. A council is held, and war declared against the nation of the offender.

Batrachomyomachia.

Jupiter and the gods deliberate in Olympus on the issue of the contest. Mars and Minerva decline personal interference, as well from the awe inspired by such mighty combatants, as from previous ill will towards both contending powers, in consequence of injuries inflicted by each on their divine persons or properties. A band of mosquitoes sound the war alarum with their trumpets, and, after a bloody engagement, the frogs are defeated with great slaughter. Jupiter, sympathising with their fate, endeavours in vain by his thunders to intimidate the victors from further pursuit. But the rescue of the frogs however, is effected by an army of land-crabs, who appear as their allies, and before whom the mice, in their turn, are speedily put to flight.

The Battle of the Frogs and Mice, as it is the earliest, is still perhaps the most successful extant specimen of the "mock heroic." This style of poetical composition, so popular in modern times, and worked up to a high degree of perfection in many elaborate poems, seems to have been comparatively little in vogue among the ancients. The text of the poem has been preserved in its substantial integrity,

with occasional corruptions or variations by editors and transcribers.¹

The plot, if the term be here admissible, is well conceived and conducted; the dialogue is occasionally spirited, and the language and tone of the *Iliad* have been travestied with happy effect. The text, in fact, consists in a great measure of Homeric passages, humorously, and often very ingeniously, adapted to each other, and to the order and spirit of the narrative. The martial descriptions, while the closest, are perhaps the least successful part of the parody. The vicissitudes of the fight are crowded and complicated, and, with the minuteness and repetition, have but little of the distinctness or variety of the genuine Homeric engagement. Much of the humour consists in the clever composition of the significant names of the contending heroes, especially of the mice; such as Lickdish, Cheesenibbler, Crumb-snatcher, Hamborer. These titles, together with the other allusions interspersed throughout the poem to the habits of the race, are the more interesting to the modern reader, from the light they throw on many petty details of social life in the age from which the

¹ The actual amount of these anomalies has been greatly exaggerated by modern critics, for behoof of the prevailing theories as to the interpolation or heterogeneous origin of all works partaking of the Homeric character. Hermann's enthusiasm for the Wolfian theory has, in its extension to this petty poem, reached a climax which amounts very much to a burlesque, or *reductio ad absurdum*, of the whole doctrine. Not content with pronouncing the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, leading Homeric Hymns, and virtually every older and graver specimen of Greek epic art, to be atomic cohesions of once independent elements, he has even extended the benefit of this genial theory to the heroic legends of the Frogs and Mice; and has discovered the existing *Batrachomyomachia* to be a compound of a number of other older *Batrachomyomachia*, by its own particular "*Pisistratus*," of what particular era he does not specify. *Epist. ad Ilgen*. p. xi.; *Orph.* p. 763.

poem has been transmitted. Among the choicer specimens of humour is the reply of Minerva to Jupiter, giving her reasons for declining interference in the combat, which are conceived in a very happy spirit of mixed Homeric and Aristophanic satire against the absurdities of the popular religion.

The *Batrachomyomachia*, while the work which, next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is most nearly associated with the name of Homer in the popular schools of classical literature, is yet perhaps the one, among those enjoying that honour, which bears the broadest traces of an age widely removed from that of the bard of Smyrna. The precise epoch of its composition can hardly, from internal evidence, be brought below the declining stages of Attic literature, or carried higher than the time of *Æschylus*; yet the earliest extant writers who allude to it are of a comparatively recent period of Roman antiquity.¹ According to Plutarch, followed by some inferior authorities, the real poet was *Pigres* ² of Halicarnassus, who flourished during the Persian war; the same who

¹ Martial, xiv. 183.; alios ap. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 414.

² Plutarch, de Herod. Malign. xliii.; Suid. v. πίγρη; Tzetzes, Exeg. in *Iliad*. ed. Hermann. p. 37. Payne Knight (Proleg. § 6.), who yet allows it the 6th century B. C., lays stress, as evidence of no very high antiquity, on the familiar manner in which the art of writing is noticed; also on the mention of the cock as the harbinger of morning, an animal not alluded to by the early Greek writers. More to the purpose are the dialectical peculiarities. Such are the habitual employment of *δ*, *ή*, *τό*, as an ordinary article, in cases repugnant to primitive epic usage: 129. 131. 163. 227. 280. alibi; also the shortening of the vowel before mute and liquid, as the rule, wherever convenient, rather than the exception, even in cases where such license were scarcely admissible in the later Attic usage. Such are v. 148. πάντως δ' ἐπνίγη, 191. αὖπρος, 235. ἀπέπνιξε κρατήσας, 240. ἐξετόφλου, alibi. In several instances (conf. v. 28.) this anomaly might have been avoided by expedients so natural and obvious, as to imply that the critical editors considered it as characteristic of the work.

interlarded the *Iliad* with pentameter verses, and to whom some also ascribed the *Margites*. That the *Batrachomyomachia* however is the work of an Attic Homerid, may be inferred from the peculiarities of its style, which, in so far as broadly varying from the Homeric standard, have all an Attic tendency. Nor is there any trace of the poetical mannerism of the Alexandrian era.

ADDRESS TO CUMA. EPITAPH ON MIDAS. CAMINUS.
IRESIONE, ETC.

Address to
Cuma.

In the life of Homer vulgarly ascribed to Herodotus, are introduced a number of fugitive compositions, assumed to have been incidentally composed by the poet on appropriate occasions: epigrams on various subjects; brief descriptions of objects which fell under his notice during his wanderings; complaints of the hardship of his lot; invocations of the gods; addresses of gratitude to cities or persons by whom he had been hospitably treated, and of remonstrance or reproach where his reception had been different.

Some of these poems date, there is reason to believe, from an early period of Græco-Asiatic antiquity. Several embody in a poetical form, often in very agreeable style, the current traditions relative to the poet's age and country. More especially deserving of notice on this ground is his address to the inhospitable Cuma¹, couched in a pleasing tone of mournful complaint, and in good epic phraseology. Several of these pieces have been cited entire, or in parts, by respectable antient authors; among others, the enigmatical epigram on the tomb of Midas²,

¹ Vit. Hom. Herod. xiv.; Hom. Op. Misc. ap. Franke, Epigr. iv.

² Vit. H. Herod. xi.; conf. Agon Hes. et Hom.; Op. Misc. Epigr. iii.

by Plato¹, Longinus², and Simonides³; by the two former anonymously, while the latter ascribes it to Cleobulus of Lindus, a contemporary of Solon. The indignant address to the priestess of Samos⁴ is said to have been quoted and applied by Sophocles, to a mistress who had spurned his attentions on account of his advanced age.

The most remarkable of these poems is the “Cam-
minus,” or “Potter’s oven,”⁵ a form of poetical benediction on the batch of earthenware, when submitted to the furnace. Minerva, as the patroness of handicraftsmen, is invoked for a prosperous issue, and exorcisms are uttered against unfavourable influences. The bestowal of the blessing is made conditional on a continuance by the master-workman, of fair dealing with his customers in the disposal of the manufactured ware. In the contrary case, curses are substituted for blessings. These passages throw some curious light on the household mythology of the potter’s profession. From a parallel passage of Hesiod⁶ it appears, that the practice of consecrating domestic earthenware was of great antiquity in Greece. The Bell Song of Schiller is conceived in a spirit closely akin to this pretty poem.

Somewhat similar in character is the Iresione⁷,
a congratulatory ode addressed during the Feast of Apollo, by the youth of the lower class, to their patrons or employers. The choristers, bearing the propitiatory staff and chaplet of the god, appear in festive procession in front of the gate, and, eulo-

¹ Plat. Phædr. p. 264.

² Longin. § xxxvi.

³ Ap. Diogen. Laert. i. 89.

⁴ Op. Misc. xii.; Vit. Hom. Herod. xxx.; Athen. xiii. p. 592 A.

⁵ Op. Misc. xiv.; Vit. H. Herodot. xxxii.; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 417.

⁶ Op. et D. 746.

⁷ Op. Misc. xv.; Vit. H. Herod. xxxiii.

gising the wealth and munificence of the mansion and its inmates, supplicate a blessing on it from heaven, and a donation from its owner to themselves. The latter part of this poem is mutilated. It appears however, like the Margites, another more celebrated apocryphal work of Homer, to have combined the iambic with the hexameter measure.

MISCELLANEOUS HOMERIC POEMS NOW LOST.

THE MARGITES.

The Margites.

16. Among the minor compositions ascribed to the author of the Iliad and Odyssey, the most remarkable, on numerous accounts, was the Margites, a work of a purely humorous character, satirising, it would seem in a very broad vein of burlesque, the vices or frivolities of the wealthier class in the early stages of Græco-Asiatic society. These failings were portrayed chiefly in the habits and adventures of the hero of the piece, a silly conceited pedant and coxcomb, as his name Margites denotes. The circumstances which impart to this poem a stronger claim on attention than belongs to any other apocryphal work of the Homeric school, and render its loss the more to be lamented, are, first the distinct manner in which it is ascribed, on several occasions, to Homer himself, the Homer of the Iliad and Odyssey, by the same Aristotle¹ who denies that honour to the Cypria and the Little Iliad; and secondly, the mixture of hexameter and iambic measure in its text. There can be no reasonable question as to the literal acceptance of the name Homer in these passages of Aristotle. Apart from the evidence which his denial to those distinguished Homeric poems, of all claim to genuine

¹ Poetic. v. (Bipont.); Ethic. Nicom. vi. 7.; Ethic. Eudem. v. 7.

Homeric honours, affords of the trifling limits allowed by him in such cases to mere conventional usage, the specific object and tenor of his allusion to this work exclude any doubt on the subject. The Margites is cited by him as the earliest extant specimen of pure comic composition; and as entitling Homer, by consequence, to the same honour of original invention in the comic branch of the Attic drama, which appertained to him as author of the Iliad and Odyssey in its more noble tragic department.

The great and general esteem and popularity which the Margites enjoyed in every age of Greek literature, and by which it is also distinguished from other secondary works of the Homeric school, are further evinced, not only by the frequency of the ordinary appeals to its text, but by its having been eulogised, imitated, and commented, by other critics only second in taste and authority to Aristotle himself.¹ As no place, however, appears to have been assigned to it by the side of the Iliad and Odyssey in the commentaries of the Alexandrian grammarians, it may be presumed that in this instance they had not subscribed to the authority of the Stagirite critic. This may also be inferred from the circumstance, that the leading grammarians of a lower period, who may be considered as representing the opinions of the Alexandrian masters, in their notices of the Margites, class it for the most part, like so many other works, merely under the head of compositions "ascribed to Homer."² Several of them assign it a real author

¹ Plat. Alcibiad. II. p. 147.; Callinach. ap. Harpocrat. v. *Μαργι*; Zeno ap. Dio. Chrys. Or. III. p. 275. ed. Reisk.; conf. Or. LXVII. p. 362.; Plut. Vit. Demosth. (ed. Par. 1624) p. 856 c.; Æschin. adv. Ctes. § 50.; Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 281.

² Procl. ap. Gaisf. p. 468.; Vit. Hom. Plut. I. v.; Eustath. Od. x. 552.; Harpocr. v. *Μαργι*; Heph. ed. Gaisf. p. 112., conf. 120.

in the person of Pigres¹, the poet of Halicarnassus above alluded to as reputed author of the *Batrachomyomachia*, and as having interlined the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with pentameter verses alternately with the poet's hexameters. If however the scholiast on Aristotle² may be trusted, the original Margites was known to, and quoted by Archilochus; which would guarantee it an antiquity of at least 700 B. C. The analogy between the Halicarnassian poet's mode of combination and that followed in the Margites, was also but partial. In the latter poem, the iambics were not subjoined in alternate courses, but interspersed here and there, as the occasion or the spirit of the subject might suggest, to impart epigrammatic point to the narrative or dialogue. The seven extant verses³ comprise but one iambic, a regular trimeter, the third line from the opening of the poem.

That the opinion of Aristotle as to the Homeric character of the poem was, as in other similar cases, based on critical grounds, may safely be assumed. Had he been used to defer to mere popular tradition in such questions, he would undoubtedly have considered its evidence equally or still more valid in respect to the Cyclic poems, where he has so unceremoniously set it aside. His view is certainly little in unison with the general impression which the modern critic derives from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, either of the art or the age of the original Homer. But caution and diffidence,

¹ Suid. v. Πίγρης; Procl. ap. Bekk. Schol. ad Il. p. i.

² Ad Eth. Nicom. vi. vii.; conf. Bergk. Frag. Archil. 142.

³ Düntz. p. 25. sq. That the iambics were introduced in the mode here described, is also stated by Hephæstion, p. 112. Gaisf. The citation by the same Hephæstion (loc. cit.) of a hexameter text of Simonides, a poet of much earlier date than either Aristotle or Pigres, in which text iambics were similarly interspersed, supplies further indirect evidence of both the antiquity and the genuine character of the iambic element of the Margites.

at least, are due to the authority of Aristotle, especially where the loss of the work itself deprives us of any near insight into the data on which his judgement was founded. The weight of the negative argument derived from the use of the iambic measure, as inconsistent with the genius or practice of Homer's age, has perhaps been overrated. The received tradition of the recent origin of that measure, can hardly be said to rest on historical evidence, more valid than the internal evidence which led Aristotle, in the face of the iambic element, whether considered by him as genuine or spurious, to ascribe the poem to Homer. The existing fragments are marked, in other respects, by a genuine archaic style and phraseology. The scene of action appears, from the tenor of these remains, and the incidental allusions of antient authors, to have been Colophon, which must, consequently, have then been a long-settled and flourishing community. This consideration, as referred to the views expressed in a former chapter relative to the age, life, and habits of the genuine Homer, militates seriously against the opinion of Aristotle.

Of the details of the action no information has been transmitted. The hero is described in some of the extant lines, as "neither fit for the plough, the spade, nor any other useful occupation;" as "a pretender to universal knowledge, but ignorant of every thing worth knowing;" and as resorting by preference to the most absurdly far-fetched expedients, for the attainment of the easiest and simplest objects. The

¹ Wassenberg (*Paraphr. Hom. Il. nott. p. 12.*) has conjectured that the original *Margites* was in hexameter verses alone; and that the iambics were interpolated by Pigres. He would even interpret the passage of the *Poetica* as betraying no knowledge on Aristotle's part of any iambic verses in his text of the *Margites*. But this view seems hardly reconcilable with the terms of Aristotle's own text.

recorded specimens of his experimental ingenuity display a genius nearly akin to that of the philosophers of Laputa, who devoted their talents to the extraction of sunbeams from cucumbers, and to the softening of marble as a substitute for cotton or down, in the manufacture of pillows and pincushions. Some of these descriptions appear to have been conceived, to say the least, in a very licentious style of Aristophanic humour.¹

CERCOPES.

Cercopes.

17. Another specimen of the humorous order of Homeric poetry was the "Cercopes,"² so called after a pair of twin brothers, whose exploits it celebrated. The name signifies, literally, apes, or baboons, and its two proprietors rank among the most distinguished members of the burlesque pandemonium of the Greeks. They appear in the local mythology of various districts as roguish sprites, haunting the country thoroughfares, ready to accost, and where opportunity offered, by flattery, fraud, or force, to cheat or rob the passing traveller. The extant notices of the poem, of which scarcely an authenticated fragment³ has been preserved, afford but slender criteria for judging of the details of its action. The leading adventure however, or at least one of the most prominent episodes, was a rencontre between the two knavish dæmons and Hercules; a hero whose affairs, from an early

¹ Frag. v. Düntz. ap. Eustath. ad Od. x. 552., γήμαντα δὲ μὴ συμπεσεῖν τῇ νύμφῃ, ἕως ἐκείνη τετραυματίσθαι τὰ κάτω ἐσκήψατο· φάρμακόν τε μηδὲν ὠφελήσκειν ἔφη πλὴν εἰ τὸ ἀνδρείον αἰδοῖον ἐκεῖ ἐφαρμοσθεῖη. καὶ οὕτω θεραπείας χάριν ἐκεῖνος ἐπλησίασεν. Conf. Phot. and Suid. in v. *Μαργ.*; Tzetz. *Chil.* iv. 867.; and Wassenberg, op. cit. nott. p. 12. sqq.

² Procl. ap. Gaisf. p. 468.; Harpocr. v. Κέρκωψ.

³ Ap. Harpocr. et Suid v. Κέρκωψ.

period, furnished a favourite theme for the inspirations of the mock-heroic Muse. The story, according to the more antient and popular sources, appears to have been nearly as follows.¹

The Cercopes had been warned by their mother Thia, a daughter of Ocean, to beware, in the course of their pranks, of meddling with Melampyrgus, or "the man of the black posteriors." This was a property by which Hercules was distinguished, and which in those days was considered honourable, as a sign of manly strength and vigour. One day, fatigued with his labours and sitting down to repose on a stone by the wayside, beneath the shade of a tree in a defile on the frontiers of Locris and Bœotia², the Theban hero was overtaken by slumber. The place happened to be a haunt of the Cercopes, whom Hercules, suddenly awakening, detects in the act of plundering his wallet and arms. Seizing the culprits and tethering them by the heels, he slung them head downwards, as water-carriers do their buckets, one at each end of a pole resting on his shoulders, and bore them off prisoners. This position, however irksome, had the advantage of affording them a closer inspection of the lower parts of their captor's body beneath his tunic, and an interpretation of the oracle concerning Melampyrgus. The discovery was readily turned to account as a means of procuring their release. By broad sallies of humour, and burlesque compliments to the hero on the more secret beauties of his person, they succeed in cajoling him out of his previous sternness of purpose, and in throwing him into a fit of laughter, in the midst of which he good-naturedly allows them to disengage themselves and escape.

In some varieties of the legend Lydia was the scene of this adventure, in others Libya. The surnames of the two hobgoblins, in addition to their familiar appellation of Cercopes, were as numerous as the regions they frequented. In Bœotia they are called by some, Olus (the Mischievous) and Eury-

¹ See Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1296. sqq., by whom the authorities have been collected, and the whole subject illustrated, with even more than his usual learning and acuteness. Conf. Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 457. sq.

² Herod. vii. 216.

batus (the Trampler); by others, Sillus (the Wag) and Triballus (the Mountebank). Elsewhere they bore the names of Andulas and Atlantes, Passalus and Acmon, with others, all more or less significant, either of the personal qualities of the owners, or of the locality they frequented. By some authorities they are described as chiefs of a numerous tribe of similar characters. The Bœotian Cercopes, in their adventure with Hercules, have also the familiar epithet of Œchaliens. This has been held to imply that their encounter with that hero took place in the course of his expedition against the city of Œchalia, which formed the subject of a distinguished poem of the Homeric Cycle; and it has even been further conjectured, but without reason, that the "Cercopes" was originally but an episode of that poem.¹ There can however be little doubt that their surname of Œchaliens is, like those above enumerated, a mere significant epithet, equivalent to Vagabond or Trampler, travestied by a punning etymology from the title of the Bœotian hero's other more tragic adventure. The fable of the Cercopes was a favourite subject, not only with poets but artists, from an early period. A group of Hercules bearing the two delinquent heroes on his shoulders, sculptured on the metope of a temple at Selinus, and now in the British Museum, is one of the most antient extant monuments of its class. While it proves the antiquity of the fable, it also vouches indirectly for that of the poem.²

PHOCAÏS.

Phocaïs.

Among the works attributed to Homer, on the

¹ See Lobeck, *supra cit.*

² Conf. Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 409. note; Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 457. sq.; for other works of art where the same adventure is represented.

sole authority of the pseudo-Herodotus, is a Phocaïs. It was one of the poems described by that biographer as composed during the poet's residence in the Ionian city of Phocæa, and presented to his host Thestorides. In no other quarter does allusion occur to the existence of such a poem, nor does our single authority throw any light on its character or subject. It has been attempted to clear up this obscurity by identifying the Phocaïs with another antient poem of greater notoriety, called the *Minyas*¹, ascribed in some quarters to a Phocæan author; and on the strength of this new title, and of the properly epic character with which the work would thus be invested, a place has even been assigned to it in the Homeric Cycle. But the reasons adduced are far from sufficient to warrant its admission, even hypothetically, among the members of that compilation. The title of the Phocaïs, which affords the only gleam of light, and but a very faint one, on its subject, must be presumed, from the analogy of other names similarly formed, such as *Ilias* or *Thebais*, to indicate an

¹ Welck. *Ep. Cycl.* pt. I. p. 248. sqq. The only ostensible ground for this theory is the circumstance, that while this obscure poem is entitled *Phocaïs*, Prodicus, the reputed author of the *Minyas*, is called by Pausanias a Phocæan. Even this coincidence virtually disappears by reference to the fact, that the reputed Phocæan author of the *Phocaïs* is named, by the only authority from whom we learn its existence, not Prodicus, but Thestorides; and that Prodicus is himself elsewhere called a Samian or a Perinthian. The *Minyas*, on the other hand, is never alluded to as a Homeric or Cyclic poem, in any of the frequent appeals by antient authors to its text. That a poem should be entitled *Phocaïs* merely because its author was a Phocæan, is also repugnant to analogy. The cases of the *Cypria*, *Naupactica*, and others, cited as parallel by Welcker, are not in point. In these the word *ἥρω* is understood, often expressed, indicating, amid the doubt as to the real author, a poem of Cyprian or Naupactic origin. Titles formed like *Phocaïs*, *Ilias*, *Thebais*, *Danaïs*, invariably refer, not to the country of the author, but to the subject of the work.

action connected with a Phocian locality, whether the colony Phocæa or the mother country Phocis. Beyond this fact, the existing data afford no room for speculation, either as to the materials or the style of the poem, whether it may have been a humorous piece like the Cercopes, or a serious epopee on some subject of Phocian history. In the latter case however, it were strange that so important an authority should have been passed over unnoticed by authors on Phocian antiquity or topography.

Epicichlides, &c.

The other petty "Homeric" poems cited by ancient bibliographers¹; the Epicichlides, Heptapectos Aix, Kenoi, Psaromachia (Battle of Starlings), Arachnomachia (Battle of Spiders), Geranomachia (Battle of Cranes), were also in great part of a ludicrous tendency. Little is known of their contents, and but few of them seem to have enjoyed any great popularity. The Epicichlides, or Song of the Fieldfares, was a congratulatory ode similar to the Iresione, addressed to the youth of the day, and dwelling in complimentary, or even impassioned terms, on their personal graces and accomplishments. The poet in return received a present of fieldfares, the produce, it may be presumed, of their juvenile skill in the chase.² The titles of the last three compositions in the above list bespeak their subjects. The subjects of the other two are unknown, and their names have been transmitted in but a mutilated or doubtful state. In the former of the two the iambic measure is said to have been employed, combined perhaps, as in the Margites, with hexameters. A collection of Homeric Epithalamia seems also to have been current in later times.³

¹ Procl. ap. Gaisf. ad Heph. p. 468.; Suid. v. "Ομηρος; conf. Welck. Ep. Cyc. pt. i. p. 412. sqq.

² Athen. ii. p. 65., xiv. p. 639 A.

³ Suid. loc. cit.

CHAP. XX.

HESIOD.

1. HESIOD, LIKE HOMER, THE EPONYMUS OF A SCHOOL. HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY. SUPPLEMENTARY LEGEND.—2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HESIODIC, AS COMPARED WITH THE HOMERIC, POETRY.—3. WORKS AND DAYS. UNITY OF ITS COMPOSITION.—4. PASSAGES OF DOUBTFUL AUTHENTICITY. SUPPOSED MUTILATION OF THE TEXT.—5. ORIGINALITY OF STYLE AND SENTIMENT.—6. EPISODES. DESCRIPTIONS. MORAL DOCTRINES. RURAL ECONOMY.—7. AGE OF THE AUTHOR.—8. THEOGONY.—9. MERITS AND DEFECTS OF ITS COMPOSITION AND DOCTRINES.—10. PARALLEL OF HOMER. INCOHERENCE OF THE ACTION.—11. PROEMIA OF THE THEOGONY. CLOSING LINES OF THE POEM.—12. STYLE.—13. AGE AND AUTHORSHIP.—14. SHIELD OF HERCULES.—15. ITS COMPOSITION AND STYLE.—16. AGE AND ORIGINAL FORM.—17. LOST POEMS OF "HESIOD." CATALOGUE OF WOMEN. E.O.E.—18. MELAMPODIA. ASTRONOMY. MAXIMS OF CHIRON.—19. ÆGIMIUS.—20. NUPTIALS OF CEYX. ELEGY ON BATRACHUS. IDÆI DACTYL. ORNITHOMANTIA. DESCENT OF THESEUS TO HADES. EPITHALAMIUM OF PELEUS AND THETIS.

1. THE chapter of poetical history for which this celebrated name supplies materials, presents several features of analogy to that devoted to the still more celebrated name of Homer. Each title is to be considered as denoting a twofold personality: first, an individual poet, originator of a certain style of composition, and author of its standard models; secondly, the eponyme patriarch of a race or school of authors, by whom that style was cultivated. In every age of classical criticism, the leading works of each poet or school supplied a favourite and fertile field of commentary to the most distinguished grammarians.¹ In each case, among the numerous poems with which either

Hesiod,
like Homer,
the
eponymus
of a school.

¹ See Göttl. in Præf. ad Hes. p. xxx. sqq., to which list may be added Xenophanes (frg. vii. Karst.), Heraclid. Pont. ap. Diog. Laert. v. vii., Cleomenes ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 300 B.; conf. Indic. ad Scholl. Hesiod. Gaisford.

name was vulgarly connected, two, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, the “*Works*” and *Theogony* of Hesiod, were respectively held to possess more immediate claims to emanate from the founder of the school. In each case, by more subtle critics, any such community of origin was denied even to these two; while in our own days the individual integrity even of the single poems has been impugned, and their text pronounced an artificial compilation of once unconnected elements.¹ While in each case the original poet, admitting the existence of such a person, flourished before the rise of authentic history, the only trustworthy data relative to his birth, destinies, or age, are derived from the internal evidence, direct or indirect, of his own works. In the last-mentioned particular however, Hesiod possesses the advantage over Homer, that the light reflected from this more genuine source, on the history of the former poet, is comparatively copious and distinct; while the very scanty pittance, if any there be, contained in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, can only be elicited by dint of divination and conjecture.

According to the notices supplied by the poet himself:

His autobiography.

The father of Hesiod was a citizen of the Æolian Cuma, who, straitened in circumstances at home, crossed the Ægean, and settled at Ascra, a village in a rugged wintry region of the Boeotian Mount Helicon.² At an early age, while tending his father's flocks on his native mountain, the youthful bard was honoured by a personal interview with the Muses³, the patron divinities of the district, who presented him with a laurel wand, as a symbol of the genius for poetry and song with which, at the same time, they inspired

¹ Of the manuscripts and editions, see Gaisford, *Præf. ad Hesiod.*; Göttl. *Præf. ad Hes. p. xxxvi. sqq.*

² Opp. et D. 631. sqq. (Gaisf.)

³ Theog. 22.

him. His taste for these more elegant pursuits was also combined with skill in agriculture, and other branches of rural economy. He did not however inherit his father's turn for nautical enterprise. His only maritime expedition was a sail across the narrow strait of the Euripus¹, to attend the funeral solemnities of Amphidamas of Chalcis. Here he was the successful competitor in a contest of rival poets, and dedicated the tripod², awarded as the prize of his victory, to the Heliconian goddesses, on the spot where they first inspired him with a taste for their arts. He had a brother called Perses, whom he charges with having, in concert with unrighteous judges bribed to his interest, extorted an undue share in the division of their common heritage.³ Afterwards, falling into low circumstances, Perses was reduced to the humiliation of applying to his injured brother for relief, and to the same Perses the greater part of Hesiod's didactic poem, the "Works and Days," is addressed.

Thus far Hesiod concerning himself. In the legend⁴:

Hesiod, like Homer, was descended from Apollo, through a line of succession comprising Orpheus, Linus, and other bards of mythical celebrity⁵, and terminating in a family of Æolo-Bœotian colonists of Cuma. From one branch of this family sprang Homer, from another Hesiod. The father of Hesiod was called Dins⁶, his mother Pycimede. The two poets were contemporaneous, in some accounts first cousins⁷, and rival competitors in the funeral games at Chalcis⁸, where the prize was awarded to Hesiod. His victory however was less a tribute to the superior excellence of his Muse, than a result of the preference given by

Supplementary
legend.

¹ Opp. et D. 649.

² Opp. et D. 656. This tripod, or its later representative, was seen by Pausanias (ix. xxxi. 3.), and its inscription is reported by Dio Chrysost. de Regno, Orat. ii. p. 76. Reisk.

³ Opp. et D. 27. 37.

⁴ See Procl. Vit. Hes. ap. Gaisf. in Scholl. p. 5. sqq.; Tzet. ap. Gaisf. ibid. p. 13.; Göttl. Præf. ad Hes. p. xxxix.; Agon, or "contest" of Homer and Hesiod, ap. Göttl. ibid. p. 241. sqq.; Plut. Conviv. Sept. Sap. xix.

⁵ Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 323.

⁶ This name is a genealogical pun on the common-place epithet δῖος γένος, applied by the poet to his brother. Opp. et D. 297.

⁷ Hellanic. Pherecyd. alii, ap. Procl. Vit. Hom. ed. Gaisf. p. 466.

⁸ Conf. Auctt. vitt. sup. citt., alios ap. Marckscheff. Hesiod. frag. p. 41. sqq.

the judges to the doctrines of peace and industry which he inculcated, over the wars and wandering adventures celebrated by Homer. On the termination of the festival Hesiod journeyed to Delphi, to consult the oracle as to his future lot, and was warned by the Pythoness to beware of the Grove of the Nemean Jupiter, as the destined scene of his death. Supposing this response to indicate the great Argive sanctuary of Nemea, he continued to travel at his ease in the countries north of the Isthmus. Arriving at Cenoe, in the Ozolian Locris, he partakes of the hospitality of two brothers, by name Amphiphanes and Ganyctor, whose dwelling, unknown to him, was situated within the limits of a district sacred to the Nemean god.¹ His hosts, suspecting him² of having corrupted the virtue of their sister Clymene, who had in fact been seduced by a fellow-lodger, assassinate him secretly, and cast his body into the sea. Borne on the back of dolphins³, his remains were deposited on the strand near the town of Molycria, in the territory of Naupactus. Here they were discovered and recognised by the citizens when engaged in a festival by the sea-side, and were interred with due honours in the same Nemean sanctuary where he met his fate. The murder was investigated, and, partly through the instinct of a faithful dog⁴ of the poet, brought home to the perpetrators, who were put to death.⁵ The body of Hesiod was afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, removed from its first resting-place to the Bœotian Orchomenus, the sanctuary of the Graces. A sumptuous tomb was there erected to his memory, still extant in the days of Pausanias, and the epitaph on which, attributed by some to Pindar, by others to Chersias a Bœotian poet, is cited by Aristotle.⁶

¹ Conf. Thucyd. iii. 96. Thus Cambyes was warned to beware of Ecbatana; Alexander Molossus, of Pandosia; the emperor Frederick II., of Florence; and Henry IV., of Jerusalem. The precaution in each case was frustrated by a like fatal quibble.

² Some versions of the story imputed to him the real guilt of the seduction; hence the fable which made Hesiod father of Stesichorus, described this Locrian Clymene as his mother. Pausan. ix. xxxi. 5.; Aristot. ap. Procl. Vit. Hes. p. 7. Gaisf.; Procl. ad Op. et D. 268. In other accounts (Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. xix.) the poet's murderers only suspected Hesiod as privy to the crime of his fellow-lodger.

³ Plut. de Solert. Anim. c. xliii. xxxvi. The agency of the dolphin here connects itself in an interesting manner with the natural history of this maritime region, where the animal abounds, and is the hero of other similar adventures. See note to p. 337. *supra*.

⁴ Plut. op. cit.

⁵ Eratosth. in Agon, p. 250. sq.

⁶ Pausan. ix. xxxviii. 3.; Procl. Vit. Hes. Gaisf. p. 7.; Aristot. et

The portion of this biography which rests on Hesiod's own testimony, tends to illustrate and confirm the tradition which connects the age and birth-place of Homer with the early Æolian colonies in Asia Minor. Among other symptoms of Æolian predilection in the *Iliad*, the precedence awarded in the Catalogue to the Bœotian territory has been explained above, as a tribute of respect both to the ascendancy of that district among the Æolian provinces of Hellas, and to her acknowledged claims as mother country of the Æolian settlements in Asia. Hence, in the autobiography of Hesiod, his parents, described as citizens of Cuma, the same colony to which Homer's ancestors also belonged, when discontented with their Asiatic abode, recross the Ægæan, and select as their residence a dreary village of Helicon. This preference of Bœotia, and more particularly of so inhospitable a locality, in the choice of their new dwelling-place, could only be owing to its having been the native seat of their race, possibly their own, whither, in spite of its unattractive character, they would, on failure of their foreign prospects, be most readily disposed to return. Apart therefore from the imputed kinsmanship of the two poets, the legend of their common Æolian origin assumes broad features of probability. The dialect

Plutarch. ap. Procl. ad Opp. et D. 631.; conf. Gaisf. *Parœm. Græc.* p. 109. Welcker infers from the citation of Aristotle by Proclus, that in the older tradition the poet's bones were removed, not from Cœnoe, but from his own birthplace, Askra. The words of Proclus are, that "in consequence of the hospitality afforded by Orchomenus to the Ascraean refugees, on the destruction of their town by the Thespians, the Pythoness had decreed to that state the honour of being the future receptacle of the poet's remains;" nothing is said as to the spot whence they were removed. Welck. *Opp. misc. de Stesich.* p. 155. The same Proclus however, in his life of the poet, seems to quote Aristotle as his authority for the popular account.

of Hesiod differs from that of Homer but in a few idiomatic peculiarities, betraying a ruder state of the epic idiom in his own less cultivated region, than in the more refined schools of Asia.¹ Homer's language therefore may be characterised as the Æolo-Asiatic, Hesiod's as the Æolo-Bœotic branch of the antient epic dialect.

Charac-
teristics
of the
Hesiodic
poetry.

2. The customary definition of the Hesiodic poetry as "didactic," in contradistinction to the "heroic" Muse of Homer, is only correct in so far as limited to the pair of standard compositions by which the genius of each author is more properly represented, the Works and Days and Theogony of the one, the Iliad and Odyssey of the other. The distinction cannot extend to the great mass of the imputed compositions of the Bœotian poet, which while they seem to have exceeded, both in number and volume, those possessing stronger claims to authenticity, partook perhaps on the whole, more of the heroic than the didactic character. Such is the still extant Shield of Hercules; such was the poem or collection of poems entitled Catalogue of Women, which seems to have far exceeded in bulk both Works and Days and Theogony united. Such were the Descent of Theseus to Hades, and others, now lost. The characteristic feature of distinction therefore, between the Bœotic and Homeric schools, in addition to the dialectical peculiarities already noticed, is to be sought, not so much in the special devotion of the former to any one class of subjects, as in the variety which it preferred, and in the

¹ Such are the short α in the accusative plural in $\alpha\varsigma$ of the first declension (Opp. et D. 562. 661. 673., Theog. 60. 267. 401. 534. 653. 804.); also (Scut. H. 302.) $\alpha\varsigma$ for $\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$ or $\alpha\omega\varsigma$ in the same case of the second declension; $\alpha\upsilon$ for $\alpha\omega$ in the genitive plural of the first. (Opp. et D. 144., Theog. 41.)

desultory mode of their treatment. With Homer and his Cyclic successors, an extensive series of adventures was followed out with such a degree of epic unity as each poet had talent to impart to it. With Hesiod on the other hand, either a comparatively brief subject, extending to little more than an ordinary episode of a regular epopee, was preferred; or a number of originally distinct though cognate subjects were combined into one narrative, with but a slender thread of historical connexion, and little or no bond of poetical unity. The Catalogue of Women, for example, was a collection of mythical histories, of which the connecting link was a genealogy of the females from whom the principal heroes celebrated were descended. Its plan may be illustrated by the analogy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a work constructed to all appearance after the Hesiodic model; and where the more remarkable cases of human transformation supplied the same rivet to the chain of events, as did the succession of heroines in the Catalogue. The Hesiodic *Melampodia*, in like manner, celebrated a series of prophets or prophetic families, concentrated around Melampus, the most illustrious of mortal seers. These works indeed, although composed of epic materials, may, contrasted with the Homeric poems on the same class of subjects, in so far rank as of the didactic order, that they certainly communicate in a more distinct and methodical form than the Homeric epopee, the records of early mythical history.

Of the lost poems ascribed to Hesiod¹, three, the *Astronomy*, the *Maxims of Chiron*, and the *Treatise on Omens*, may be defined in the stricter sense as didactic. The only work pretending to a certain

¹ See the list below, § 17.

Homeric unity of plan, which obtained a place in the list, was the *Ægimius*. Its claim however to Hesiodic honours was but slender; Cercops of Miletus, reputed a contemporary of the Bœotian bard, being also in some quarters quoted by preference as its author. The un-Hesiodic peculiarity above noticed in the character of the work, may probably have formed an argument on the negative side.

With this exception therefore, if such it can be called, there may, amid a wide variety of subject, be traced a pervading common character in the numerous Hesiodic poems, which, as in the parallel case of Homer, led them to be classed under the name of a single author. The fundamental feature of the Homeric school is an absorption of the author in his subject. He is the secret mover of the dramatic mechanism by which his heroes are exhibited, himself remaining invisible. The genius of "Hesiod," on the other hand, is essentially personal, or "subjective." This is peculiarly the case with his two chief productions; and the more it is so, the more Hesiodic they are. In the *Works*, not only is the author never out of sight, but it is the author, at least as much as the subject, which imparts interest to the whole. Instead of an inspired being, transported beyond self into the regions of heroism and glory, a gifted rustic, impelled by his private feelings and necessities, dresses up his own affairs and opinions in that poetical garb, which the taste of his age and country enjoined as the best passport to notice and popularity. His sketch consequently of *Æolo-Bœotic* life, of its rural economy, habits, and superstitions, is drawn with a vivacity and truth which render it the most valuable extant picture of its kind. In the *Theogony*, the same

characteristic individuality, though from the nature of the subject less prominent, is still observable. The remains of the other compositions of the school scarcely afford means of judging to what extent the author's personality, real or assumed, may have been there also in the ascendant. But there can be little doubt that all, or most of them, were partially marked by the same feature.

These distinctive properties of the two schools are interesting in an ethic and historical, as well as a poetical, point of view, from the difference which they appear to reflect, between the more imaginative development of *Æolian* character on the eastern shore of the *Ægæan*, and the graver more phlegmatic temperament which it assumed in the region of Central Greece. A question has been raised among modern commentators, as to the degree in which the two schools of art may have been originally connected with, or dependant on, each other. By some the *Æolo-Bæotic* school has been assumed to be a separate branch of the primeval epic minstrelsy, matured in its native seats by local cultivation, unaided and uninfluenced by the higher models produced in the Asiatic colonies.¹ To this view there might, in so far as respects the *Works and Days* alone, be little objection; but in the other less genial productions attributed to the same author, the proofs of Homeric imitation are so palpable, as to exclude all pretension to any such separate originality. One other curious distinction between the two schools must be noticed, that while the names of numerous disciples or imitators of "Homer" have been preserved, "*Hesiod*" bears the sole responsibility of the entire

¹ Thiersch, *Ueb. die Ged. des Hesiod.*

body of poems accumulated on his name. Most of the works to which, besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the title of Homer familiarly attached, possessed, as we have seen, in the more authentic tradition, each a claim to some separate author or authors; the *Cypria* to Stasinus, the *Æthiopis* to Arctinus, the *Little Iliad* to Lesches. But in no single instance, (with the partial exception of the doubtful *Ægimius*,) is any such claim recorded as having been advanced by a "Hesiodic" poem to independant origin. There is no alternative between Hesiod himself and a purely anonymous author. That all notice of a race of poets, enjoying doubtless, during their lifetime, a large share of popularity, should so entirely have perished, is a phenomenon in the history of literature not very easy to explain.

Of the three still existing specimens of Hesiodic minstrelsy, two, the *Works and Days* and the *Theogony*, have been considered in the popular opinion of every age as the more immediate and genuine representatives of the genius of Hesiod. The *Shield of Hercules* may more properly rank among the secondary productions of the school, and as indebted for its preservation rather to the favour of fortune, than to any acknowledged preference which it enjoyed among the antients, either as to merit or general popularity, over its fellows. The common origin however, even of the two former standard compositions was disputed, and the local tradition of the poet's Heliconian fellow-citizens admitted the *Works and Days* alone as his genuine production.¹ The scepticism of the antients, here as in other similar cases comparatively cautious, has been greatly ex-

¹ Pausan. ix. xxxi. 3.

tended in the bolder theories of modern commentators; and the existing text of Hesiod, within its narrower sphere of extent or interest, has been subjected to the same rigid tests of critical alchymy as that of Homer. The first step therefore, towards an impartial estimate of the poems, either in their existing separate integrity, or in their relation to each other and to Greek literature at large, will be, by a process of analysis somewhat similar to that adopted in the case of Homer, to test by internal evidence the unity or anomaly of their structure, and the general merits or defects of their composition.

THE WORKS AND DAYS.

3. The Muses and Father Jove are invoked to inspire the poet with the spirit of truth, and impart conviction to the words of advice or reproof which he is about to address to his brother Perses. “Works and Days.”

The Goddess of Strife is described as embodying two distinct personalities ¹, the one destructive and pernicious, the promoter of broils and bloodshed, the other an incentive to emulation and honourable enterprise. The poet exhorts Perses to propitiate and court the one class of influences, and to shun or resist the other; condemns his litigious spirit, and the iniquity of his late conduct, in conspiring with corrupt judges ² to defraud a brother of his birthright; and counsels him for the future rather to seek wealth by the exercise of honest industry. He enlarges on the fatal necessity to which the human race have been subjected, of earning their subsistence by hard labour, instead of living, as formerly, on the spontaneous bounty of the gods. This deterioration of their lot is traced to the anger of Jupiter ³, at the impious attempts of Prometheus and his confederate mortals to render themselves, by their own intellectual devices, independent of the divine power. Hence the fatal gift of Pandora ⁴ to shortsighted man, with its consequences, the spread of vice, disease, and sorrow upon the earth, as a judgement on the sin of its inhabitants. The origin of evil, with the gradual corruption of human manners, is

¹ 11.² 39.³ 47.⁴ 81.

further illustrated by the fable of the Five Ages of the world ¹; and the poet feelingly laments his own misfortune in having his lot cast with the lowest and worst, condemned both to witness and experience its daily increasing depravity. He then addresses himself in terms of keen but friendly remonstrance to the judges ², of whose iniquitous conduct he had lately been the victim; and exhorts both them and their confederate Perses to quit their evil ways, and by following those of prudence and equity to secure the divine favour, the only true source of prosperity or happiness to nations or to men.

These general rules of conduct are followed up in a series of instructions to his brother, inculcating the duties and virtues of social life. Agriculture ³ is commended as the best and surest road to honest wealth, and its principles are explained, together with those of the subsidiary arts, navigation ⁴ more especially, as necessary to dispose of the produce of the farm. Marriage ⁵ is commended, and rules are given for the choice of a wife. Lounging in the tavern or smithy ⁶ is deprecated, as an antidote to all habits of industry. The virtues of charity and hospitality are especially enjoined, with numerous other pious duties and observances, essential to secure the good-will of men, or avert the judgements of Heaven. The poem concludes with a religious calendar of the month, and remarks on its fortunate or unpropitious days, in their adaptation to the duties and occupations of life.⁷

Unity of
its compo-
sition.

The materials of this poem are certainly of a somewhat heterogeneous description. Nor, perhaps, is their arrangement altogether in conformity with the Aristotelian law of poetical unity. Modern critics accordingly have discovered in these anomalies, if such they be, an opening for the customary speculations as to the patchwork origin of the poem, or its entire perversion at least, by interpolation or corruption, from its genuine Hesiodic integrity of form and matter. Such speculations, whatever plausibility they may possess in regard to productions of the regular epic order, become comparatively

¹ 108. ² 246. ³ 381. ⁴ 616. ⁵ 402. ⁶ 491. ⁷ 763.

nugatory in their extension to a poet of Hesiod's homely school of art; and to a composition such as the *Works and Days*, where there was neither obligation nor inducement to the observance of any abstract law of unity.¹ The design of the work here placed the execution completely at the discretion of the author. That design was, simply to communicate to his brother, in emphatic language, and in the order, or it might be the disorder, which his excited feelings suggested, his opinions or councils on a variety of matters of deep interest to both, and to the social circle in which they moved. But in fact, if impartially considered, the *Works and Days* will not be found more deficient in that connexion of parts which

¹ Twisten, the originator of the late theory, or rather theories, on this subject, assumed the poem to be a digest of five other shorter *Works and Days*, the limits of each of which he prescribes; but each of which, according to him, is itself a compound of a number of more minute elements, partly genuine, partly interpolations of different periods. *Comm. Crit. de Hes. Opp. et D.* p. 64. sq.

Thiersch's doctrine is, that an original rhapsody of the Bæotian didactic school had been swelled, in its passage to posterity, by successive interpolations, to a bulk greatly exceeding that of the existing poem; and that this heterogeneous mass of materials had been again broken up, and finally redigested, during the lower ages of the Roman empire, into the epitome of its contents which now passes current as the genuine *Works and Days* of Hesiod. Yet the same critic, by a process of reasoning not very easy to comprehend, discovers in this condensed cento of Græco-Roman corruptions a pervading native peculiarity of matter and manner, sufficient to constitute it his standard representative (see note to p. 381. *supra*) of a primitive Æolo-Bæotic school of poetry, broadly distinguished in style, sentiment, and dialect, from the rival Homeric school on the other side of the Ægæan. *Ueb. die Gedichte des Hes.* p. 30. sq., *conf.* 9. sqq.

Göttling, while subscribing generally to Thiersch's view, modifies it by another no less curious doctrine, that the final redaction, and a large portion of the contents of the poem, are due to the same Ionian or Homeric authors to whose genuine productions the two critics agree in setting it up, both as to style and materials, in the broadest light of contrast. *Præf.* p. xix., *conf. nott. ad 504. sqq.*; *alibi.*

constitutes unity in a literary production, less so probably, than most treatises of a like nature in refined ages of literature. The authors of such manuals for the moral conduct of life, usually address themselves, vaguely and generally, to the reader or the public, as it may happen. Here the instructions are ranged distinctly around certain prominent events in the life of the poet. The *Works and Days*, as somewhat inappropriately entitled, might more correctly be described, "A letter of Remonstrance and Advice" to a brother; of remonstrance on the folly of his past conduct, of advice as to the future. Upon these two fundamental data every fact, doctrine, and illustration of the poem depends, as essentially as the plot of the *Iliad* on the anger of Achilles.¹ The ill-treatment of Hesiod by Perses; the iniquity of the judges who had lent themselves to his fraud; the subsequent folly, misfortunes, and present low condition of the culprit; the friendly anxiety of Hesiod for the amendment of his character and lot, and the means proposed for that object,—are heads of subject so closely connected in the general spirit, if not in the actual order of the narrative, as to exclude all reasonable suspicion of any one of them having been destined for any other place than that which it now occupies. Attention may be more especially directed to the marked, but easy and spontaneous references made from time to time, throughout the poem, to the moral relations of brother and brother², duties certainly not wont to be so pointedly

¹ Modern editors of the Wolfian school have indeed done much to destroy this unity and consistency, by their false subdivisions and punctuations of the text, and by the brackets, parentheses, and hiatus, with which they have disfigured it, in illustration of their own theories.

² 182. 326. 369. 705.

enforced in ordinary cases, or to which a number of authors of desultory didactic poems would have been likely to give prominence. What can be more obvious, for example, than that by the mysterious pair of brothers, Prometheus and Epimetheus (Forethought and Afterthought), in the fable of Pandora, the poet has typified himself and his foolish brother Perses? Yet among the passages to which objection has been taken, is this same episode of Pandora, with the parallel one of the Five Ages.¹ Both have been condemned as superfluous, out of place, and inconsistent with each other. Both must here be ranked, as they were by the best native critics of old, among the passages of the poem most distinguished by genuine Hesiodic originality. It has been urged that the two episodes contradict each other, and could not consequently have proceeded from the same author. The inherent value, or rather worthlessness, of such arguments has been considered elsewhere.² With reference to the case more immediately in point, the previous question arises: how far the two lines of illustration were ever meant to agree; whether variety, and, in so far, incongruity, may not have been precisely the object of the poet. That such was his object is, in fact, intimated in the terms of transition from one to the other, where the latter of the two is expressly described as a "different tale,"³ or it may rather be said, a different version of the same. These episodes, like the work itself, are not historical but didactic. They do not belong to that class of mythical tradition which professes to record

¹ Göttl. præf. p. xix. alibi; Thiersch, p. 30.

² Vol. I. p. 438. sqq.

³ 106.

facts. Neither Hesiod, nor any probably but the very simplest of his countrymen, believed in the actual existence of such a man as Prometheus, or such a woman as Pandora, nor in any actual succession of ages, in the first two of which gold and silver were the only metals, and in the third of which men's houses were built of brass. Both fables are cosmogonical allegories, types of certain stages or vicissitudes of human destiny, which those fables do not the less appropriately illustrate, that they do not illustrate them precisely in the same manner. Were Nestor, in his historical comments on his youthful days of chivalry, to introduce side by side two narratives of facts in plain contradiction to each other, the objection of incongruity might have its weight. But it were absurd to deny the common authorship of two of Æsop's fables, because in the one the ant is represented as the symbol of industry, and in the other the bee. Several of the other passages chiefly exposed to this sort of objection, are not only among those most characteristic of the author's style, but the most essential to the harmony and continuity of his narrative.¹

Passages of doubtful authenticity.

4. Among the few texts the genuine character of which is open to reasonable question, the most important is the exordium, comprising the first ten verses

¹ Götting, in his *Essay on the Life of Hesiod* (præf. init.), adduces 648. sqq. of the "Works" as conclusive internal evidence of the poet's Ascræan nativity. But, in his commentary on the poem (633. 646.), he rejects the same passage and others contiguous, as interpolations of sophists who upheld the pretensions of Ascra against Cuma. This and other similar inconsistencies of Götting have been noticed and condemned even by Hermann (*Opp. Misc.* vol. vi. p. 245. alibi), usually a very indulgent critic in the case of such zealous coadjutors in his own favourite schemes of dissecting and subdividing the productions of Greek epic minstrelsy.

of the poem. These lines were wanting in several well-accredited editions, among others in that preserved in the Heliconian sanctuary of the Muses, and which Pausanias appears to have considered the oldest extant in his time. The authority of this copy was also supported by the tradition of the district, and the judgement of distinguished professional critics.¹ The passage belongs in fact to that class of movable procœmia which, as more fully illustrated in our analysis of the Homeric hymns, it was usual to prefix to popular poems for the convenience of public rehearsal, and which seem, even when emanating from a different author, to have been frequently retained in the current editions as the production of the original poet. It is certain however, that while these ten lines are marked by the same characteristic features of style as the remainder of the poem, its exordium would, without some such preamble, be singularly abrupt and incoherent. Another passage, the genuine character of which has been impugned with a certain plausibility, and which is one of some little importance as bearing on the personal history of Hesiod, is that where he describes himself as averse to maritime enterprise. The only occasion, he adds, on which he had ever ventured on shipboard, was when he crossed the ferry from Aulis to Chalcis of Eubœa, to attend a festival in the latter town²; a voyage scarcely requiring the aid of a vessel, the channel being nearly dry at low water, and now crossed by a bridge. This statement, it has been urged, is little consistent with the specific instructions on maritime affairs delivered

¹ Pausan. ix. xxxi.; conf. Aristarch. alios ap. Procl. ad Hes. p. 3., Gaisf.

² 684. sqq.

by the poet to his brother in previous and subsequent passages, implying that he had paid considerable attention to certain branches of the art of navigation. It will be remarked however, that these passages relate in no degree to the practical or mechanical part of the nautical profession, of which Hesiod, in the course of the same instructions, distinctly states himself to be ignorant. They refer chiefly to matters on which a landsman, in a country where maritime enterprise was confined to little more than coasting voyages, might be as well qualified to offer advice as a sailor: such are the signs or vicissitudes of the weather, and the seasons propitious or unfavourable to sea voyages. Upon these points the poet certainly dwells in terms indicating him to have been at least no very adventurous navigator. The passage in question offers no cause of offence in respect to dialect or style.¹

Supposed
mutilation
of the text.

Stress has also been laid, as evidence of the present, if not the original nonintegrity of the poem, on texts or opinions of Hesiod, quoted by writers of the Roman period, by Manilius and Pliny for example, relative to certain branches of rural husbandry, such as the culture of the vine and olive, of which no notice is to be found in the existing Works and Days. But in no instance have these passages been quoted as having formed part of that poem; and in most cases they may be preferably assigned to

¹ Plutarch (ap. Procl. ad Opp. et D. 648.; conf. Symposiac. v. 2.) is the only ancient critic whose stigma is recorded as having been appended to this text. His scepticism was confined, however, to the verses relative to the competition of poets, 652—657.; and seems to have been directed less against the text itself than the popular interpretation of it, as alluding to the fabulous contest between Homer and Hesiod. This interpretation was supported in some of the popular editions by a spurious verse, where the name of Homer was introduced. Procl. ad 655.

other lost works of the Hesiodic school. The assumption common among modern commentators, that the Works and Days was the only poem of that school in which agricultural subjects were treated, even incidentally, is altogether groundless. There can be no doubt that various others, the "Astronomy" for example, or the "Maxims of Chiron," comprehended portions of such matter. Several also of the citations of Hesiod by extant classics, as an authority on points of rural husbandry not treated in the existing poems, may be better explained by reference to the practice common, especially among Latin authors, of connecting the name of the "Ascræan poet," as the patriarch or eponyme of rural life and habits, with every branch of agriculture, whether treated or omitted in his works.¹

5. In passing on from the structure to the style of the poem, the first feature which demands attention is its distinct and genuine originality, a property possessed by the Works and Days alone, among the productions of the primitive epic muse, in common with the Iliad and Odyssey, and supplying in itself conclusive evidence of substantial unity of authorship. Not a vestige can be discerned of that spirit of Homeric imitation, which pervades all the secondary poems of the early epic school, including the other accredited compositions of Hesiod. The Works and Days, it is true, contains expressions, or even verses, common to the Iliad or Odyssey², but of such a nature, or introduced in such a manner, as

Originality
of style and
sentiment.

¹ See Appendix K.

² There are but three verses which, in their integrity, or essential features, can be identified with texts of Homer; 93. (cf. *Odyss.* xix. 360.) and 315, 316. (conf. *Il.* xxiv. 45., *Odyss.* xvii. 347.). The two latter are condemned by Plutarch as spurious. Schol. ad 315.

scarcely to warrant the assumption of their being the original property of the one rather than the other poet. They belong to the common stock of popular Greek proverbs, which Homer may as well be supposed to have borrowed from Thamyris or Demodocus, as Hesiod from Homer. The poetical dialect of the *Works and Days* is also essentially the same as the dialect of the *Iliad*; that, namely, common to the whole national epic minstrelsy in primitive ages, with occasional interspersions, in the former poem, of idiomatic or rustic forms, peculiar to the genius or to the native district of Hesiod.¹ In all other vital respects, not only the subject, but the sentiment, imagery, expression, and versification of the *Works* are as purely and exclusively Hesiodic, as those of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are purely Homeric. While in Homer every faculty of the intellect or imagination is developed in its broadest and noblest forms, in Hesiod the fancy appears subservient to the judgement, the imaginative to the moral faculty. Had prose composition been already popular in his time, the *Works and Days* might probably have been embodied in that form. His aim was, rather pointedly to express his feelings and enforce his doctrines, than elegantly to arrange and adorn the terms in which they were embodied. Hence his abrupt opening of his subject, by an apostrophe to the Genius of Discord, through whose influence he had been led to embark on it. Hence that sudden transition from head to head of argument which marks almost every stage of the poem, and where any want of elegance is amply made up by the impressive earnestness of

¹ See note to p. 378. *supra* ; conf. Thiersch ü. Hes. p. 10.

each recurring sally of reproach, advice, or warning. Hence that repetition, sometimes to a faulty excess, of certain more pithy phrases, remarks, or sarcasms on persons or subjects of more immediate interest.¹ These are features which, while the peculiarity as well as sameness of their occurrence, bespeaks a corresponding eccentricity of genius in the original author, are singularly incompatible with the art of the professional interpolator, whose efforts would rather be directed to smooth down all such jarring inequalities in the surface of his compilation.

The sentiment of the poem is throughout marked by the same homely hearty simplicity, so finely characteristic of the personal habits, as well as of the muse, of the rustic Bæotian minstrel; by the same easy suavity of numbers, the same earnestness of feeling and mild placidity of expression, the same dry epigrammatic terseness, degenerating at times into the enigmatic or obscure, where the subject assumes a more sententious turn. In the more imaginative attributes of poetry, Hesiod, as judiciously remarked by antient critics of high authority, seldom rises even to dignity. He rarely approaches the pathetic or aspires to the sublime.² Studied figures of speech are as foreign to his taste as to his powers. No simile, in the technical sense of the term, is to be found in the *Works and Days*. The ordinary vein of illustration consists of familiar proverbs, or of the simpler kind of metaphor, borrowed from every-day life, and so generally popular with a primitive audience.

¹ See v. 300. sqq. where the term or root *ἔργον*, "work," in its different modifications, occurs thirteen times in fifteen lines; conf. also *Ilad.*, 254—281.

² Quintil. x. i. 52.; conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. vet. de Hes.

Among these illustrative passages, the dialogue between the hawk and the nightingale¹ deserves to be more especially noticed, as the earliest example of that homely mode of conveying moral instruction, which became in later times a distinct order of composition under the name of the Æsopic fable. The poet likens his own lot to that of the nightingale, borne aloft in the talons of the hawk, and lamenting her sad fate; while the overbearing and arbitrary conduct of the corrupt judges in the suit between himself and Perses, is figured in the reply of the hawk, who consoles the unfortunate songster by reminding her of the honour conferred on her, in being made the victim of so powerful and dignified an oppressor. To the same quaint parabolic vein of expression, belongs a peculiarity of usage, which constitutes a prominent feature both of Hesiod's style and of his Æolo-Bæotic idiom, consisting in a certain indirect mode of designating objects, not by their actual names, but by terms significant of their qualities or influences. Sometimes familiar adjectives or epithets are employed in a substantive form; sometimes compound terms of the same familiar class are invented for the purpose. Of the former description are such phrases as "The provident,"² for the ant; "The Dry,"³ for the extremity of the nail, as distinguished from "the Green"⁴ or quick; "The Immovable,"⁵ for tombs or other sacred structures. To the latter class belong "The Boneless,"⁶ for the centipede or caterpillar; "The House-bearer,"⁷ for the snail; "The Five-branched,"⁸ for the human hand;

¹ 200. sqq.² ἔδρις, 776.³ ἄδον, 741.⁴ χλωρόν, 741.⁵ ἀκίνητα, 748.; conf. παρθενική for παρθένος, 63. 517. 697. also 558.⁶ ἀνόσπεος, 522.⁷ φερόμενος, 569.⁸ πένταχτος, 740.

"Wood-sleepers,"¹ for wild beasts. Sometimes a similar effect is produced by a periphrasis; as, "The day-sleeping man,"² for the thief who rests during the daylight, and prowls in the dark; the "Three-footed man,"³ the old and decrepit, requiring a staff; "The servant of Minerva,"⁴ ("the artist") for the blacksmith. This mode of expression, which amounts to a sort of homely wit or conversational slang, may also be recognised in the popular Attic dialect, as in that indeed of most other countries.⁵ It has, however, rarely been transferred to classical style, never to the same degree or in the same naked simplicity as by this author. It is also worthy of remark, that the only cultivated idiom, if such it can be called, where the same phraseology appears in a closely similar form, is the early mystic dialect of the Delphic oracle, abolished by authority in later times. The correspondence between the language of Hesiod and that of the Pythoness is observable in other cases, where familiar phrases, or even entire verses, are found common to each; which might warrant the suspicion that she had borrowed from the poet rather than the poet from her.⁶ The same or a very similar mode of figurative expression, is occasionally extended to whole

¹ δληκοῦται, 527.

² ἡμερόκοτος ἀνὴρ, 603.

³ τρεῖπους βροτός, 531. a popular Bœotian figure of speech from the days of Œdipus and the Sphinx downwards.

⁴ Ἀθηναίης δμωός, 428.

⁵ Among the Athenians the examples belong chiefly to what is called euphemism; the softening, namely, of unpleasant ideas or allusions, by an ambiguous mode of expressing them.

⁶ Plut. de Pyth. orac. def. xxiv. conf. Herodot. vii. 79.; where Πολύφημος, "the Talkative," is the oracular "slang" expression for a public assembly. Other correspondences of dialect and idiom between the oracle and the poet are: 395.631. μέγα νήπιε (conf. orac. ap. Herodot. i. lxxxv.); 646. (conf. Herod. i. xlvii.); also 283. repeated entire apud Herodot. vi. lxxxvi.; δημότας ἀνδρας ap. Plut. in Lycurg. vi.

sentences, indicating in the same parabolic style, not merely single objects, but complex ideas, by allusions to the signs or concomitant circumstances of facts or things, rather than by descriptions of the facts or things themselves. Thus the husbandman is counselled to "sow naked and reap naked,"¹ signifying that both operations should be carried on in warm weather. The superiority of good neighbours to blood-relatives is figured by the maxim, that "in the hour of need the former will come to your aid unbelted, the latter belted;"² meaning that the neighbour will be the more alert of the two, will not stop to gird himself. A squalid unwholesome habit of body is indicated by "a swollen foot and skinny hand."³ The boy who breaks the clods and covers up the furrows in seed-time, is said to "cause labour to the birds," namely, difficulty in getting at the grain.⁴ Most of these idioms of sentiment or language are so marked in themselves, so peculiar to this single work, and so generally distributed over its text, that had that work been the production of a historical epoch of literature, and as such placed beyond the arena of modern controversy, there are few probably which by their own internal evidence would have so completely excluded, even in the most fanciful quarter, the remotest doubt of their emanating from a single author.⁵

¹ 389.² 343.³ 495.

⁴ 468.; conf. 478. Among other characteristic peculiarities of idiom (observable like the above in the Works alone, even among the Hesiodic poems) may be mentioned the frequent recurrence of the exhortation *ἄρδεν*, 35. 360. 380. 758.; and of the epithets *ῥπαῖος* and *ῥπιος*, amounting almost to tautology, 32. 305. 615. 628. 640. 663. 693.; 390. 392. 420. 490. 541. 695.

⁵ Yet Götting does not hesitate to discard one of the portions of the text most broadly marked by these Æolo-Bæotic peculiarities, the strikingly natural and original description of Winter, as the interpolation of

6. The episodes of the Works and Days are in happy Episodes. unison with the general scope and spirit of the poem. A preference is given to religious fables or parables of a grave or even mystical character, illustrative of the origin or influence of those moral agencies, virtues, vices, passions, by the author's experience of which his work had been suggested. It is in these passages that the more attractive features of his art are displayed. As if inspired by the superior dignity and solemnity of his subject, his numbers become more flowing and harmonious, the sentiment and imagery more chaste, and marked, according to the spirit of the occasion, alternately by deep moral feeling, or a gentle soothing melancholy. This is peculiarly the case in the episode of the Five Ages or Eras of Human Destiny. Nowhere is this chapter of primeval tradition conceived in a more pure and graceful spirit of allegory. The successive stages of degeneracy in the lot and habits of our race, are worked up through the corresponding subdivisions of the narrative, with much of the same power of poetical rhetoric as the details of Homer's Shield of Achilles, or the adventures of Ulysses in Hades; while the apostrophe at the close, to the poet's own sad fate in

an "Ionian sophistical poet" (ad 504—519., conf. præf. xix.); or to contradict himself elsewhere, by quoting (præf. xv.) portions of this very passage (526.) among the texts most characteristic of the pure Hesiodic manner. Here again the fallacy has been refuted and condemned by Hermann (Op. Misc. vi. p. 239.), who warmly vindicates the genuine character of this "höchst malerische Beschreibung der Winterkälte." It is to be regretted that this, and other rash theories of Götting, should have been adopted and inculcated in the article "Hesiod" of Dr. Smith's valuable Dictionary of Classical Biography. A repertory of that nature ought surely to embrace but the fundamental and established truths of classical science, to the exclusion of all such random conjectures.

having his lot cast in the latest and worst condition of degraded humanity, is singularly touching and effective. Equally happy in its kind is the briefer more condensed narrative, of the same pernicious change in the once happy lot of mankind by the opening of the Box of Pandora. The description of the Demons of Disease, when released from their prison, stalking to and fro in gloomy silence among the haunts of men, and that of the good Spirits hovering around the earth, and taking account of the righteous or evil ways of its inhabitants, are among the images offering the nearest approach to the sublime to be found in the poem.

Descrip-
tions.

Hesiod's pictures of nature are among his most effective passages. That of winter¹ is the most graphic, and upon the whole, the most elaborate specimen of descriptive eloquence in which he has indulged. It offers an apt commentary on his own most uncourteous stigma on the climate of his native place², evincing both how sensitive he was to inclement weather, and how lively the experience with which his mountain residence supplied him. With this exception, his descriptions are rather spirited sketches than highly coloured drawings. Such are, for example, the few rapid touches with which he brings home to the apprehension of those who have experienced them, the discomforts and the enjoyments of the midsummer heat on the shores of the Mediterranean.³

Moral doc-
trines.

The rules of life and conduct interspersed throughout the poem, sometimes in the form of rustic proverbs or parables⁴, are distinguished by terseness

¹ 501. sqq.

² 639.

³ 580. sqq.

⁴ 40. sq. 236. 291. sq. 309. 359. sqq. 684. 717. sqq. 761.

and point, often by a purity of sentiment and a knowledge of human nature, as creditable to the head as to the heart of the author. Many have been adopted as texts for special commentary by the most distinguished philosophers of later ages.¹ Some embody, almost word for word, fundamental dogmas of the Christian moral code. "The road to Vice," we are told in one place, "may easily be travelled by crowds; for it is smooth, and her dwelling is nigh. But the path of Virtue is long, and steep, and rugged."² With this more judicious element of Hesiodic ethics are intermingled various superstitious maxims³, such as appear trifling or even ludicrous to the modern reader. But to several even of these, a more serious importance must have attached in the primitive schools of philosophy, as appears from their having been embodied among the esoteric doctrines of the Pythagorean sect.⁴ Hesiod's religious views however, in the higher sense are, as referred to the Pagan standard, of a singularly pure and practical tendency. The gods are represented, not as arbitrary despots, themselves the slaves of personal caprice and passion, or of a blind necessity: but as wise and just rulers and arbiters of the affairs of men. The doctrine of an all-seeing Providence, whose scrutiny and retributive justice no human crime can escape, is throughout as distinctly and solemnly, as often beautifully, inculcated.⁵

¹ See Gaisf. and Göttl. ad locc.

² 285. sqq. This text has been quoted and commented by Plato, Rep. p. 364 c. d., Legg. p. 718 B.; also by Xenophon, Lucian, Plutarch, Eustathius, and others ap. Gaisf. ad loc.

³ 727. sqq. 763. sqq.

⁴ See Göttl. ad vv. 725. 740. 746.

⁵ 105. 265. 247. sqq. 704. 236. sqq. 331.

Rural
economy.

Hesiod's system of rural economy, like Homer's art of war, belongs to the historical rather than the literary antiquities of Greece. A few remarks will here suffice, on one or two points more immediately illustrative of the age or habits of the author. The instructions relative to his favourite art of agriculture are few and simple, and so blended with others bearing on moral duties, as nowhere to assume the form of a methodical system. Nor, as already observed, was this work ever intended as a regular Georgic, or treatise on rural husbandry. Its object was to reform the character and condition in life of a disreputable brother, by impressing on him the value of the virtues and pursuits of the respectable citizen. Among these the poet dwells first on industry, as indispensable to all the others; secondly, on agriculture, as the kind of industry best adapted to his brother's circumstances; thirdly, on those elementary branches of the art more immediately open to a needy man. Hence may be explained the absence of any notice of olive-husbandry, proverbially the most expensive and precarious of all. That it was so considered by the poet himself, or his disciples, is evinced by a passage cited by Pliny from one of the lost poems which passed current under Hesiod's name.¹ The imputed anomaly also, that in a treatise on agriculture no allusion should be made to manure, with various other similar omissions, likewise disappears upon a more accurate estimate of the real scope of the poem.

Age of the
author.

7. The inquiry into the age of Hesiod, as represented by the author of the Works, is identified with the

¹ Marckscheff. Hesiod. frag. 198.

question of the comparative antiquity of Hesiod and Homer. Any analysis of the trite varieties of opinion current among the antients on this question may be dispensed with, as all confessedly devoid of historical basis, and resting on conjectural data which the modern scholar may claim an equal privilege of appreciating for himself.¹ The whole brunt of the inquiry centres in the internal evidence of the poems, as to the state of manners, arts, and political government familiar to their respective authors. The balance of argument is, upon the whole, on the side of Homer, as has also been the award of the critical public. Much however of the evidence on which that award proceeds, is essentially fallacious, being derived from peculiarities of matter and style, resulting from a diversity in the genius of the two poets rather than of the periods at which they flourished.

The era of Hesiod is defined, on his own authority, as at least a generation subsequent to the foundation of the Æolian Cuma, dated in the received chronology about 1000 B. C. The age of Homer is, in the legend, similarly restricted, and there may be no absolute obligation to carry it farther back; although, on grounds already stated, it has here been allowed to range conjecturally over a more remote period of antiquity.

Stress has been laid, as argument of Hesiod's juniority, on his use of the terms *Hellas* and *Panhelene* ², in their later familiar application to the whole Greek land and nation. A more subtle argument of

¹ *Clint. Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 359.; *Thiersch, Ueb. Hesiod*, p. 9. sqq.; *Göttl. præf.* p. xvii. sq.

² 651. 526. Even in the probably interpolated passage of the *Iliad* (II. 530.), the phrase *Πανέλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ* implies a distinction between the Hellenes proper, of Thessaly, and the remainder of the race.

this kind, though not without its value, has been founded¹ on the substitution of *Nomos* by Hesiod for the *Themis* of Homer, as the familiar term for law or justice.² Reasonable weight also attaches to Hesiod's habitual employment of the term *Basileus* in its later republican sense of civil magistrate, rather than in that of chief, or king.³ Herein may fairly be surmised a substitution, partial or complete, of constitutional for monarchical forms of government. The use of fixed names for the months of the year, with the nice tripartite or quadripartite subdivisions of their days, seems also to imply an advance in this elementary branch of science.⁴ But although the astronomical notices, as naturally suggested by his subject, are more numerous in Hesiod, there is no trace in his poem of any substantial advance either in the theory or practice of the science itself. The subtle attempts to extract specific dates from the Bœotian

¹ Thiersch, p. 13.

² Works, 274. 386. If verses 374. sqq. can be considered as alluding to the law of succession established in Thebes by Philolaus in 728 B. C. (Göttl. ad l.), the result must be fatal to Hesiod's hitherto recognised claims to high antiquity.

³ See Appendix F. Far less to the purpose is K. O. Müller's attempt, (*Hist. of Greek Lit.* vol. i. p. 77.) to derive from Hesiod's stigma on the conduct of those functionaries, or from his quarrel with his brother, proof of an unsettled and anarchical state of society in Bœotia in the poet's time, or of the "lasting state of confusion and strife, sometimes extending into the bosom of private families," which the imagination of Müller has contrasted with the flourishing condition of affairs on the Asiatic side of the *Ægean*. A family quarrel about a right of heritage, and a complaint by the losing party against the court which decided the case, were in any case but slender grounds for so sweeping a conclusion. The distressed condition however of the poet's own parents in Cuma, as described by himself, with their migration, in order to better their lot, to a rugged inhospitable village of the Bœotian mountains, is in itself a conclusive and obvious antidote to any internal evidence derivable from the same poem in favour of Müller's theory.

⁴ Göttl. ad 763. 502.

poet's incidental allusions to the phenomena of the fixed stars, or from his mythical catalogue of human generations, though once sanctioned by illustrious authority, are now universally acknowledged to be fallacious in principle and nugatory in their results.¹

Argument of the recent age of Hesiod has also been discovered² in his allusion to the generation who fought at Troy as a race of demigods, beatified heroes, dwelling in the "happy isles," free from care or sorrow; whereas, with Homer, these personages are merely illustrious mortals, subject to the same passions and sufferings as their descendants, and condemned at their death to the same dismal after-life of Hades, so gloomily depicted in the *Odyssey*. Hence it has been inferred that the popular hero-worship, as a distinct element of the Pagan Pantheon, was first fully matured between the ages of the two poets; that Hesiod was therefore much the younger of the two. This reasoning is founded on a misapprehension of their respective styles of composition. It was inherent in the very essence of the action of the *Iliad*, and indispensable to the spirit of its human characters, in themselves or in their contrast to the divine mechanism of the poem, that they should appear as brilliant realities, not as dim reflexions of a mystical demonology; should live, fight, and die as mortal heroes, subjected in death, as in life, to the ordinary course of mortal destiny. The doctrine of their apotheosis and worship, even if fully developed in Homer's time, could not with any propriety have been brought prominently into play. Very different was the case with the author of the *Works*, who

¹ Robinson, *præf.* ad Hesiod. opp. ed. Loesner, p. lix. sqq.

² Thiersch, p. 11. sqq.

appropriately avails himself of the shadowy disguise in which popular superstition enveloped the glories of his ancestors, to impart heroic interest and awe to the mythology of his didactic poem.

Nor can any great weight be attached to the traces of a more advanced state of commerce and trade, which some allege to be perceptible in Hesiod. The subject of the *Works and Days* obviously supplied more frequent and favourable opportunity for such allusions, than that of either *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Yet passages might perhaps be cited from the latter poems, tending even here to counterbalance any argument that could fairly be urged on the other side. Homer's mention of manure for example, to which Hesiod, in a poem offering so much more favourable opening for such notices, has never alluded, would, if such reasoning were of any weight at all, tell heavily in the opposite scale.¹

THE THEOGONY.

Theogony. 8. After a long proœmium, or succession of proœmia, addressed to the Muses, and propitiating their favour with that of the other deities in aid of his undertaking, the poet enters on the immediate subject of his work.

I. In the beginning was Chaos², next appeared Terra, Tartarus, and Eros.

Chaos generates Erebus and Night; from Night spring Æther and Day. Terra produces Uranus and Pontus, the former of whom she espouses.

¹ See Appendix L.

² 116. In this epitome the list of names has been limited to those of the more distinguished members of the divine family, or to such as were more or less essential to a full understanding of the spirit and continuity of the Hesiodic system.

II. From Terra and Uranus¹ are born Ocean, Hyperion, Iapetus; Thia, Rhea, Themis, Cronus; the Cyclopes, Briareus, and the rest of the Titans, male and female.

Uranus, dreading encroachments by his children on his supreme power, confines them in the bowels of their mother Terra, who, oppressed by the burthen, conspires with them against the authority of their father. Cronus, from the recesses of her body, assaults and emasculates Uranus² as he approaches to embrace her, and casts the mutilated parts into the sea. The foam which they create, when tossed in the waves, generates Venus³; the blood-drops from the wound the Erinnyes and Giants.⁴

Night⁵ produces the Fates, Death, Sleep, Dreams, Strife. Strife generates a race of kindred evils and vices.

From Pontus⁶ springs Nereus, who begets of Terra the marine deities Thaumās, Phorcys, and Ceto. From Nereus and the Oceanid Doris are born the fifty Nereids or sea-nymphs.

Electra, daughter of Ocean, bears to Thaumās, Iris and the Harpies.⁷

Phorcys begets of Ceto, Enyo and the Gorgons. From the body of the gorgon Medusa, when slain by Perseus, spring Chrysaor and Pegasus. From Chrysaor and Calliroe, daughter of Ocean, are born the giant Geryoneus slain by Hercules, and the dragon Echidna.

Echidna and Typhaon⁸ procreate Orthus and Cerberus, the Hydra and the Chimæra. From Orthus and the Chimæra issue the Sphinx and Nemean lion.

From Ocean and his sister Tethys⁹ spring the rivers and fountains.

Thia bears to Hyperion, the Sun¹⁰, the Moon, and Aurora.

The Titan Crius begets of his sister Eurybia, Astræus, Pallas, and Perses. From Astræus and Aurora issue Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus; from the same father and Erigenia, Hesperus and the other stars.

From Pallas and Styx¹¹ issue Zelus, Nicē, Kratos, and Biē, who with their mother, first among the gods declared for the cause of Jupiter in his contest with Cronus and the Titans. In reward of this service Styx is ordained the solemn oath of the gods, and her sons are honoured with precedence in the household, and attendance on the person of Jove. The Titans Cœus and Phœbe

¹ 133.² 178.³ 191.⁴ 185.⁵ 211.⁶ 233.⁷ 265.⁸ 306.⁹ 337.¹⁰ 371.¹¹ 383.

procreate Latona and Asteria. Perses and Asteria give birth to Hecate, whose varied attributes are described.

III. Rhea¹ bears to Cronus, Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, and Neptune, whom their father successively swallows up, warned by a prophecy of his own parents Uranus and Terra, that he should be dethroned by one of his children. Rhea, at the birth of Jove, by the advice and connivance of her father and mother, presents Cronus with a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, which he devours in place of the infant. Jove is nourished secretly in Crete. The stone acts as a vomit upon Cronus, who throws up his other children.²

Jove liberates his uncles the Titans, enchained by Uranus, who provide him with thunder and lightning, the arms by which he secures his dominion over gods and men.³

Iapetus espouses the Oceanid Clymene, who bears him Atlas, Menœtius, Prometheus, and Epimetheus. Menœtius is banished by Jupiter to Erebus for impiety. Atlas is charged with the support of the heavens.

Prometheus, guilty of scoffing at Jove's divine rite of sacrifice⁴, of robbing heaven of its fire, and of imparting the use of that element to mankind, is chained to a rock, and tortured by a vulture, in Mount Caucasus. To punish the impiety of his accomplice mortals Jupiter sends upon earth the fatal gift of Pandora⁵, mother of the race of women, who is received and harboured by Epimetheus, the youngest of the four ill-starred Iapetids.

Jove releases Briareus, Cottus, and Gyges⁶, from the durance to which they had been condemned by their father Uranus. With their aid, after a desperate conflict, he conquers his father Cronus and the rest of the Titans, whom he banishes to the infernal regions.⁷ His own three allies are rewarded with dwellings on the neighbouring shore of Ocean, where they guard the gates of the Titanian prison.

Tartarus and Terra beget the monster Typhœus, from whom⁸ spring the noxious winds and vapours, and whom Jupiter destroys with his thunderbolts.

¹ 453.

² 495.

³ 501. sqq.

⁴ 521. sqq. There can be little doubt that this legend of Jove's want of skill in discriminating the savouriest part of the ox, embodies a primitive pasquinade on the absurdity of the favourite diet of the gods being supposed the same as that of their human subjects on earth.

⁵ 570.

⁶ 617.

⁷ 717.

⁸ 821.

IV. Jupiter is chosen King of Heaven¹ by his brothers and comrades in arms. He first espouses Metis, whom, when pregnant with Pallas, he swallows up, apprised by Uranus and Terra, through the same prophetic warning formerly vouchsafed by them to his own father, that the infant, if allowed to come to the birth, would prove more powerful than himself. From Themis his second wife², Jove procreates the Hours, Dicē, Irene, and Eunomia; from the Oceanid Eurynome, the three Graces; from Ceres, Proserpine, who espouses Pluto; from the Titaness Mnemosyne, the Muses; from Latona, Apollo and Artemis; from Juno, Hebe Mars and Ilithyia. From his own head he produces Pallas. Juno in her turn spontaneously gives birth to Vulcan.

Mars and Venus generate Terror, Panic, and Harmonia, who espouses Cadmus.

Jupiter begets Mercury of Maja, Bacchus of Semele, Hercules of Alcmena.

Vulcan espouses the Grace Aglaia; Bacchus, Ariadne; Hercules, Hebe. From the Oceanid Perseis and the Sun are born Æetes and Circe. The Oceanid Idyia bears Medea to Æetes.

The offspring of goddesses by mortals³ are: Plutus by Iasius of Ceres; Ino and Semele by Cadmus of Harmonia; Memnon and Emathion of Aurora by Tithonus; Phaëton of the same goddess by Cephalus; Medeu's of Medea by Jason; Phocus of the Nereid Psamathe by Æacus. Thetis bears Achilles to Peleus; Venus, Æneas to Anchises; from Circe are born Agrius, Latinus, and Telegonus to Ulysses; from Calypso, Nausithoüs and Nausinoüs to the same hero.

9. The Theogony, though devoted to a higher order of subject, and aspiring to a more dignified style, is a poem of greatly inferior merit to the Works and Days. To the genuine originality of the latter poem it can advance no pretension. As the earliest complete standard of the Greek system of cosmogony, it is, no doubt, a valuable relic. But the elements of that system, amid the variety which popular tradition placed at the author's disposal, are selected with little judgment, and arranged with as little taste or propriety.

Merits and defects of their composition and doctrine.

¹ 883.

² 901.

³ 965. sqq.

DD 4

Those charges of inconsistency, of alternate diffuseness and abruptness, dryness and tautology, which have been so lavishly heaped upon both poems by modern commentators, if unmerited or exaggerated in the case of the Works, are amply justified in that of the Theogony. How far these defects are to be laid at the door of the original author, how far they may have been engrafted on the genuine text in its progress to posterity, is a question which, while affording a fairer field for conjectural criticism than in some other similar cases, must yet, in the absence of historical data, remain essentially barren of practical results. The more critical view however, even in the present case, appears to be the reverse of that generally popular in the modern schools. It is certainly more probable in itself, that such anomalies in a national text-book of religious dogma, should have originated in the excitement of a single fervid and wayward genius of a semibarbarous age, and have been transmitted to posterity in the form in which they were first promulgated, than that they should have been deliberately introduced by the studied artifice of the bookmakers of a later age of literary culture.¹

The bond of unity which the Hellenic system of divine genealogy supplied for the composition of a didactic epopee, was the succession of dynasties in the celestial royal family. It is one which, lax and ineffective as it appears in this poem, was capable, under more genial treatment, of being turned to better account. These vicissitudes of divine dynasty, also, though more obscurely, referred to by Homer², were evidently meant to shadow forth, through the rude veil of enigma in which they are shrouded, the early

¹ See Appendix M.

² Il. v. 898., xiv. 203. 274., viii. 479. alibi.

progress, not only of physical creation, but of human society; the gradual ascendancy of mind over matter, of intellect and order over confusion and barbarism. The stages of the progress, which have been indicated by corresponding numbers in the above epitome, are grotesquely symbolised by the different expedients, or varieties of the same expedient, to which the successive generations of rulers resort for arresting, or impeding, the course of revolutionary developement, as figured in the birth and enterprising character of their respective offspring. The inert mass Chaos resolves itself into two more active material agencies, personified as Uranus (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth). From their uncouth embraces proceed the Titans, a race of livelier more animated abstractions. These their father, as a summary check to their interference with his divine power, relodges, as successively brought to light, in the bowels of their mother. He is, however, discomfited by Cronus (Time), the youngest and most vigorous among them, to whom he abandons his throne. The policy of the new ruler in regard to the rising generation, while substantially the same, is in so far an improvement upon that of his father, that, warned by its ill success, he adopts the safer mode of embowelling his progeny in his own entrails instead of those of their mother. This device is overmatched in its turn by the more advanced intelligence of those with whom he has to deal, and he too is defeated and deposed. The next and last stage of divine revolution reflects still more clearly the spirit of the legend. In the person of Jupiter, the intellectual organisation of the world was to be finally consummated. He espouses accordingly Metis, or Wisdom. His offspring by her is also

preordained by Destiny, if brought to the birth, to inflict on him the same fate as had successively overtaken his father and grandfather. To avoid this danger, following up and improving upon their abortive series of devices, he takes the more certain precaution of swallowing both mother and child; thus consolidating absolute wisdom with absolute power, and leaving neither opportunity nor ability in any other quarter for successful interference with his supreme authority.

To this theory of progressive intellectual development as shadowed forth in the *Theogony*, might perhaps be objected, that it is not so much by their own more advanced wisdom, as through the subtle devices of their mothers, *Terra* and *Rhea* respectively ¹, that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* are each represented in the poet's description as dethroning their fathers. *Jupiter*, it might further be urged, even in his last decisive measure of cosmogonical policy, acts under the advice of his grandfather and grandmother.² That the apparent anomaly however, lies not in the original system, but with the author of the poem, who has failed to appreciate the finer spirit of his subject, may be inferred from the parallel of other later, but no less authoritative Greek theological standards. With *Æschylus* ³ for example, *Prometheus* (*Forethought*), and his mother *Themis* ⁴ (*Order*), appear as principal agents in the last stage of divine revolution, and as cognisant, and probably promoters and counsellors, of those which preceded. *Prometheus*, in the same series of mythical history, is the acknowledged type of intellectual advancement. The func-

¹ 160. 469. sqq. 626.

² 891. sqq.

³ *Prometh. vinct.* 755. sqq. 873. 947. 955. sqq.

⁴ *Hesiod* makes *Clymene* mother of *Prometheus*. *Theog.* 508.

tions assigned him in the system of Æschylus are, therefore, in close harmony with the interpretation above proposed, of the primitive symbolic import of the legend of physical progress. But in the Hesiodic fable Prometheus is not brought on the scene at all, until after the establishment of Jupiter's dynasty. In the Theogony again, Terra¹ administers the vomit which forces Saturn to disgorge the elder branches of his family. In other versions of the legend the same medicinal function is assigned, in equally apt conformity with the view here taken of the genuine spirit of that legend, to Metis, or Wisdom², whom Jove afterwards espouses.

10. That amid a certain unity of substance, a considerable latitude was permitted to poetical discretion in the details of the Hellenic system of cosmogony, is further evinced by a comparison of the different versions given by Homer of several of the most important of those details, versions displaying, for the most part, a great superiority of taste and judgement. In the Theogony, Ocean, in palpable repugnance to the received principle, not only of the Greek but of all Pagan cosmogony, is a being of secondary order, one of the common herd of Titans, produce of the incestuous connexion of Uranus and Terra. He is even made younger brother of Pontus or the Sea, who in every other system appears but as one of his own subordinate members. With Homer, who is here unquestionably the organ of the most popular and primitive doctrine, the same Ocean is the progenitor, not only of the whole liquid creation, but of the whole divine race, the father, not the offspring, of Uranus and Terra; the vivified chaos in fact, or common parent

Parallel of
Homer.

¹ 494.

² Apollod. i. ii. 1.

of all matter.¹ Homer consequently knows no separate Chaos, its functions being merged in those of Ocean. That the disgusting fable of the mutilation of Uranus was unknown to, or repudiated by Homer, may also be inferred from the different account given by him of the birth of Venus. With him the Goddess of Love is daughter of Jupiter and Dione²; with Hesiod she is the spontaneous fruit of the filthy parricidal act of Saturn. According to Hesiod, Jupiter is the youngest son of Saturn and Rhea, preserved from his father's gullet as the instrument of deliverance to his brethren, and of vengeance on their devourer. By Homer he is described as the first-born of his father.³ Homer's version therefore of the revolution which placed Jupiter on the throne of Saturn, must have differed from that of Hesiod. Both systems have the defect of exhibiting mind as subordinate to matter in the order of mundane developement. Of creation in the higher sense, or the calling into existence of habitable animated worlds, by the fiat of a supreme eternal spirit, out of chaos or nonentity, as in the Mosaic system, neither Hesiod nor Homer manifests any conception. The Titans, or properly animated race of gods, appear but in the second stage of cosmogonical succession, merging slowly out of the inert masses of Chaos and Earth. With Hesiod, even Heaven, the familiar poetical type of divine abstraction, is the offspring of Terra, the equally familiar type of gross matter. The antiquity assigned by Hesiod to Eros, or Love, in the order of creation, seems to contain the germ of a fine image, which might, with a more genial poet, have aided in idealising the dry mate-

¹ Il. xiv. 201. 246. 302., xxi. 195. sqq.

² Il. v. 370.

³ Il. xiii. 355., xv. 166.

rialism of his cosmogony, but which the Bæotian minstrel has allowed to remain completely in the background.

In addition to the didactic mysticism of the subject, the Hesiodic narrative, poetically considered, labours under a monotonous sameness in the succession of the three principal events. To relieve this monotony required a skilful application of the more delicate resources of epic art, tact and variety of arrangement, appropriate interspersions of episodes, and a spirited management of the genealogical and illustrative details. These however were expedients foreign to the genius of the author, who may rather be charged with exaggerating the natural drawbacks of his subject, by his desultory and incoherent mode of treatment. Not only do the leading heads of narrative stand in slender epic connexion with each other, floating as insulated masses in the sea of genealogical commonplace, but even in their individual capacity, are mutilated and disjointed. Sometimes a commencement, sometimes a conclusion, sometimes an important incident fails altogether, is left to the conjecture of the reader, or must be sought in some widely separate portion of the text. From the commencement down to the mutilation of Uranus the narrative pursues a tolerably coherent course. Here however it abruptly breaks off, leaving the first revolution of the series incomplete. The only specified results of the parricidal act of Cronus are, the birth of Venus and some inferior deities, with a punning application by the outraged old sovereign, of the name "Titans" to his children, because they had "stretched out" their hands against their father.¹ The narrative then quietly resumes its ordinary genealogical course. No

Incoherence of the action.

¹ 207. sqq.

allusion whatever is made to the deposition of Uranus, or the usurpation of Cronus. It is only after an interval of about two hundred and fifty lines, in the course of which too, Jupiter is repeatedly put forward, episodically indeed, but prominently and therefore inappropriately, in the light of supreme ruler¹, that Saturn and Rhea are abruptly introduced as reigning in the stead of their father and mother², and the new king as engaged in a similar set of expedients to deliver himself from the encumbrance of his own increasing family.

The conclusion of this head of the subject is equally lame. Cronus, outwitted in his turn by the artifices of his wife and youngest son, disgorges his elder progeny, and there we leave him.³ Jupiter then releases his uncles⁴, the sons of Uranus, from the captivity to which they had been condemned by their father; and they, in gratitude for this benefit, supply their nephew with the arms by which he obtained and secured his royal authority. This, according to the natural interpretation of the context, would imply that Jupiter, by the aid of his uncles, usurped the supreme dignity immediately after the successful intrigue of his mother against his father. In the sequel however, after another long series of genealogical commonplace or episodical illustration, we are told, that he did not obtain possession of his empire until after an exterminating war against those very uncles, previously described as his friends.⁵

Upon every sound principle of epic composition, the narrative of this Titanic war and victory of Jupiter, ought to have formed the immediate sequel of the successful conspiracy of Rhea against her hus-

¹ 386. sqq. 411. sqq.

³ 496. sqq.

² 461. sqq.

⁴ 501 sqq.

⁵ 630. sqq.

band. The two subjects however, are separated by an interval of upwards of a hundred lines¹ devoted to the episodes of Prometheus and Pandora, and to other matters standing in no sort of connexion with either of the above two principal heads of subject, but throughout which the same Jupiter, who, we are told in the ensuing narrative of the war, was not elected king until after its conclusion², appears, without explanation or apology, as supreme ruler of the universe. In the same strange spirit of incoherence, the main object and grand result of the war, the instalment of Jupiter in the royal authority, is separated from the conclusion of the combat itself by an interval of another hundred and fifty lines³ of unimportant or altogether extraneous matter. Such are the birth and adventures of Typhöeus, where Jove again, before occupying his father's throne, appears, as in the affair of Prometheus, in full exercise of the royal authority.⁴

11. The Proœmium of the Theogony is characterised by anomalies of structure no less obvious than those in the body of the work. While its length exceeds all just proportion to that of the poem which it ushers in, it exhibits, with the incoherence common to the rest of the narrative, a diffuseness proper to itself, offering, in fact, little more than a disjointed repetition of the same or closely similar images. There is therefore much plausibility in the

Proœmia
of the
Theogony.

¹ 505—617. sqq.

² 883.

³ 735—883.

⁴ 820. Numerous other minor inconsistencies or redundancies occur throughout the details of the text, of which it may be difficult to say how far they are to be ascribed to the author of the poem, how far to the license of transcribers and interpolators. See Göttl. p. xx. Compare 117. with 128.; 211. with 217. and 904.; 736. with 807.; 287. with 979.; 734. with 817. In 212. *ἔρικτε* is an apparent corruption of *ἔνεκτε*, the substitution of which restores the sense.

opinion of Hermann, now generally adopted by critical commentators, that these hundred lines of introduction comprise, not one, but several, of those proœmia habitually prefixed to the epic compositions of this early period in the public rehearsals, and afterwards embodied in the editions of the poems as portions of the genuine text. It might naturally happen that in different manuscripts, current, during the earlier ages of writing, simultaneously with the more popular mode of oral promulgation, different proœmia, containing perhaps certain passages or verses in common, might be preferred. These again the editors of later times, unable to decide between their respective claims to priority, might naturally, in their efforts to distribute equal justice to all, have abridged or condensed into one.¹

Closing
lines of
the poem.

The essentially desultory character of the Hesiodic school of poetry, not only held out great temptation to the addition of such spurious proœmia, but might, where a certain congeniality of subject existed, suggest the connexion with each other in recitation or even in publication, of works originally destined by their authors to be altogether distinct. Traces of this process are observable in the last two lines of the *Theogony*, where the poet, after "having sung the progeny of goddesses," is made to invite his hearers to listen to his "song concerning the race of women." This seems a plain allusion to another Hesiodic poem, the *Catalogue of Women*, as having formed a subsequent link in a chain of recital. Unless therefore the same author be assumed to have composed both works, and to have been in the habit of reciting them in continuous order, the latter por-

¹ See Appendix N.

tion of the Theogony must have been tampered with, for the convenience of such recital, by some Hesiodic rhapsodist.

12. The style of the Theogony is marked by the same anomaly and incongruity as its materials. The procœmium, comprising the first hundred and fifteen lines, apart from a few Æolo-Bœotic idioms, is very similar in character to the parallel portions of the Homeric hymns. The basis of the main text of the work is little more than a series of names or dry genealogical details, strung together by the customary mechanism of epic commonplace. In the episodes or illustrative portions of the narrative, where greater scope existed for the display of individual taste, the style may be described as a mixture of the Hesiodic and Homeric. Where the tenor of the subject was favourable to the more homely and familiar manner of the Works and Days, as, for example, in the episodes of Pandora and Hecate, an occasional correspondence, sometimes to the letter, of whole verses and passages, affords evidence that, whether the same or a different poet, the author of the one work borrowed from, or was influenced by, the contents of the other. There may also frequently be recognised in these portions of the Theogony, a tendency to the same quaint brevity of expression, homely simplicity of narrative, and placid tone of versification, which form the pervading characteristics of the sister poem; but with little or none of its genuine originality, terse and vigorous phraseology, or deep vein of moral sentiment.¹ Where, on the other hand, the subject

¹ Compare 254. 419. 438. 443. 447. with Works 5, 6, 7. 323. 377. 760.; Theog. 440. with Works 616. 720.; Theog. 426. 442. with Works 374.; Theog. 571. sqq. with Works 70. sqq.; Theog. 613. with

assumes a more dignified character, as in the description of the wars in heaven, and other more exciting parts of the narrative, the homely style of the Works disappears, and gives place to the more ambitious tone of language and sentiment proper to the secondary heroic or Homeric school. The features of Homeric correspondence are now no longer confined to the common stock of epic mannerism: they extend to whole verses or passages¹, betraying, in the mode and occasion of their introduction, the imitative genius of the author; and wherever the ambition displays itself to soar into the higher regions of the martial or terrible, the result is a confused crowding or nauseous repetition² of bombastic phrases and overdrawn images. A certain tautology, both in sound and expression, is indeed characteristic of the whole illustrative element of the poem, and recurs under so great a similarity of form in the parallel passages³, as to baffle all attempts to explain

Works 105.; Theog. 563. sqq. with Work. 50. sqq.; Theog. 150. sqq. with Works 147. sqq.

¹ Conf. 58—9. with Od. x. 469. sqq., XIX. 152., XXIV. 142.; 91. sq. with Od. VIII. 172. sq.; 228. with Od. XI. 612.; 319. sqq. with Il. VI. 179. sqq.; 705. with Il. XX. 66.; 720. with Il. VIII. 16.; 739. with Il. XX. 65.; 748. sqq. with Od. x. 83. sqq.; 759. sqq. with Od. XI. 15. sqq.; 768. with Od. x. 534.; 811. with Il. VIII. 15.; 245. with Il. XVIII. 40. sq.; 272. with Il. V. 441. sq.; 289. sq. with Il. VI. 423. sq.; 596. with Il. I. 601. alibi, Od. IX. 161. alibi.

² 629. sqq., for example, are in a true Homeric vein of martial description; but at 635. all is again marred by that offensive harping on the same idea, so destructive of the effect which it is meant to enhance.

³ 429. 430. 432. 436. 439. 443. sqq.; 576. 578.; 581. 584.; 590. 591.; 620. 621. 623. 629. 635.; 679. 693. 696.; 839. 841. 843. 847. 858. 861. sq. 887. These several sets of verses are but so many series of repetitions of the same stale hyperboles. With the last seven lines, descriptive of the earth groaning, burning, boiling, melting, &c., over and over again, amid thunder, crash, flash, &c. &c., may be collated 690—707., which are in so very similar a style of extravagance, that, in perusing the two passages,

it away upon the modern principle, of shifting the responsibility of every defect or eccentricity in an antient work, from the original author to its transcribers or editors.

13. In applying the results of the above analysis to the question concerning the age and authorship of the Theogony, in its relation to the Works and Days, it will be proper, in the first place, to have distinctly before us the historical data on the subject, in so far as popular tradition, or the opinion of the leading antient critics, may deserve to rank as historical authority. Although the principal Hesiodic poems furnished a more or less fertile theme for critical speculation to the Alexandrian grammarians, there remains no trace of scepticism on their part, or on that of their predecessors of the early Attic school, as to the common origin of these two works. The first extant notice of difference of opinion is from Pausanias, who, while himself designating the Theogony as the "imputed" work of Hesiod, describes the local tradition of the poet's fellow-citizens as denying its title to that honour.¹ The authority of the Heliconian critics, whatever may be its value in other respects, certainly possesses that of impartiality. As the Theogony was the standard national work on a subject of highest national importance, they would, but for some strong evidence to the contrary, have been more likely to assert than repudiate the claims

Age and
authorship.

one is scarcely conscious which is which. It is certainly less likely that this strange and glaring tautology should, as Hermann and others suppose, have been deliberately introduced by the compilers of a refined period of literature, than that it should spontaneously have proceeded from a single wayward or eccentric poet. The business of the professional bookmaker was to smooth down all such irregularities.

¹ IX. xxxi; conf. VIII. xviii., IX. xxvii. 2. alibi.

of their native bard to its production. The internal evidence of the poems tends also to bear out their opinion. The fundamental property of the *Works and Days* is a genuine unaffected simplicity, pervading, under such natural varieties of tone as the subject itself involved, every portion of the text. The *Theogony*, on the other hand, betrays, wherever it emerges from the routine of epic mannerism, an effort to imitate, combined in most cases with a zeal to exaggerate, a style not natural to its author, whether the ingenuous placidity of the *Æolo-Bæotic*, or the martial dignity of the Homeric muse.

The cautious critic will yet be disposed to hesitate before adopting these points of internal difference, strong as they may appear, as conclusive argument on the negative side, in opposition to the acquiescence of Aristarchus or Apollonius in the popular view, and to other partially redeeming features of correspondence already adverted to, in dialect, numbers, versification, and idiomatic expression. There may also perhaps be observed, wherever the *Theogony* pursues a natural and equable tone of narrative, indications that the homely spirit of the genuine Hesiod was upon the whole more congenial to the talent of its author, than the heroic vein to which he often aspires. Might it not therefore be a fair question, whether the anomalies of the poem may not be the natural consequence of an ambition to excel in a style of composition to which the author's genius was not adapted? Could we figure to ourselves the poet of the *Works* a candidate for fame in the heroic department of his art, we might imagine the result not altogether dissimilar to a *Theogony*. It must however be admitted, that some of the passages of the latter poem,

marked by glaring exaggeration of parallel texts of the Works, savour more of the plagiarist than of the same author.¹ Was it likely, it might also be asked, that a poet of so much native simplicity, both of personal character and style, as beams forth in the Works and Days, should be infected with this ambition to shine in a department of art so foreign to his genius?

Upon the whole, the balance of argument must, with modern critics, appear favourable to the Heliconian doctrine. Were the supporters of that doctrine disposed to subtilise on the point of internal evidence, it might perhaps be open to question, not merely whether the author of the Theogony, though evidently a disciple of the Æolo-Bœotic school, was the genuine Ascræan Hesiod, but whether he was a native Bœotian. Among the characteristics of the primitive Hesiod of the Works, is a marked spirit of local nationality. Every allusion, historical or topogra-

¹ Compare, for example, in the fable of Pandora, as narrated in each work, the passages describing the withholding of fire by Jupiter, and its robbery by Prometheus:

Works, 50. κρύψε δὲ πῦρ· τὸ μὲν αὖτις ἔθς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο
ἐκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισι, Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος,
ἐν κοίλῃ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραυνον.
τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς . . .

Theog. 563. οὐκ εἶδιδον μελίοισι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο
θηητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν.
ἀλλὰ μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἔθς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο
κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγῇν
ἐν κοίλῃ νάρθηκι· δάκεν δ' ἔρα νειόθι θυμὸν
Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην· ἐχόλωσε δὲ μιν φίλον ἦτορ,
ὥς γ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγῇν . . .

That the second of these passages is a servile copy or paraphrase of the first cannot admit of a doubt. Every idea, so simply expressed in the one, is expanded or diluted in the other by superfluous epithets or diffuse periphrasis. This criticism might be extended to other portions of each poem.

phical, connects him, directly or indirectly, with Bæotia and Mount Helicon. In the Theogony on the other hand, with the exception of the opening address to the Muses, the apocryphal character of which is admitted, there is nothing tending to identify the author with those regions. Several passages may even be adduced in an opposite sense. Among the twenty-five principal rivers, who figure as sons of Ocean, no Bæotian stream is included. As little trace is there of similar honour conferred on any Bæotian lake, fountain, or other poetical locality, in the various catalogues of Nereïds, Oceanids, and other figurative personages of the same class.

Apart from the copious traces above referred to of imitation or plagiarism, there is little in the style and diction of the Theogony, indicating a more recent age than that of the Works and Days. The arguments derived from the greater apparent extent of geographical knowledge in the former poem, prove comparatively little. The subject of the Works offered no similar opening for geographical allusions; while of the kindred class of evidence, from contemporary arts, manners, or events, the text of the Theogony, in its turn, is equally barren.

SHIELD OF HERCULES.

Shield of
Hercules.

14. Amphitryon, constrained to retire from Argos for a season, in atonement of an involuntary fratricide, takes refuge in Thebes, where he is honourably received. He is accompanied in his banishment by his newly wedded spouse Alcmena, daughter of his slain kinsman Electryon. The heroine however refuses to admit him to her bed, until he shall have fulfilled the condition on which she married him, by avenging the death of her brothers, slain in a war against the Taphians and Teleboans. On the night of the hero's return from the performance of this duty, Jupiter,

having selected the Argive princess as the mother of an illustrious hero and benefactor of the human race, visits her secretly and begets Hercules. By Amphitryon, later on the same night, she conceives Iphicles.

Hercules, on attaining man's estate, among other warlike expeditions, undertakes one¹ against Cynus son of Mars, a notorious brigand, who, supported by his divine father, infests the passes between Thessaly and Bœotia, despoiling not only ordinary travellers, but the pilgrims bearing gifts to the Pythian sanctuary.

On approaching the robber's haunt, the Theban hero, with his charioteer Iolaus, prepares for battle. His armour, the workmanship of Vulcan and gift of the gods, especially the richly adorned shield, is described in much detail.² Minerva³ appears as patroness of Hercules, and encourages him to the combat.

On the approach of Cynus, backed by his father and ally Mars, to dispute the passage, Hercules requests, in conciliatory terms, permission to proceed unmolested on a visit to Ceÿx king of Iolchos, father-in-law of Cynus. Negotiation however proves vain. Hercules and Cynus then engage on foot, and Cynus is slain. Mars, rushing on to avenge the death of his son, is wounded by Hercules, and borne off the field by his attendants Terror and Panic. The obsequies of Cynus are performed by Ceÿx at Iolchos; but the tumulus raised over his grave is swept away by Apollo, in revenge of his outrageous treatment of the pilgrims to the Delphic shrine.

This poem partakes in no degree of the didactic character, usually held to be the distinctive feature of the Æolo-Bœotic school of minstrelsy. It treats a purely heroic subject in a purely heroic manner. It is, in fact, the only remaining entire specimen of early heroic poetry, except the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and, if taken as a sample of the voluminous library of lost compositions of the same class, would certainly convey no favourable impression of their merits. To unity of action it has as little pretension as the *Theogony*. The preliminary notice of the adventures of Amphitryon and birth of Hercules, has no

¹ 57. sqq.² 139. sqq.³ 325.

epic connexion with the encounter between the latter hero and Cynus. There would be less ground for the charge of incoherence, had that encounter been the first exploit of Hercules. It might then, as an illustration of the greatness to which he had just been described as predestined, have formed a sort of sequel to the narrative in which that announcement is made. But in the subsequent text, the combat with Cynus is stated to have been one of the later exploits of the hero¹, leaving a wide gap between it and his birth and childhood. This anomaly is explained by the fact transmitted on trustworthy authority, that the first fifty-six lines, descriptive of the amour of Jupiter and Alcmena, are borrowed from another Hesiodic poem, the Catalogue of Women, and prefixed as exordium to the main action of the Shield.²

It were fruitless to speculate, in the absence of all historical data, how far this combination may be due to the original poet of the Shield, assuming, as would in that case be a reasonable inference, that the Catalogue and the Shield were by the same author. It is perhaps more probable, that the popular rhapsodists, in their public recitations of the main text of the Shield, have, in place of one of their usual inaugural proœmia to Jove, preferred a passage of another accredited poem of Hesiod, describing the hero's nativity, of his own share in which important event the god did not disdain to be proud.

The main narrative, commencing with verse 57., is open to no objection on the score of epic consistency. It is in fact but a fugitive ballad, descriptive of a single quarrel and victory of Hercules, the causes and

¹ 94. 359. alibi. ² Schol. Ald. ap. Gaisf. et Göttl. Præf. ad Scut. Herc.

results of which are detailed in their natural order. The poem, however, forfeits all claim to propriety of structure by the undue proportion of the episodical element, two thirds of the whole being devoted to an elaborate description of the hero's arms, especially his shield. This digression accordingly has usurped, in familiar usage, the title and honours of principal subject.

15. The composition and style are marked, as in the Theogony, by broad features of difference in different parts of the text. The introductory and concluding portions, where the narrative pursues a somewhat more equable course, are of a comparatively simple and pleasing tenor. But no sooner does the subject become more excited, or the author himself aspire to the pathetic or sublime, than the defects already noted in the Theogony appear in still more extravagant forms. They are chiefly observable in the description of the Shield itself, from verse 139. downwards. The style here suddenly becomes wild and fantastic without originality, and turgid without dignity. These blemishes are rendered the more offensive, by an evident ambition to emulate or surpass other higher standards of epic excellence. The imitation of Homer might indeed be characterised as servile, were it not for the clumsy efforts of the copyist, by gross exaggeration, to impart novelty to his borrowed materials. While the whole design of the episode is modelled on that of the Shield of Achilles, there is scarcely an individual image with which the reader is familiar in Homer's brilliant description, but has here been reproduced to the letter, or in substance, under the tasteless modifications above noticed. But of that orderly succession of parts, that

Composition and style.

happy apportioning of the masses of text to the corresponding heads of subject, that mixture of simplicity and variety in the illustrative details, that elegance of structure and harmony of versification, which in the episode of the *Iliad* constitute each descriptive group a miniature epic poem, not a trace is here to be found. The author of the Hesiodic *Shield* seems rather to have sought to enhance the effect of his borrowed materials by the wild disorder of their distribution; sometimes crowded together, sometimes scattered at random in broken fragments, among the equally ill-digested heads of new matter supplied from his own resources. Not only is the poetical law against rude collisions of heterogeneous elements completely set at nought, but the text is often, to all appearance, purposely so disposed, that the same line contains the conclusion of one and the commencement of another image of the most offensively opposite character. The joyous is suddenly converted into the pathetic, the tender into the terrible, with an almost burlesque effect. Attention may be more especially directed to the transition, from the adventure of *Perseus* and *Medusa* to the paraphrase of *Homer's* description of the "two cities," which by a most preposterous fancy, are here made the head ornaments of the two surviving *Gorgons*.¹ Equally incongruous is the change from the warlike to the peaceful community, where the same line transports us from the horrible description of the demon *Achlys*, to the golden gates² and festive choirs of the happy community. In the sequel are hurried forward, in breathless succession, a crowd of images³, each of which supplies, or might have supplied, *Homer* with

¹ 236.² 270.³ 286. sqq.

a distinct chapter of descriptive episode: arable land and ploughmen, growing crop, reaping, threshing, vineyards with grapes ripening and ripe, wine-gathering, wine-making; all heaped in promiscuous disorder upon each other, and upon groups of hunters of hare and boar, wrestlers, boxers, and chariot-racers. From the prize tripod of the chariot-race we abruptly return to the river Ocean¹, running, according to the apparent order of the text, round the basin of the tripod, rather than, as in the sequel we are told, and as Homer's authority and common sense required, round the circumference of the whole shield.

The examples of this strange confusion are so frequent, and recur with so similar and so systematic a method, as to imply, not so much carelessness or want of tact, as an actual intention on the author's part to surprise and bewilder, both by the disorder in which his pictures are exhibited, and by their glaring colours and extravagant forms. The impressive features which the few graphic touches of the great master of the Iliad impart to his images of death or terror, are here distorted into the ghastly grin or ferocious grimace. The eight pithy lines, for example, descriptive of the battle in the Homeric shield², are swelled into three times that number³ by an accumulation of extravagant horrors, enhanced even to the disgusting in the persons of the Parcæ, most preposterously introduced as military goddesses. Among their comrades is another demon, Achlys, or Mist, also peculiar to this poet's martial pantheon, who surpasses even her sister monsters in the number and brutality of her attributes, contributing not only eyes,

¹ 314.² Il. xviii. 533.³ 237. sqq.

teeth, claws, and blood (of Mist), but dust, filth, even defluxion from the nose, to make up the fulness of the odious picture. While the efforts of the copyist to emulate the brilliancy of Homer's scenes of festive joy, result but in their distension into vapid insipidity, the elegant hyperboles in which the one describes the wonders of the forge of Vulcan, are strained into impossibilities so palpable as to destroy every illusion of imitative art. Such is the description of the sculptured figure of Perseus on the shield, hovering in the air above it, without touching any part of it¹; an image obviously absurd, even as a miraculous effect, in a work of relief. The figure of the two Gorgons making, not the earth or pavement, but the actual metal of the shield resound with their vehement tramping², is another strange compound of art and reality equally destructive of all poetical illusion.

In the midst of this profusion of matter, the real poverty of the author's imagination is evinced by the nauseous reiteration of the same, or closely similar, turgid phrases or far-fetched ideas³; sometimes verbally repeated, sometimes under unimportant variations, often within a few lines of each other. That he was, however, himself diffident of the success of his efforts to enforce the reality of his pictures, may be inferred from the frequent and earnest renewal of

¹ 217.

² 231. sq.

³ On three separate occasions a snake or snakes are introduced, with nearly the same appendages, and described in very similar terms. (144. 161. sqq. 233.) Over the head of the first edition of the reptile hovers Discord (148.), under her usual poetical attributes. A few lines afterwards, however, Discord is made to occupy an independent position, in a group of verses (156. sqq.) transferred from the Shield of the Iliad (xviii. 536.) into a position where all the spirit of their connexion with a previous context is sacrificed.

his personal assurance of their astonishing effect and striking resemblance to the originals.¹ The perpetual recurrence of the quaint commonplace in which this assurance is conveyed, forms indeed a prominent characteristic of his style; and, like the mottoes appended to figures in the early rude productions of graphic art, tends but to destroy the illusion which it is meant to favour.

16. The authenticated fact above noticed, of the first fifty-six lines of this poem being an extract from another work ascribed to the same author, affords a reasonable opening for the doubt, whether the present connexion even of the integral parts of the remaining text is coeval with their first composition, or may not also be the result of a similar patchwork. The great disproportion between the episode of the Shield and the main narrative of the combat, may seem to render their existing combination the less likely to have suggested itself to the original poet. It might, however, be urged in favour of unity of authorship, that this stringing together of desultory narratives by a slender thread of main action, as exemplified especially in the Catalogue of Women, was itself a familiar characteristic of the Hesiodic school of poetry. The probability therefore becomes the greater, that a single poet of that school, who had brought to maturity such an effusion as that comprised in the hundred and eighty verses of the Shield proper, may have been at pains to construct, out of the martial legends of his native district, a heroic framework in

Age and
origin.

¹ 140. 165. 218. 224. 318. 189. 194. 198. 206. 209. 211. 215. 228. 244. 290. 314. Equally offensive and destructive of the proposed effect, is the endless accumulation of hyperbolic epithets *θεωός*, *θεῶν θεράπων*, *οὐτι φατειός*, and the like.

which to exhibit his gaudy picture, very similar to that in which it is now encased.

Although the claims of this poem, or of any part of it, to the honours of a genuine work of Hesiod, of the author that is of either the Works or Theogony, were rejected by various antient critics, the balance of opinion seems yet to have leaned to the popular belief¹, in so far at least as regards the Theogony. By modern commentators these claims have been very generally set aside. Here again internal evidence certainly favours the Separatist view; for although the same defects of exaggeration, bombast, and tautology, above pointed out in the Shield, are common to the parallel descriptions of the Theogony, there is a considerable difference in the forms, both of imagery and phraseology, in which they are exhibited. It is also worthy of remark, that the general idiom of this poem, in spite of its pervading leaven of Homeric imitation, differs more widely from the familiar heroic or Homeric dialect, than that of either Works and Days, or perhaps of any other existing specimen of epic minstrelsy.²

¹ The poets Stesichorus and Apollonius Rhodius, with the grammarian Megacles, are cited as favourable (Schol. Ald. ap. Gaisf. et Göttl. Præf. ad Scut. Herc.), the grammarian Aristophanes (Schol. ibid.), with other minor authorities (ap. Göttl. Præf. p. xxvii., Marcksch. p. 153.), as unfavourable, to its genuine character. Longinus (ix. 5.) is doubtful. Göttling (ad 217.) supposes the Shield proper to be an interpolation by a later grammarian, and that the older authors above cited merely commented the framework. It were strange in that case that Aristophanes, one of the earliest Greek grammarians, should have pronounced the poem an imitation of the Homeric shield; and Göttling elsewhere (ad 223. 245.) himself notices the archaic, Æolo-Bæotic peculiarities of idiom or tradition, in the portion of the text which he condemns as spurious. Here again, conf. Hermann. Op. Misc. vol. vi. p. 198.

² In the extensive use, for example, of the verb *έχω* with an auxiliary power, as *μάχην, δῆριν, πόνον, &c.*, *έχον*, for *έμάχοντο, έπόνοντο, &c.* (vv. 241.

Considering the many and glaring defects of this work, and the very small amount of poetical merit by which they are counterbalanced, it may seem strange that it should alone have survived the wreck of the remaining mass of Hesiodic poems, many of which may be presumed to have been better specimens of the same school of composition. It can boast however at least the charm of a boundless eccentricity. With all its servility of Homeric imitation, it possesses in its own peculiar vein of exaggeration and extravagance, a kind of wild originality, more likely to obtain a hold on the popular public of every age, than the mediocrity or commonplace of other more correct and elegant compositions of the later school of epic minstrelsy.

HESIODIC POEMS NOW LOST.

17. The Hesiodic poems now no longer extant, of which notice occurs in antient authors, are:¹

*Lost poems
of Hesiod.*

The Catalogue, or Catalogues of Women; otherwise called the Eöæ, or the Great Eöæ, or the Genealogy of Heroes.

The Melampodia.

The Astronomy.

The Maxims of Chiron.

The Ægimius, also ascribed to Cercops of Miletus.

On the Idæi Dactyli.

Ornithomantia, or Book of Augury.

248. 251. 306 273. 285. 305. 310, 311.); also in the frequent repetition and licentious ambiguity of the demonstrative pronouns *oi*, *toi*, &c. (170. 174. 176. 237. sqq. 248. 255. sqq. 272. sqq. 280. sqq.), and throughout the more excited and incoherent parts of the text.

¹ See Marckscheff. p. 87. sqq.

Address to Batrachus.

Epithalamium of Pelcus and Thetis.

Marriage of Ceÿx.

Descent of Theseus to Hades.

Certain other titles occasionally comprised in the list have here been omitted, either as resting on no sufficient authority, as variations of others above enumerated, or as proper merely to particular parts or episodes of poems, the separate existence of which is better ascertained. On the other hand, several of the above number, rejected by modern commentators chiefly on the last-mentioned ground, have been retained, in respect of their citation as independant poems not being in any degree qualified by the antients, while no other reasonable motive exists for setting them aside.¹

THE CATALOGUE OF WOMEN. ΕΟÆ (GENEALOGY OF HEROES).

Catalogue
of Women.
Εοæ.

It has been a much agitated question among modern scholars, whether the above titles are to be considered as representing the same poem under different names, or different poems.² On the whole, the balance of argument is in favour of the former opinion; the few passages of antient commentators where the three titles appear to be cited as distinct, being neutralised by others where they are no less plainly used

¹ The *ἔπη μαντικῆ*, and *ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασιν*, mentioned by Pausanias (ix. xxxi. 4.), may safely be merged either in the *Astronomia* or *Ornithomantia*. Of some other apparent allusions by classical authors to Hesiodic works not here admitted, *Γῆς περίοδος*, *Θεῶν λόγοι*, *ῥῆγμοι*, *Κεραμεῖς*, *Φοινικικῆ*, *Περὶ τὰρβιχῶν*, see Marckscheffel, p. 197.

² See Göttl. in Præf. p. xxvi.; conf. Marcksch. p. 102. sqq.; Ulrichi, *Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtk.* vol. i. p. 362. sqq.; Bode, *Gesch. der Ep. Dichtk.* vol. i. p. 449.

as synonymous.¹ The best mode of reconciling this apparent anomaly, is to assume that certain of the three varieties, while common in a general sense to the whole poem or series of poems, attached more immediately to particular cantos or books, by a custom similar to that formerly cited in the case of the Cyclic Thebais. The work comprised, according to the only distinct enumeration extant, five books² or Catalogues. It happens however, that four books only are quoted by their separate numbers in the extant citations. It is further remarkable, that, in the only citations where any clear distinction seems to be drawn between the two titles *Eoæ* and *Catalogues*, that of *Eoæ* is accompanied by the special epithet of Great. Such a distinction evidently³ implies, in the portion of the series so honoured, some superiority to the others, either in respect of bulk or quality. If this peculiarity of usage be taken in connexion with the fact above noticed, that no citation occurs of the fifth book or Catalogue by its own number, the probability naturally suggests itself, that the same fifth book may be the portion especially designated as Great, the greatest of the *Eoæ* or *Catalogues*, and hence cited in its individual capacity under that more honourable title alone. Some modern commentators however, would reject the somewhat doubtful authority on which the existence of a fifth Catalogue rests, and, restricting the number to four, would assume the fourth to be the one

¹ Hesych. v. Ἠοῖαι; Scut. Herc. verse 1.; conf. Schol. Ald. in Argum. ad Scut. Herc.; auctt. ap. Marcksch. p. 102. sq.

² Suidas, v. Ἠοῖοδος. Different portions of these books also bore separate titles, with special reference to their contents, as *Λευκιππίδων Κατάλογος*; *περὶ τῶν Προϊτίδων Κατ.* conf. Marcksch. p. 104. and frgg. 102. 38.

³ *μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι*. Pausanias, ix. xxxi. 5.; conf. Marcksch. p. 106. sq.

honoured by the epithet of Great.¹ The question is a subtle one, and not likely to be brought to any positive issue by the aid of existing data.

The phrase *Eoæ*, or *Eoiæ*, is understood to be derived, by no very elegant course of etymology, from the first two words of a certain formula or commonplace, by which the birth and adventures of each succeeding heroine, were connected with those of her predecessors in the series.²

The whole poem or compilation of poems, was the most voluminous, and next to the *Works and Days* and *Theogony*, the most celebrated production ascribed to Hesiod. In general popularity indeed, it would seem, from the frequency of the appeals to its text by classical authors of all ages, to have fallen little short of either of those standard works of the school. The number of extant verses directly cited from it, under its various denominations, inclusive of the fifty-six prefixed to the *Shield*, amounts to about a hundred and thirty; while perhaps half that number may be added for passages which, though not specifically so quoted, may on internal evidence be assigned to the *Catalogue*. This forms a sum total greatly exceeding what can be identified as having belonged to any other lost poem of this period, and furnishing conclusive evidence, both of the bulk and the popularity of the *Catalogue*, and of its authority as a text-book of national tradition. It seems to have contained a complete repertory of heroic genealogy from the days of *Prometheus* and *Deucalion*, or rather of *Pandora* and *Pyrrha*, downwards³; especial

¹ Götting, p. xxvi.; Marckscheff. p. 107. 109.

² ἡ οἰη See *Scut. Herc.* verse 1., and frg. 26. Gaisf.

³ See the Summary ap. Marcksch. p. 120.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii.

reference being had to the lives and amours of distinguished females, from whom the more illustrious families or races derived their origin. The leading exploits of the offspring of the heroines were also episodically treated, often in considerable detail. The series appears, from the existing citations, to have commenced with the renewal of the human race after the deluge, by the agency of the mystical patriarchs above mentioned, and to have been continued down to the extinction of the race of Ulysses, in the second or third generation after the Trojan war.

As no general epitome of the poem, or specific notice of its contents, has been transmitted, but slender means exist for judging of its plan or structure. To epic unity, according to the Homeric standard, it could have had no pretension. There could have been no principal actor or protagonist; nor can even such a central basis of action be detected, as would have resulted from any special prominence given to the history of some favourite race of heroes. The principal title of the work, Catalogue (or Catalogues), seems in itself to vouch for its desultory character. The extant passages consist in a great measure of genealogical commonplace, and, even where in a more lively vein of narrative or description, exhibit but little trace of an ambition to tread the higher paths of heroic poetry. The style is upon the whole pleasing, the versification harmonious, and the general

p. 478. Müller's description of the Hesiodic or *Æolo-Bæotic* mythology, as "meagre and scanty compared with that of the Ionian tribes," is abundantly disproved by the contents of this poem, not to mention the *Theogony*, *Melampodia*, and others of the same school. It is also curiously inconsistent with his own subsequent notice, of Hesiod's efforts "to reduce the bewildering and endless variety of stories concerning the gods to a connected system." (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 78, 79)

tone of sentiment and language, without marked features either of peculiarity or merit, is simple and inoffensive; as distinct from the genial originality of the Works, as from the affectation or extravagance of the Theogony or Shield.

The claims of the Catalogue, or parts of it, to genuine Hesiodic origin, seem to have been recognised by Crates¹, Apollonius Rhodius², and Aristarchus³; nor is any trace of opposition to those claims observable prior to the time of Pausanias.⁴

Modern commentators, in the case of this poem as of all the other productions of the primitive Epic Muse, would ascribe different portions of the text to different authors, chiefly from the circumstance of its containing conflicting versions of the same fable.⁵ The argument itself is worth little, although the inference may very probably be correct. Traces of the same dialectic peculiarities which tend to establish the Æolo-Bæotic origin of the three other poems, are also observable, though more rarely, in the remains of the Catalogue.⁶ Many of the fragments betray a comparatively recent origin; among others, those celebrating the heroes Belus, Arabus, Macedon, and the Satyrs⁷, a race of sylvan deities as little familiar to the Hesiod of the Theogony as to Homer.

THE MELAMPODIA.

Melam-
podia.

18. The title of this poem, and a few fragments

¹ Ap. Schol. ad Theog. 142.

² Argum. Ald. ad. Scut. Herc.

³ Ap. Eustath. ad Il. xxiv. 28.

⁴ ix. xxxi.

⁵ Thiersch, Ueb. Hesiod. p. 29.; Göttl. Præf. p. xxvi.; Marcksch. p. 107. 123.

⁶ Frg. 64.

⁷ Marcksch. frgg. 28, 29.; conf. p. 136. sqq.

of its text, supply the only data for judging of its contents. The name Melampodia is derived from that of Melampus, a distinguished Argive seer, progenitor of a race of similarly gifted descendants. Among these were Amphiaraus, the most celebrated hero of the Theban war, and Theoclymenus, to whom a prominent part is assigned in the action of the *Odyssey*. It may be presumed therefore, that the adventures of Melampus and his family formed the basis of the principal subject, which was enlarged, as may be collected from the remnants of the text, by numerous episodes concerning other leading professors of the arts of divination. Of those remnants, one alone relates immediately to the hero; to his adventure namely with Iphiclus, recorded in the *Odyssey*.¹ Two are devoted to the affairs of the Theban seer Tiresias, which appear to have been treated in some detail. Other seven verses, where the Melampodia is not expressly cited, but which from internal evidence may reasonably be referred to the poem, allude to the last adventure and decease of the prophet Calchas, at Clarus in Ionia, on his journey homewards from Troy, in company with Amphilochous son of Amphiaraus. The author seems to have followed, concerning this event, a trivial variety of an equally trivial fable concerning the death of Homer. The prophet, like the poet, is described as having fallen a victim to mortification, on being surpassed by a rival *Œdipus* in successfully divining the number of growing fruits on a plentifully stocked figtree.² The subsequent adventures and death of Amphilochous by the hand of Apollo, were also narrated.

¹ xv. 225. sqq., xi. 291. sqq.

² Conf. vit. Hom. Plut. i. 4.

The whole number of verses referable on certain or plausible grounds to the *Melampodia*, amount to twenty-four. They convey no very favourable impression either of the materials or the style of the work. The incidents are for the most part trivial, or treated in a trivial tone; and the versification is little distinguished either for spirit or harmony. The poem was divided into books, of which three are mentioned. The ancients quote Hesiod unreservedly as the author.¹

THE ASTRONOMY.

Astro-
nomy.

This poem², also cited under the title of *Astrology*, appears from the frequency and copiousness of the appeals to its authority, to have been a highly popular text-book of the science to which it was devoted, and to have treated its subject in considerable detail. It is usually cited as the acknowledged production of Hesiod³; sometimes, more doubtfully, as his imputed work.⁴

The preserved quotations or extracts describe the genealogy and influences of the Sun, Atlas, the Pleiads and Hyads, Arcturus, Orion, and others of the celestial heroes or heroines, who supply the favourite subjects of commentary to the primitive poetical astrologers. The history of Phaëton and his fall was treated at length, much as in the later popular repertories. The promotion of Eridanus to the honour of a celestial constellation, on account of

¹ See Marcksch. fragm. p. 359. sqq.

² Marcksch. p. 194. sqq. 352. sqq.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. xviii. xxv.; Plut. de Pyth. Or. defect. xviii.

⁴ Athen. xi. 491.

his share in Phaëton's disaster, was also described, as was the like distinction conferred on the golden-fleeced ram of Phryxus. It is probable, as formerly remarked, that certain citations of Hesiod relating to field husbandry, which some would refer to another more bulky or more genuine Works and Days, were from this poem. The sciences of astronomy and agriculture, as evinced by the contents of the existing Works, were in primitive times so closely connected, that the one could hardly be treated in a popular manner without the other.

THE MAXIMS OF CHIRON.

This poem was a summary of the instructions delivered by the philosophic Centaur to his pupil Achilles. It was known to Pindar, and passages of its text were paraphrased by him.¹ Its genuine Hesiodic origin seems to have been recognised by the earlier quoters and commentators. Appeal is made to its authority in favour of a popular doctrine of the primitive ages of literature, that children should not be taught letters until after seven years of age.² The justice of this doctrine was admitted by other high authorities, inclusive of Eratosthenes. The grammarian Aristophanes³ first called in question the claim of the Maxims to emanate from the original Hesiod, but the work continues to be quoted under its popular title in the subsequent appeals to its text.⁴ Its three opening verses are

Maxims of
Chiron.

¹ Pyth. vi. 19., Boeckh. et Schol. ad loc.; conf. Boeckh. frag. Pind. 64. p. 647.

² Quintil. i. i. 15. Plato extends the minimum age to ten years. De Legg. p. 809 E.

³ Apud Quint. loc. cit.

⁴ Marcksch. fragm. p. 370.

preserved, inculcating, as the fundamental basis of all moral excellence, piety to the gods, and afford, on the whole, a favourable sample of its style.

19.

THE ÆGIMIUS

Ægimius.

was ascribed ¹ by some to Hesiod, by others to Cercops of Miletus. The poem appears to have presented a more or less continuous epic narrative, of some bulk, being described as divided into two books. Ægimius, from whom it derives its title, was a patriarchal chief of the Dorian tribes who afterwards conquered Peloponnesus. The most celebrated adventure of this hero was a war against the Thessalian Lapithæ ², in which he prevailed, chiefly through the alliance of Hercules. Hard pressed by his warlike neighbours, he engaged the services of the Theban hero by a promise to bestow on him one third of the Dorian territory, should their united arms be crowned with success. The Lapithæ were defeated, but Hercules generously refused to accept the stipulated reward, in lieu of which it was agreed that Ægimius should undertake the duties of guardian to his benefactor's children. Hence the subsequent alliance of the Heraclid and Dorian races, and virtual identity of the two, on the final success of their assault on the empire of the Pelopidæ. This transaction offered certainly a noble subject for an epic poem, both by its own simplicity and martial dignity, and by reference to the mighty consequences with which the alliance it records was pregnant to the destinies of Hellas.

¹ Marcksch. p. 158. sqq.; conf. 347. sqq.

² Apollod. II. vii. 7., viii. 3.; Diod. Sic. IV. xxxvii.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. I. p. 28.; Welck. Ep. C. p. 263. sqq.; Marcksch. sup. cit.

It appears however doubtful, whether the value of this kernel of poetical history was rightly appreciated by the author of the poem. Modern commentators have supposed, with apparent reason, that the narrative comprised also a large portion of the other subsequent adventures of the hero and his friend Hercules, or even of their immediate descendants, inclusive of the earlier abortive invasions of Peloponnesus by the Dorians.¹ Upon the opinion which may be formed as to such greater or less extension of the subject, must mainly depend how far the work is to be considered as an epic poem in the Aristotelian sense, how far as a mere metrical chronicle of events, on the more methodical but less poetical Hesiodic plan. This question connects itself with a peculiarity already pointed out in the extant notices of the work, where it is described as the only poem claiming a Hesiodic origin, with which any other name is associated besides that of Hesiod. A not improbable explanation of this peculiarity might suggest itself in the supposition, that while the general tone and dialect of the poem were Hesiodic, a superior degree of epic integrity, observable in its action, may have seemed incompatible with any positive title to rank among the compositions of the Æolo-Bæotic school.

The existing fragments of the poem throw but little light either on the subject or mode of treatment.

¹ It has even been conjectured by some commentators, (ap. Marcksch. p. 167.) that the poem may have comprised the conquests and settlements of the Dorians in Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece. This hypothesis, apart from other reasons, is completely set aside, by the absence of all appeal, by Pausanias and other popular historians of those events, to a work which would otherwise have formed their earliest and weightiest authority.

The passages expressly cited from the *Ægimius* appear all to have belonged to the episodical element of the work. No allusion, at least, there occurs either to *Ægimius* himself or to the Dorians. Two of the fragments enter at some length into the history of *Io* and her wanderings. One is devoted to the adventure of *Phryxus* and his *Golden Fleece*. A fourth, from the second book, narrated the proceedings of *Thetis* in regard to her children by *Peleus*, whom at their birth she committed, some to the fire, others to the water, as a test of their immortal nature. From the result of these experiments *Achilles* alone was preserved, through the interposition of his father, after the destruction of sundry brothers and sisters. This interference on the part of *Peleus* caused the quarrel and separation between him and his divine consort. Among the Hesiodic fragments not distinctly cited from the *Ægimius*, but assigned by modern commentators to that poem on conjectural grounds, there is one containing allusion to Dorian history; but even here no special reference is made to *Ægimius* himself or his adventures. Further speculation therefore, as to the precise subject or character of the poem, can little avail until some new light be shed on its contents. The ten remaining verses are in good and apparently genuine archaic style.

Cercops of *Miletus*, the other accredited author of the *Ægimius*, is described by the antients as a contemporary and rival of the *Bœotian* bard.¹ Several modern commentators would identify him, and perhaps on plausible grounds, with the later *Orphic* or

¹ *Diog. Laert.* ii. 46.; *conf. Athen.* xi. p. 503.; *Marckscheff.* p. 163. sqq.

Pythagorean poet Cercops, of the time of the Pisistratidæ; if not as original author, as editor at least or enlarger of the antient poem.¹

20.

THE NUPTIALS OF CEÿX.

The event here celebrated was, there can be little doubt, the marriage of Ceÿx and Alcyone²; an alliance which had the singular fatality of being attended by so large an amount of matrimonial happiness, as to cause the ruin of the affectionate couple. So greatly were they elated by their prosperous lot, as to boast that it equalled or surpassed even that of Jupiter and Juno, and were presumptuous enough to call each other accordingly by the names of the divine king and queen. Their impiety was punished by the conversion of both into sea-birds. This adventure, usually narrated of an older Ceÿx son of Hesperus, and Alcyone daughter of Æolus, seems to have been transferred by Hesiod to the father-in-law of Cynus, celebrated in the Shield of Hercules. Some commentators³ would further assume a difference in the subject, as well as the hero and heroine of the poem. But the marriage of Ceÿx, recorded in the above elegant though fantastic fable, is the only one which enjoys any celebrity in the popular mythology; and one of the extant citations⁴ of the poem seems to allude plainly, though figuratively, to the amorous self-destruction of the ill-fated pair.

The Nup-
tials of
Ceÿx.

The work was considered spurious by Plutarch⁵,

¹ Ap. Bernhardt, *Grundr. der Gr. Lit.* pt. ii. p. 171.; conf. Marcksch. p. 158.

² Apollod. i. vii. 4.; conf. Ovid *Met.* xi.

³ Ap. Marcksch. p. 155.

⁴ *Frg.* 168.

⁵ *Sympos.* viii. 8.

but its genuine antiquity was defended by Athenæus¹ and other authorities.

Of the other titles on the Hesiodic list, two, the Elegy on the death of Batrachus and the Treatise on the Idæi Dactyli, occur but in the somewhat apocryphal summary of Suidas. Batrachus, the hero of the former production, is characterised by the same compiler as a "lover of Hesiod." The latter work may perhaps be alluded to by Pliny², where he quotes Hesiod concerning the discovery of iron in Crete, by the mysterious personages celebrated in the poem.

Ornitho-
mantia.
Descent of
Theseus to
Hades.
Epitha-
lamium of
Thetis.

The three remaining works, the Ornithomantia³ or Book of Auguries, the Descent of Theseus to Hades⁴, and the Epithalamium of Peleus⁵ and Thetis, have each been held by modern commentators⁶, on more or less plausible grounds, to be but portions, episodes or cantos, of the Catalogue, or of other longer and more celebrated Hesiodic poems. They are, however, all mentioned with sufficient distinctness in their separate capacity, to admit of their being classed, conjecturally at least, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, as desultory independant poems similar to the Shield. Of their contents little is known but what their titles imply. The Ornithomantia and Descent of Theseus passed current as Hesiodic works at a comparatively early period.⁷ The Epithalamium,

¹ II. p. 49.; conf. Marcksch. loc. cit., who very properly rejects the opinion of its having formed part of the Catalogues.

² Ap. Marcksch. p. 171.

³ Op. cit. p. 172.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 158.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 157.

⁶ Göttl. Præf. p. xxvii. sq.

⁷ The claims of both were rejected by Pausanias, ix. xxxi. 4.; those of the Ornithomantia by Apollonius Rhod. ap. Procl. ad Opp. et D. 824. By some the latter poem was held to have been composed as a supplement to the works. Procl. loc. cit.

on the other hand, is first mentioned by the later Byzantine grammarians, one of whom cites two verses of it in good epic style, and in the usual congratulatory tone of such compositions.¹

From whatever number or variety of authors the miscellaneous poems in the foregoing list may have proceeded, it seems probable that the whole, or the greater part of them, were composed in the same district of Central Greece, comprising Bœotia, Phocis, and the Ozolian Locris. The legend of the poet's last sojourn and death at Naupactus, and sepulchre at Cæneon, both of which towns are situated in the Ozolian territory, represents, there can be little doubt, a secondary Locrian school of Hesiodic poetry. This school seems to have been afterwards transferred by colonists from the same region to the Italian or Epizephyrian Locris, and thence, as will be seen in the sequel, to Sicily, under the figure of a blood relationship between Hesiod and the celebrated Sicilian poet Stesichorus.

¹ Frg. LVII. Gaisf.

CHAP. XXI.

MISCELLANEOUS EPIC POETRY OF THIS PERIOD.

1. CATALOGUE OF AUTHORS AND WORKS COMPRISED UNDER THIS HEAD.—
2. CINETHON OF LACEDÆMON (GENEALOGIES). EUMELUS OF CORINTH (CORINTHIACA, BUGONIA, DELIAN PROSODIUM, CHEST OF CYPSELUS).—3. ANTIMACHUS OF TEOS. ASIUS OF SAMOS (GENEALOGIES). CARCINUS OF NAUPACTUS; NEOPTOLEMUS OF MILETUS (NAUPACTICA). PRODICUS OF PHOCÆA (MINYAS).—4. PISANDER OF CAMIRUS (HERACLEA).—5. EPIMENIDES OF CRETE. HIS LEGENDARY BIOGRAPHY.—6. HIS INFLUENCE ON HIS AGE. HIS WORKS.—7. ARISTEAS OF PROCONNESUS (ARIMASPEA). LEGEND OF HIS LIFE.—8. ITS INTERPRETATION. ABARIS THE HYPERBORÆAN.—9. HEGESINOTUS (ATTHIS). CHERSIAS OF ORCHOMENUS (GENEALOGIES). PHORONIS. DANAÏS. THESEÏS.—10. ALCMÆONIS.

Catalogue
of authors
and works
comprised
under this
head.

1. THE third and last subdivision of the primitive epic literature, comprises all those poems which were not sufficiently characterised by the proper dialect and manner of either Homer or Hesiod, to admit of their being ranked, even in vulgar usage, as the productions of one or other of those authors. Some of these works appear to have aimed at a certain amount of Homeric unity of structure; others were but metrical chronicles, embodied in the same spirit of methodical continuity as the Hesiodic compilations examined in the previous chapter. Their authors appear, for the most part, both in the selection of their subjects and in general style and phraseology, to have conformed to the old conventional standards of epic mannerism. But towards the close of this period, efforts are observable on the part of Pisander, Epimenides, and other poetically gifted disciples of the popular schools of religious mysticism, who availed themselves of the Epic Muse

in promulgating their doctrines, to enliven the prevailing monotony, partly by the introduction of new materials, partly by bolder methods of working up those transmitted by their predecessors. Few of these works enjoyed any great celebrity or popularity with the later Hellenic public. Several had perished even during the flourishing ages of Greek literature, or were no longer familiar in the original text to the authors by whom they are cited; and, with the exception of a limited stock of fragments, the whole are now entirely lost. They supply, consequently, but slender materials for critical analysis. The lives and characters however, of several of their authors, are replete with curiosity and interest.

In the subjoined list the poems have been arranged according to the age, historical or conjectural, of their authors, in so far as the names of the latter have been recorded. Where titles of works have been transmitted unconnected with the name of any poet, they have been ranked in the chronological order of the subjects. The list also contains one or two names of poets which have been recorded unconnected with any particular work. Several of the authors in the earlier portion of the series, have already been under consideration as contributors to the Epic Cycle, and have been classed, to that extent, as disciples of the Homeric school.

1. CINÆTHON of Lacedæmon . Genealogies (Œdipodia, Heraclea, Little Iliad, Telegonia¹).
2. EUMELUS of Corinth . . Corinthiaca, Bugonia, Delian Prosodium, Chest of Cypselus, (Europia, Nosti²).
3. ANTIMACHUS of Teos.

¹ See the Epic Cycle, Ch. xviii. *supra*.

² See Ch. xviii. as above.

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|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| 4. | ASIUS of Samos . . . | Genealogies (Elegiac Epigram). |
| 5. | { CARCINUS of Naupactus .
NEOPTOLEMUS of Miletus } | Naupactica. |
| 6. | PRODICUS of Phocæa . . | Minyas. |
| 7. | PISANDER of Camirus . . | Heraclea. |
| 8. | EPIMENIDES . . . | Theogonia, Argonautica, &c. |
| 9. | ARISTEAS of Proconnesus . | Arimaspea. |
| 10. | ABARIS the Hyperborean . | Nuptials of Hebrus, &c. |
| 11. | HEGESINOÛS . . . | Atthis. |
| 12. | CHERSIAS of Orchomenus . | Genealogies (Epitaph on Hesiod). |
| 13. | | Phoronis. |
| 14. | | Danaïs. |
| 15. | | Theseïs. |
| 16. | | Alcmæonia. |

2. CINÆTHON of Lacedæmon (765 B. C.), has already been noticed in connexion with the Epic Cycle¹, as claiming, on more or less valid grounds, no fewer than four of its members: the Œdipodia, Œchalia or Heraclea, Little Iliad, and Telegonia. His genealogical poems are classed by Pausanias² in the same category as the Eoæ of Hesiod. The extant citations³ possess little poetical or historical interest. They relate chiefly to the line of succession in the royal families of Lacedæmon and Crete.⁴ Special allusion also occurs to the descendants of Medea and Jason.

EUMELUS

(CORINTHIACA, BUGONIA, DELIAN PROSODIUM).

To Eumelus of Corinth (761—744 B. C.), his age, and character, attention has also been directed, as accredited author of several Cyclic poems. The other works ascribed to him are, the Corinthiaca, Bugonia,

¹ Ch. xviii. § 6. sqq.

² iv. ii. 1.

³ Ap. Marcksch. frag. p. 407, Düntz. p. 59.

⁴ Rhadamanthus was made a son, not of Jupiter, as in his Homeric pedigree (Il. xiv. 322.), but of a local Cretan chief, Hephæstus, and great-grandson of Cres, eponyme hero of the island. (Pausan. viii. liii. 2.)

Delian Prosodium, and the verses on the Chest of Cypselus.

The *Corinthiaca*, a genealogical poem of some celebrity, described the origin and early destinies of the city from which it derived its name. The following, by reference to the principal fragments or citations of its text¹, appears to have been the main line of narrative, with which other genealogical notices of a miscellaneous character², incidentally quoted from Eumelus by classical authors, were also, it may be presumed, interwoven.

In the distribution of honours and possessions by the god Helios among his sons, the land of Asopia in Northern Peloponnesus fell to the lot of Alœus; the city of Ephyra on the Isthmus, with its territory, was bequeathed to Æetes. The latter hero, preferring a settlement at Colchis on the Euxine Sea, made over the sovereignty of his Isthmian territory to a friend called Bunus, a son of Mercury, on condition of the heritage being restored to himself or his descendants, should they ever appear to claim it. On the death of Bunus, Epopeus, son of Alœus, succeeds to the throne of Ephyra, and thus reunites the divided dominions under his own sovereignty. Marathon, a son of this king, driven from home by the harsh treatment of his father, settles in Attica, where he founds a city, and calls it by his name.³ On the death of Epopeus he revisits Ephyra, and taking possession of his Peloponnesian inheritance, divides it anew between his two sons Sicyon and Corinthus, allotting Asopia to the former, Ephyra to the latter. He then returns to Attica. Asopia henceforward is called by the name of its new sovereign, Sicyon. The name Ephyra, originally derived from a daughter of Ocean and Tethys, former proprietrix of the

¹ Fragg. ap. Marcksch. p. 397. sqq.

² Fragg. 7. 13. 14. sqq.

³ Here, as in other parts of the system of Eumelus, (the nativity of Leda, for example, in the sequel,) may be observed the natural tendency of the local genealogist to give importance and extent to the mythology of his native district. The Athenian antiquaries know nothing of this Corinthian foundation of Marathon (Paus. i. xxxii.), but assert in their turn, that Sicyon was founded by a son of the Attic hero Erechtheus (Paus. ii. vi. 3.).

district, is exchanged, in like manner, for that of the new ruler Corinthus. In the sequel, Jason and the Argonauts invade the Asiatic dominions of Æetes; whose daughter Medea, after assisting Jason by her own enchantments to baffle those of her father, elopes with the Thessalian hero. On reaching her lover's paternal territory of Iolcos, she is invited to Corinth, and invested with the sovereignty of that state, in terms of the compact under which the heritage had been alienated by Æetes; the intermediate line of princes having also become extinct by the death of Corinthus. Medea and Jason assume accordingly the reins of government. In order to render her children immortal, Medea, overrating her magic powers, buries them alive in the temple of Juno, where they perish. Jason, indignant at her treatment of his offspring, separates himself from her, and retires to Iolcos. Medea, distressed and mortified, also soon after abandons Corinth¹, making over the sovereignty to Sisyphus, whose death and funeral rites are described. Glaucus, son of Sisyphus, when on a visit to Lacedæmon in search of some missing horses of his stock, engages in an amour with Pantidyia, a Spartan princess. The offspring of this connexion was Leda, mother of the Tyndaridæ; who on the subsequent marriage of her own mother to Thestius, passed as the daughter of that hero.

This poem may be inferred, from the frequent citations of its text by the antients, to have been a work of standard authority in its own department of mythical history. It is also the one among the primitive lost poems of the same genealogical order, the extant notices of which appear to shed the greatest light on the sort of imperfect epic mechanism on which such compilations were made to hinge. The Corinthiaça seems, owing perhaps to the author's Homeric predilections, to have had greater pretensions to unity of plan than most others of its class, such, for example,

¹ This version of the story differs widely from that of Euripides, where Medea is received at Corinth as a guest by a king called Creon, supplanted by the daughter of the same Creon in the affections of Jason, and contumeliously discarded by that ungrateful chief.

as the Eoæ of Hesiod. Of the remaining verses, eight ¹, describing the origin of the city of Corinth, form a continuous text, marked by much archaic simplicity and purity of style. Five others ², now read in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, are stated by the antient commentators of that poem to have been pirated by its author from Eumelus. That the original poem of Eumelus was no longer extant in the time of Pausanias, or at least no longer accessible to him, appears from his limitation of the genuine remains of the Corinthian poet to the Delian Prosodium. The only other work cited ³ by the same critic, as attributed in his day to this author, was a prose composition which passed current under the same title of *Corinthiaca*. The passages therefore of the metrical *Corinthiaca*, cited by writers of later date than Pausanias, and the genuine character of which there seems no ground to dispute, must, if weight be attached to his authority, be understood to be borrowed from older secondary sources.⁴ That the substance however of the prose work was, in a great measure, the same as that of the poem, appears from the close correspondence between the account given by Pausanias of the early history of Corinth on the authority of the former, and the notices on the same subject supplied by the longest extant passage of the latter.⁵

¹ Frg. II.² Frg. VIII.³ IV. IV. 1.; conf. Clem. Alex. Str. VI. p. 629.; frg. VI.⁴ Such appears to be the balance of the various data on the subject, which is one of some obscurity, and has afforded a fertile field for discussion to speculative critics. The authorities, antient and modern, have been collected and compared by Groddeck, *Ueb. die Argonaut. Biblioth. der Alt. Liter. Gött.* 1797, p. 94., and by Marckscheffel, *De Eumelo*, p. 216. sqq.⁵ Compare frgg. II. and III. Marcksch.

Bugonia.

The Bugonia is ascribed to Eumelus but in a single passage of Eusebius.¹ No remains of the text have been preserved, nor any distinct notice of the subject of the poem. The title has been supposed, with some plausibility, to allude to the adventures of a son of Apollo and Cyrene², named Aristæus, a hero distinguished as a promoter of agriculture, and whose stock of bees, on which he set great value, was destroyed by the gods, in punishment of his attempt to violate Eurydice, wife of Orpheus. By advice of his mother, he procured from the sea-god Proteus, through the same stratagem employed by Ulysses in the Odyssey, the knowledge of an expedient for reinstating himself in his former opulence. This was effected by a sacrifice of oxen, from whose carcasses swarms of bees were generated, as numerous as those which he had lost. The story possesses little poetical interest, and is perhaps less likely to have suggested itself for treatment to Eumelus than to Virgil, by whom it has been worked up into a long episode of the fourth Georgic.³

¹ Chron. ad an. MCL.; conf. Scalig. Animad. p. 71.

² It has been assumed by various commentators (Müll. Orchom. 2d ed. p. 340. sqq., Marckscheff. Fragm. Hes. p. 136., Boeckh. Explic. ad Pind. p. 324.), with reference both to the fable of Aristæus and to other similar legends in which Cyrene is introduced, that the mention of that nymph must necessarily imply the work in which such mention occurs, to date from a lower period than the foundation of the Spartan colony of Cyrene in Africa. This however seems, in the present case at least, to be a reversal of the just order of historical inference. It was probably the antient and great celebrity of a nymph Cyrene, in connexion with the worship of the Dorian Apollo, which caused the Sparto-Libyan colony to be called by her name. It can hardly be supposed that the name of an African city would have been selected, a few years after its foundation, as that of a goddess of Northern Thessaly and a daughter of the river Peneus; in which capacities Cyrene appears as mother of Aristæus.

³ Verse 316. sqq.; conf. Marcksch. p. 239. sqq.

The Prosodium, or Processional Hymn, composed for the sacred mission of the Messenians to the Delian god, and considered by Pausanias¹ the only genuine extant work of Eumelus, while ranking under the same general head as the hymns in the Homeric collection, is distinguished from them by some broad and interesting features of peculiarity. The Homeric hymns are characterised by much of that abstract generality of subject and tone, which forms the common attribute of the old epic minstrelsy. They neither possess nor advance any claim to local or real interest, beyond what may attach to the connexion of the deity celebrated, with some one or other of the great national sanctuaries in the festivities of which they were habitually performed. The spirit and object of the Delian hymn, on the other hand, were essentially local and political. The work was composed for the Messenians, to propitiate the favour of a mighty deity, during a dispute between themselves and the powerful neighbouring state of Sparta, relative to a matter connected with the worship of the god to whom the hymn was addressed. The importance of this crisis in their national annals was afterwards abundantly proved, by the series of calamities, and ultimate ruin and national degradation, in which it involved them. The two opening lines accordingly, which alone have been preserved², bear pointedly on the peculiar occasion and object of the composition of the poem. They are a joint invocation of the patron Jupiter and the patron Muses of Ithome, the metropolis and stronghold of the Messenian commonwealth, as guardians

Delian
Prosodium.

¹ IV. iv. 1.

² Ap. Paus. IV. xxxiii. 3.

of the cause of national liberty for which its citizens were contending. Hence too the preference of the native Doric to the epic dialect, a preference of which these two lines offer the first example in Greek literature, and which, as will be further seen in the sequel, forms one of the chief characteristics of the individuality and personality of the Lyric, as compared with the abstraction and ideality of the Epic Muse. Of the specific character or contents of the composition, no distinct notices have been transmitted.

Chest of
Cypselus.

The same Doric idioms which distinguish this poem, are also partially observable in the verses inscribed on the chest of Cypselus, the celebrated Corinthian offering at Olympia. Hence Pausanias conjectures those inscriptions, from a comparison of their style with that of the Prosodium, to be the composition of Eumelus.¹ The thirteen lines however, transcribed by the historian², can hardly be said to exhibit any such resemblance to the remaining specimens of the art, either of Eumelus or any other professional poet of his age, as to bear out this opinion. The extreme simplicity and quaint mannerism both of their expression and versification, while bespeaking an antiquity at least equal to the age of Eumelus, savour rather of the genius of some humbler minstrel, perhaps of the artist of the reliefs which the lines illustrate.³

¹ v. xix. 2.

² v. xviii. sq.

³ Pausanias has been very generally taxed by modern critics with inconsistency, in attributing to a poet whose latest recorded epoch is the ninth Olympiad, the verses inscribed on a monument dedicated by a prince who flourished in the thirtieth. The charge is groundless. The tradition followed by Pausanias, as to the circumstances which led to the dedication of this monument, distinctly bears that the work itself was in the possession of the family of Cypselus before Cypselus himself

3. ANTIMACHUS of Teos, an epic poet of great antiquity but little celebrity, is cited by Plutarch as having mentioned, contemporaneously it must be understood, the eclipse which happened on the twentieth of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, B. C. 753, the date assigned to the foundation of Rome. The title of no work by this poet has been preserved, and but a single verse is quoted, in condemnation of bribery.¹

Antimachus of Teos.

ASIUS of Samos, son of Amphiptolemus, ranks among the more antient epic poets of the genealogical order², but no specific date is connected with his name; nor are his works mentioned under any other titles than the general one of Genealogies. He seems however to have treated a variety of subjects, as episodes, it may be presumed, illustrative of local and family history. The longest extant passage expatiates on the brilliant appearance of the Samian ladies advancing in procession to the Temple of Juno, and is distinguished by a festive pomp of diction in good keeping with the subject. He describes "the flowing trains of their snow-white robes; their arms and wrists glittering with massive jewels; and their hair, partly bound up and adorned with the Ionian cricket-formed diadem, partly floating in gold-bound tresses over their shoulders." Among the eighteen remaining verses ascribed to this poet, are four in elegiac

Asius of Samos.

was born. The historian also gives in detail his own reasons, based on the decorative workmanship, for supposing the chest to have been at least as antient as the time of Eumelus.

¹ Clint. Fast. Hel. vol. i. p. 157.

² Paus. iv. ii. 1.; Apollod. iii. ii. 1. Some of his versions of family history are rather peculiar. The mother of Europa is made a daughter of Eneus; Alcmena, a daughter of Amphiaras and Eriphyle. Fragm. ap. Düntz. p. 66.; Marckscheff. p. 411.; conf. Dübner, in Didot, 1840.

measure, alluding to the Smyrnæan nativity of Homer, to which further reference will be made in treating of the lyric art of this period.

Naupac-
tica.

The NAUPACTICA, like the *Eoæ* of Hesiod, was a genealogical history of remarkable females and their families. It ranked among the more antient works of its class, being quoted by historians prior to Herodotus¹; but no definite epoch is assigned to its reputed authors. The poet whose claims seem to have been preferred was Carcinus of Naupactus, capital of the Ozolian Locris: some however ascribe it to a Milesian, whose name is not recorded²; others to one Neoptolemus³, who may perhaps be himself the Milesian. The little celebrity of the town of Naupactus in heroic legend is a good argument, as Pausanias has remarked, in favour of the claim of Carcinus, after whose native place, in the absence of any prominent or central head of subject, the work might naturally be called. With the exception however, of a single passage concerning the mother of Ajax Oileus⁴, there is no trace in the extant remains or citations, of any special preference of Locrian heroes or adventures. The Argonautic expedition, as in so many other works of this kind, appears to have occupied a large share of attention. The stratagem by which Venus secured the escape of Medea and Jason was particularly described⁵, with their subsequent settlement, not at Corinth or Iolcos as in the ordinary accounts, but

¹ Ap. Paus. iv. 2. 1.

² Paus. x. xxxviii. 6.

³ Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 299.

⁴ Marcksch. frg. i.

⁵ It affords no high idea of the dignity with which the subject was treated. Frg. vii.

δὴ τότε ἔρ' Αἴήτη πόθον ἔμβαλε δὲ Ἀφροδίτη
Εὐρύλοτης φιλόττι μίγνῃναι ἦς ἀλόχοιο κ. τ. λ.

at Corcyra. Nine verses in good epic style are preserved.

The MINYAD, a poem of some celebrity, and with apparently reasonable pretensions to high antiquity, is ascribed by Pausanias¹, though doubtfully, to Prodicus of Phocæa, an author of uncertain age.

The Mi-
nyad.
Prodicus
of Phocæa

Although frequent appeals are made by the ancients to the text of this poem, its subject is involved in great obscurity.² The name implies that it treated the history either of the Bœotian Orchomenus, or of the Argonautic expedition. The city and people of Orchomenus bore the surname of Minyan, after their founder and ancestor Minyas; and the heroes who took part in the enterprise of Jason also obtained the title, from the connexion of their leaders with the line of the same Bœotian patriarch. The adventure however which, from its strictly Minyan character, might seem most likely to have formed the action of a poem entitled Minyad, was the war between the Orchomenians and the Thebans, in which the former were at first victorious, and Thebes became tributary to the Minyan king. From this degradation she was released by her native hero Hercules, who assaulted, took, and sacked Orchomenus, and slew the reigning sovereign, Erginus. It happens however, that of the six or seven extant passages or citations, not a single one alludes, even remotely, to any such adventure. With the exception of one in which Meleager³ is mentioned, the whole bear reference to the Infernal region and its objects of wonder or terror.⁴ Pausanias accordingly describes a Descent to Hades as forming a part of the action, but not

¹ iv. xxxiii. 7.

² See Welck. Ep. C. p. 255. note.

³ Paus. x. xxxi. 2.

⁴ Paus. iv. xxxiii. 7., ix. v. 4., x. xxviii.

the principal subject of the poem. The heroes of this "Descent" appear from a citation by the same author to have been Theseus and Pirithoüs. Special allusion occurred to the punishments inflicted on Amphion and Thamyris: on the former, on account of his boastful impiety towards Latona, an impiety already chastised on earth by the destruction of his twelve children; on the latter, for a similar offence against the Muses. Two verses alone have been preserved, alluding to the voyage of Theseus and Pirithoüs in the boat of Charon.¹

PISANDER (HERACLEA).

Pisander
(Heraclea).

4. Pisander of Camirus, a distinguished Dorian colony of the Isle of Rhodes, is the most celebrated epic poet of this period next to Homer and Hesiod, and ranks accordingly next to them in the epic canon of Alexandria.² His credit and popularity as a votary of the Heroic Muse obtained him also the honour, with some of his more enthusiastic admirers, of an antiquity equal to that of those poets, or even of Eumolpus³, who however flourished, according to the same system of mythical chronology, before Pisander's leading hero Hercules was born. With more critical authorities, the highest epoch of Pisander reaches but

¹ Paus. x. xxxviii. 1. The name Prodicus, assigned by Pausanias to the poet of the Minyas, is also given by Clemens Alex. to the author of a poem entitled, "Descent to Hell." Clemens, it is true, makes his Prodicus a Samian, while the Prodicus of Pausanias is a Phocæan. But the coincidence certainly favours O. Müller's view, that the two poems and authors are the same, and that both works are identical with a similar Descent, ascribed by some to a Prodicus of the Samian colony of Parinthus, by others to Orpheus or Cercops. Müll. Orchom. p. 12. 2d ed.; conf. Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 360.

² Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 377.; Quintil. x. i. 56.

³ Suid. v. Πείσανδρος.

to the earlier part of the seventh century B.C.¹ Less creditable to him than the report which classed him as coeval with Homer, and not probably better founded, is that in which he is accused of having pirated the substance of his great poem, the *Heraclea*, from one *Pisinus of Lindus*², of whom or his labours no further notice is extant. The other works ascribed to *Pisander* were but little esteemed, and are attributed preferably, by the only author who mentions them³, to *Aristeas*, a contemporary poet of some celebrity. That the traditional name of *Pisander's* father was *Pison*, that of his mother *Aristæchma*⁴, may illustrate, but certainly does not tend to corroborate, his supposed literary relations to a *Pis-inus* and an *Arist-eas*.

The popularity of the *Heraclea*, the work on which alone his fame was grounded, seems to have been due less to any higher excellence of its composition, than to a certain novelty of invention and peculiarity of style and treatment, imparting a fresh and pungent interest to its text. *Pisander* flourished at an epoch of transition from the minstrelsy of genius to the minstrelsy of art, when the old epic school was sunk in decay, and some new stimulus was required to excite or relieve its languid mannerism. The tact accordingly, with which he adapted his muse to the altered spirit of the age, engrafting on the old routine of conventional commonplace a new order of sentiments or images, constituted apparently his chief hold on the sympathies of his public. It may also be presumed, that these novel features participated in some degree of the peculiar spirit of mysticism, with

¹ *Clint. F. H.* ad an. 647. 631.² *Clem. Alex. Strom.* vi. p. 628 B.³ *Suid.* v. *Πισα.*; conf. *Didot, Fragg. Pis.* p. 6., *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 304.⁴ *Suid.* loc. cit.

which not only the popular religion, but the infant science and philosophy of the age were impregnated, and which it became the fashion to promulgate as emanations from the inspired genius of Orpheus, and other sages of the olden time. One of the chapters of mythology most favourable to such treatment was the history of Pisander's hero and his twelve labours, so fertile a theme in every age for the speculations of the symbolic school of interpreters. Yet the existing remains of the Heraclea supply comparatively little evidence of the hero's adventures having been there embodied in a mystical form. The boldness and eccentricity of the author's genius seem to have been more extensively displayed in the properly heroic element of his subject, whether in the creation of new materials for his muse, or in moulding those transmitted by his predecessors into new and dazzling forms. His conceptions savour indeed, more of the extravagant than of the sublime; but even this defect would be a better passport to general popularity or notoriety, than the dry formality of the superannuated Homeric school. The subject he had selected was in itself singularly fitted, both to awaken the powers of a Dorian poet and work on the sympathies of a Dorian audience, at a period when the Heraclid dynasty of Sparta was acquiring a marked ascendant throughout the confederacy, not only in political power, but in the more elegant arts of peace, especially in music and lyric song, just then rapidly advancing to perfection. Pisander himself was connected with the hero of his work by a double tie. Rhodes, his native island, was a distinguished Sparto-Dorian colony, founded on the basis of an earlier fabulous settlement formed by a son of Hercules himself. The subject seems also to have had in so

far the advantage of novelty, that the poetical biography of the Theban hero had never yet been treated in a similarly wide and comprehensive form.

Existing data afford but little insight into the plan of the poem ; but, consistently with the character and limits of its subject as above described, it could have had little pretension to Homeric unity. Aristotle accordingly, in the contrast drawn between Homer and those poets who narrated the lives or adventures of their heroes in continuous order, after the fashion of prose biographers, specially mentions the "authors of Heracleids." This text obviously admits a prior application to Pisander's poem, as the most celebrated work devoted to the affairs of Hercules. The merit of its composition must consequently be sought in those other more novel and striking features of detail, some of which have been pointedly noticed by the commentators. With Homer and Hesiod, Hercules, in all but his superiority to the rest of mankind, is an ordinary hero, armed in the usual manner, his favourite weapon being the bow. With Pisander his valour is that of the giant or savage, rather than of the Hellenic warrior. His exploits are performed more by dint of muscular strength than of military prowess, and his personal equipment is marked by features of rudeness and ferocity, corresponding to those of his character. His favourite weapon is a club of solid brass ; his coat of mail a lion's hide : the body forms the tunic ; the head, drawn over that of the wearer, serves as his helmet.¹ The character of the foes he conquers is similarly varied and exaggerated. The hydra, in the old tradition but an ordinary water snake of vast dimensions, is invested with numerous

Heraclea,
its plan and
contents.

¹ Strab. xv. p. 688. ; Düntz. frg. i. p. 89. ; Theocrit. Epigr. xx.

heads¹, and the expedients resorted to for its destruction are proportionally magnified or multiplied. Of his bow, for expertness in which he was celebrated by Homer, Alcides was deprived by Pisander altogether. Such a weapon was inconsistent with the sturdy hand to hand ferocity for which the hero was now to be distinguished. Hence, instead of shooting the Stymphalian birds with arrows, as in the older tradition, he frightens them away with the sound of gongs or cymbals.² Such antagonists were too mean to be appropriately assailed by the Pisandrian Hercules with the ordinary weapons of war. Other adventures and exploits first imagined by Pisander, or to which prominence was first assigned by him, were, the hero's Hyperborean expedition and capture of the stag with the golden horns; the destruction of the dragon which kept the gate of the garden of the Hesperidæ; and the victory over the giant Antæus, and his mother and ally Terra. Pisander may also be considered as having originated the legend of the tepid springs miraculously produced by Minerva, on the shore of Trachinia celebrated in later times as the Straits of Thermopylæ, to refresh her favourite hero with a warm bath during his labours. The only existing traces of astrological mysticism are, the hero's voyage across ocean in the drinking-bowl of the Sun, and the promotion of the Nemean lion to the honours of a celestial constellation.³

¹ Paus. II. xxxvii. 4.

² Paus. VIII. xxii. 4.

³ See the fragments ap. Düntzer, p. 88. sqq., Müll. Dor. vol. II. p. 475., and Clint. Fast. Hell. p. 366., who however confounds the remains of this author, in several instances, with those of the later Pisander of Laranda. The distinction between the two poets was first carefully drawn by Heyne (Exc. I. ad Æn. II.), and has been kept in view by Düntzer and Müller.

The poem was divided into two books.¹ Three verses alone have been preserved, and afford no unfavourable impression of the style. One of them contains a maxim, boldly conceived and vigorously expressed, though not of the purest moral tendency, that "falsehood is no crime where a man's life is at stake."²

5.

EPIMENIDES,

the Cretan sage and poet, enjoys a high celebrity in the political as well as literary annals of Greece. His biography also combines, more perhaps than any other of this period, the apparently incongruous features, of being no less palpably connected with the realities of history than deeply enveloped in the mists of fable. Gnossus, the capital of his native island, has been assigned as his birthplace, and was probably his habitual abode. In other, equally or more authoritative notices, the former honour is awarded to the town of Phæstus.³ His father is variously designated Agesarchus, Dosiades, or Phæstius. His mother, under the title of Blaste or Balte, is allotted a share of her son's marvellous attributes, in the popular legend, of which the following is an outline.⁴

Epimenides.

In early youth, when tending his father's flocks in the neighbourhood of his native city, and reposing during the noonday heat in a cave, he was overtaken by a sleep, which lasted during a

His legendary biography.

¹ Suid. loc. cit.

² Frg. vi. Düntz.

³ Strab. x. p. 479.; Plut. De Def. Orac. init., Conv. Sept. Sap. xiv., Vit. Solon. xii.; conf. Suid. v. 'Επιμ.; Paus. i. xiv. 3.; Diog. Laert. in Vit. Epimen. i.

⁴ Auctt. sup. citt.; conf. Plin. H. N. vii. 53.; Max. Tyr. Diss. xxviii. xxii.; Heinrich, Epimenides, Leipz. 1801.

period varying, in the different versions of the story, from forty to fifty-seven years. On awakening, under the impression of having enjoyed but an afternoon's slumber, he proceeded to look after his cattle. Seeing no signs of them, and struck with the altered aspect of his paternal farm, to all appearance in the hands of other occupants, he walked into the town to inquire what had happened. Calling at the door of the family residence, he found himself an entire stranger to its inmates, who demanded who he was, and the object of his visit. At length he succeeded in identifying the person of a younger brother whom he had left a boy, now an aged man, which recognition furnished a clue to the mystery.

That during his miraculous trance he had been favoured, as he himself asserted, by the personal converse and tuition of the gods, soon became manifest, in the divine wisdom, prophetic inspiration, and other superhuman faculties, physical and moral, with which he was endowed. The duration of his life¹, according to the lowest estimate, was, including his sleep, 157 years. The Cretans, however, declared that he survived to the age of 299, maintaining the full vigour of both mental and bodily faculties till within a short period of his death, his actual old age being limited to the same number of days as that of the years which he had slept in the cavern. He also professed to have already lived several lives; that his soul had formerly animated the body of Æacus; and that, in its present state of existence, it had the power of quitting and reentering its earthly tenement at pleasure.² His favourite objects of worship were the Nymphs, by whom he was presented with a drug, which had the virtue of relieving him of the necessity of taking food, and of the burthen of all bodily secretions.³ This treasure he carried concealed about his person in the hoof of an ox, swallowing a small portion of it from time to time, and was never observed to take other nourishment. His devotion to those goddesses was such as to create jealousy on the part of his divine patrons of higher rank; and one day, while dedicating a sanctuary to the former, he was interrupted by a voice calling from the clouds, "Not to the nymphs, O Epimenides, but to Jove."

On the spread of his reputation for divine attributes, he was

¹ Diog. Laert. in Vit. iv.; Plin. H. N. vii. 53.; Suid. in v. Ἐπίμ.; conf. Heinrich, Epim. p. 41.

² Suid. loc. cit.

³ Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. xiv., Demetr. et Timæus, ap. Diog. in Vit. x.

invited to Athens by Solon, in compliance with a response of the Pythian oracle, to purify the city from the pollution and pestilence consequent on the massacre of the suppliants at the divine altar, after the break up of the Cylonian conspiracy.¹ He was transported from his native place with festive solemnity, in a vessel commissioned by the Athenian state for the purpose. The mode in which he exercised his office was, according to some accounts, to let loose a herd, partly of white partly of black cattle, on the Areopagus, whence they were allowed to roam at liberty through the Attic territory. Where one of their number lay down to repose, an altar was built, and a sacrifice offered to the patron deity of the place, whoever he might be. In this way some explained the origin of the celebrated Athenian altars to the Unknown gods. Other accounts limit his services to the more simple expedient of pronouncing the stain of profanely shed blood the cause of the evil, and that by bloodshed alone could the offence be atoned.² On his departure, he was conveyed back to Crete with the same honours, after refusing a talent of gold offered him by the republic in repayment of his good offices, contenting himself with a sprig from the divine olive tree of the Acropolis. Similar services of lustration were performed by him for other states.³ When at Athens, viewing the port of Munychia, he foretold the national disasters of which it was ordained to be the scene many years afterwards; also the Persian war and its successful issue; and was believed to have obtained from the gods a few years' additional delay of the Barbarian expedition.⁴ He also forewarned the Lacedæmonians of the signal defeat they were destined to experience at the hand of the Arcadians, which afterwards befell them at the Peloponnesian Orchomenus.

According to some accounts⁵ Epimenides died tranquilly at home, shortly after his return from Athens. Others described him, when taken prisoner in a war between Crete and Sparta, as having been put to death by the Lacedæmonians, in revenge of some alleged sinister influence on their affairs; but not till after he had been detained for some time in durance, and constrained to perform

¹ Conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. ad Ol. XLVI. B. c. 596.

² According to Athenæus, by human sacrifice, irrespective of the guilt of the victim. Deipn. p. 602.; Neanthes ap. eund.

³ Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. xiv.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Str. p. 631. B.

⁵ Diog. Laert. in vit.

the functions of priest and augur in their service.¹ By his countrymen he was decreed divine honours², and numbered among their patron deities the Curetes; while his mother Balte was promoted to the rank of Nymph. His skin was discovered at his death to be covered with written characters³, and was preserved, or as some reported his entire corpse, at Sparta as a sacred relic. The possession of this treasure was, however, disputed by the Argives.⁴

His influence on his age.

6. Apart from its intrinsic moral or historical value, this singular biography possesses interest, from the new and lively phasis in which it exhibits Greek poetical fancy, as exercised on the mystical or sacerdotal element of popular superstition. The primary fiction of the series, the trance in the cave, supplies also the germ or prototype of numerous similar chapters of later European romance; itself, perhaps, modelled after some older Eastern original of "The Sleeper awakened." That Epimenides was an impostor can hardly be disputed. He deserves, however, the credit of having exercised his delusive arts for the benefit of his fellow-men, rather than from any sordid motive of personal interest or vulgar ambition. Nor can the legend of his marvellous pretensions or performances, have originated in any other source than his own superior powers of intellect, his proficiency in the science and philosophy, as well as the cabalistic priestcraft, of his age, and his ascetic purity of manners.⁵ The more subtle interpretations of his fifty-seven years' trance, as allusive, for example, to the number of years he had devoted

¹ Paus. II. xxi. 4., III. xi. 8., xii. 9.

² Diog. in vit. xi.; Plut. vit. Sol. xii.

³ Suid. loc. cit.; conf. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. I. p. 34.

⁴ Diog. in vit. xii.; Paus. locc. citt.

⁵ See Plat. Leg. p. 642.; Cicero de Div. I. xviii.

to solitary meditation¹, while they damage the fabulous interest, add little to the historical probability of his biography. The period at which Epimenides flourished, was one peculiarly favourable to the success of his arts. It was an epoch of rapid transition from poetical to practical civilisation, from the ascendancy of the imagination to that of the intellect; a state of things offering, in every age, to such as combined both those mental faculties in so eminent a degree, special facilities for acquiring influence over their fellow-men. Where knowledge is rare, and hence too valuable to be freely communicated, the wise man is tempted to turn the folly of his neighbours to account, often for their own benefit, in securing to himself the credit of supernatural attributes. The same science which in the future progress of events serves to dissipate, here conspires rather to thicken, the mists of popular ignorance; and the art of calculating an eclipse, or solving a problem in chemical science, became in the hands of Epimenides or Pythagoras, as of Roger Bacon or Michael Scott in our own middle ages, not so much a means of enlightening their contemporaries, as of augmenting the darkness in which they were immersed.

But in whatever degree Epimenides may have profited by the superstition of his countrymen in the extension of his own fame or influence, he seems to have allowed himself a considerable latitude of scepticism, as to the accuracy of the individual dogmas on which that superstition was founded. Upon one occasion, when favoured with an ambiguous, and, as appeared to him unmeaning response from the Pythoness, he told

¹ Ap. Heinrich, *op. cit.* p. 43. sqq.

her plainly, that "the oracle might be the prophetic centre of the earth in the estimation of its own god, but hardly deserved to be so in that of the men who consulted it." For this boldness he was warned off the bounds of the sanctuary.¹

The influence of Epimenides extended even into quarters distinguished by that sound judgement and common sense, which might have been expected to place them beyond the reach of such delusion. The story of his supernatural longevity appears to have been countenanced by his own younger contemporary Xenophanes of Colophon², one of the earliest practical philosophers of Greece. His visit to Athens, and intercourse with Solon, are also among the best authenticated facts of his history. In addition to his other more miraculous influence on the affairs of that city, he has the credit of having suggested important reforms³ in the sacred as well as civil institutions of the republic, afterwards embodied in the legislation of Solon; of having simplified and purified the sacred rites; abrogated various remains of barbarous superstition and extravagant ceremonial; and promoted, generally, moral and religious habits and social unity among the citizens.

The epoch assigned by more reasonable authorities to the birth of Epimenides, is the second year of the xxxth Olymp., 659 B. C. His visit to Athens took place in Olymp. XLVI., 596 B. C.⁴ He was then, therefore, sixty-three years of age. His death, as narrated in connexion with that visit, oc-

¹ Plut. de Def. Orac. init.

² Ap. Diog. Laert. in vit. iv.

³ Plut. in Solon. xii.; Conv. Sept. Sap. xiv. alibi; Heinrich, Epimen. p. 97. sqq.

⁴ Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. 596 B. C.

curred a year or two afterwards.¹ He was then consequently under seventy, the average limit of human longevity, and an age considerably less than half that allotted him in even the more moderate version of the popular tradition. It must further be remarked, as one of the most curious anomalies of his singular history, that by Plato² he is described as having visited, or rather revisited Athens, about ten years prior to the Persian invasion (the first by Darius, it may be presumed)³, and as having foretold its occurrence. As this second visit would fall about ninety-five years after his first to Solon, the duration of his life, assuming him to have died immediately after his return home, would thus have been prolonged to within a year of the exact period of 157 years, allotted to him in the least extravagant of the fabulous accounts. This coincidence seems to imply that Plato, or at least the Cretan mouthpiece through whom he speaks, adopted the mythical view of the poet's history. By a similar conflict of dates, Epimenides, in some accounts is made the master, in others the disciple, of Pythagoras. But whatever correspondence of doctrine may be traceable between the two, the right of priority certainly belongs to the Cretan sage.⁴

The principal accredited works of Epimenides⁵ were a Theogony, in five thousand lines; a Genealogy of the Curetes and Corybantes; an Argonautica, in six thousand five hundred lines; and a poem on Minos and Rhadamanthus, in four thousand lines. The more immediate subject of the Argonautica seems to have been the outfit and departure of the armament, pro-

Accredited
works.

¹ Diog. Laert. in vit. iv.

² De Legg. p. 642 D.

³ Heinrich, Epimen. p. 18. sqq.

⁴ Heinrich, Epimen. p. 21. sqq.

⁵ Diog. Laert. v.; Fabr. Bibl. Gr. Harl. vol. i. p. 31.

bably a mystical inauguration of the enterprise, with prophetic anticipation of its results. The other minor poems ascribed to him were of a strictly religious character, oracular decrees¹, and sacrificial or lustral odes. All were probably composed in hexameter verse. Their loss deprives us of any sufficient means of estimating their merits, or claims to genuine character. Several prose works² were also assigned to Epimenides in later times, any remarks on which belong to another place. The extant citations of his text relate chiefly to the genealogy of the gods or leading heroes, and, assuming the works to which they refer to be genuine, abundantly testify the mystical character of his innovations on the old popular fable.³ Of his entire compositions six lines alone, in good epic style, have been preserved. One of these, quoted by St. Paul⁴, contains a satirical reflexion on the imputed vices of the poet's own countrymen.

ARISTEAS (ARIMASPEA).

Aristeas of
Procon-
nesus.

7. Two other poets of the same mysterious class, whose age, in so far as a real personality can be awarded them, nearly coincides with that of Epimenides, but whose history is of a still more broadly

¹ Strab. x. p. 479.; conf. Suid. loc. cit.

² Fabric. loc. cit.; Athen. vii. p. 282.; Eratosth. Catast. 27.

³ According to Epimenides the original Chaos was composed of Æther and Nox, from whom sprang the egg which gave birth to the rest of the creation. Aphrodite was daughter neither of Uranus nor Jupiter, as in Hesiod and Homer, but of Saturn. The Dioscuri were male and female, the former representing life and unity, the latter nature and duality. Rhodes was daughter of Ocean, not of the Sun, as in her own tradition. The wife of Laius, and mother of Œdipus, was neither Epicasta nor Jocasta, but Euryclea. Düntz. fragm. p. 69. sqq.

⁴ Paul ad Tit. i. 12.; conf. Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 299. Sylb.

mythical tenor, are, Aristeas, of Proconnesus a Milesian colony on the Propontis ; and Abaris, the Hyperborean.

Aristeas has already been noticed, as having obtained credit in some quarters for certain works attributed in others to Pisander. His biography acquires an additional interest from having been narrated in some detail by Herodotus. The following is the substance of that historian's account¹, illustrated by other subsidiary notices. Herodotus professes to give but the popular tradition, without vouching for either its authenticity or credibility.

Aristeas, the Proconnesian, son of Caÿstrobios, and member of a distinguished family of his native republic, while standing one day in a fuller's shop, suddenly fell down dead. The fuller, locking up his premises, hastened to communicate the unfortunate event to the relatives of the deceased. The news spread through the town. Before however the necessary means for removing the body could be prepared, a citizen, just arrived from a journey, came forward and denied the truth of the fuller's story, asserting positively that about the hour at which Aristeas was described as having died, he had himself met and conversed with him outside of the gate, on the road towards Cyzicus. In order to bring the matter to a test, the party proceeded to the fuller's house, where, on unlocking the shop door, no Aristeas was to be seen, either dead or alive. Nothing more was heard of him during seven years. At the expiry of this term he reappeared, and, settling again in his native city, composed an epic poem, comprising the results of his researches in the unexplored regions of the North, into which he had been transported by the agency of Apollo, during his period of expatriation. This work, entitled *Arimaspea*, treated, in three books², of the affairs of the Arimaspians, with the history and geography of the Griffins, guardians of the golden harvest ; of their wars against the Arimaspians, in defence of the sacred treasure³; and of the Hyperboreans, beyond them to the north, whose country was

Legend of
his life.

¹ Herodot. iv. xiii. sqq. ; conf. Pind. fragm. ap. Boeckh, p. 657.

² Suid. v. 'Αριστέας.

³ Conf. Paus. i. xxiv. 6.

bounded by the Arctic Ocean. The Arimaspians were described as a race of Scytho-Cyclops, or one-eyed barbarians, covered with hair¹; the Griffins as lions in body, with the head and wings of eagles. Immediately after the publication of his poem Aristeas again disappeared.

Three hundred and forty years after this second disappearance, the city of Metapontum, in Southern Italy, was visited by a stranger, who ordered the inhabitants to erect an altar to Apollo, with a statue to himself by its side, inscribed with his name, "Aristeas of Proconnesus." He also informed them that they alone among the Italiote Greeks had ever, in former times, been favoured by the personal presence of Apollo; and that he, Aristeas, had accompanied the god on that occasion, in the form of a raven.² After delivering himself of this communication, he vanished. The Metapontines, before taking any step, sent to consult the Delphic oracle, and received an order from the Pytho-ness to fulfil the injunctions of their guest. An altar was erected accordingly, and two statues, one to Apollo the other to Aristeas, with his name inscribed in terms of his own instructions. These monuments were seen by Herodotus when he visited the place, in the agora, under the shade of a small grove of laurels.³ Aristeas, like Epimenides, asserted, and obtained credit for, the power of his soul to quit his body at pleasure, and roam at large through both earth and heaven, with which latter region he claimed to be better acquainted than with his native globe.⁴

The 340 years of interval reckoned by the Metapontines, between the last disappearance of Aristeas from Proconnesus and his visit to them, added to the era of Herodotus, would give about 800 B.C. But as the visit to Metapontum, from the tenor of the historian's narrative, was already matter of antiquity in that city, another century or more may safely be added, to make up the fabulous epoch of the traveller. Accordingly, in some of the popular notices, Aristeas is

¹ *Erg.* II. Düntz. p. 87.

² *Conf. Plin. Hist. N. VII. liii.*

³ *Conf. Athen. XIII. p. 605.*

⁴ *Suid. loc. cit. ; Max. Tyr. Dis. xxii. xxviii. ; Plin. Hist. N. VII. liii.*

not only ranked as coeval with Homer, but as the instructor of that poet in their common epic art.¹ The greater his pretensions to mythical antiquity, the more necessary the distinction, as in the parallel cases of Orpheus, Musæus, and other fabulous minstrels, between his own age and that of the works which passed current under his name. The heads of subject treated in the Arimaspea, themselves afford argument that the composition of the work could not have preceded the latter half of the seventh century B.C.; and the legend, even as digested by Herodotus, contains details broadly at variance with its chronological results. Proconnesus, the birthplace of Aristeas, was not founded, in the accredited accounts, until 715 B.C.², so that no adventure of one of its natives could well have taken place until towards the middle of the ensuing seventh century. The style of the poem also, judging from the twelve extant verses, savoured but little of the flourishing age of the Epic Muse, being chiefly remarkable for an effort to impart novel effect to trite or even offensive ideas and images, by rhetorical pomp of language or affected figures of speech. The original Aristeas therefore, if not, as seems the more probable view, a purely mythical personage, may have been one of the earlier adventurers who, from the colonies settled in various parts of the Euxine during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.³, visited or explored the inhospitable regions of the North, and around whose name the fabulous tales of Hyperborean wonder which afterwards obtained currency, when embodied in epic form, were concentrated. The only specific date assigned him⁴, which

¹ Strab. xiv. p. 639 A.; conf. i. p. 21.² Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an.³ Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 156.⁴ Suid. loc. cit.

brings him down as low as the Lth Olympiad, may be considered the result of a critical estimate of the internal evidence of his poem, rather than of any more accurate researches into his own personal history.

His works.
The Ari-
maspea.

Besides the Arimaspea, and certain other works above noticed as doubtful whether by Aristæas or Pisander, a prose Theogony is attributed by more recent authorities¹ to the former poet. The Arimaspea², though familiarly quoted by authors of later date, is described by Gellius³ as little read, and not easily procured in his time (A.D. 130). The longest extant passage of the poem comprises six hexameter verses of turgid commentary on the dangers and discomforts of maritime life, among which a special prominence is given to sea-sickness. The mariners are described "with their eyes fixed on the stars, their minds on the bottomless deep, invoking the gods with outstretched hands and cruelly agitated entrails."⁴ The hyperbolical extravagance of this passage, has been appropriately contrasted by Longinus⁵ with the simple grandeur of parallel descriptions by Homer and Archilochus, in illustration of the proverbial shortness of the "step from the sublime to the ridiculous."

Interpreta-
tion of the
above
legend.

8. The mystical element of this poet's legendary biography is identified throughout with the worship of Apollo, at that time extensively in vogue among pretenders to supernatural gifts. The Metapontine adventure of Aristæas hinges entirely upon his con-

¹ Suid. loc. cit. Dionysius of Halic. (De Thuc. jud. 23.) also alludes to spurious prose compositions attributed to Aristæas.

² Frgg. ap. Diintz. p. 86. sqq.

³ IX. 4.

⁴ Bode has, strangely enough, understood this last verse as allusive to the entrails of the victims sacrificed to the gods. *Gesch. der Gr. Dichtk.* vol. I. p. 476.

⁵ X. 4.

nexion with that deity, by whose influence, Phæbus-smitten, to use his own expressive phrase, he described himself as having been impelled to undertake his Hyperborean expedition. The Hyperborean land is described, in another remarkable chapter of the same volume of fable, as distinguished for its devotion to Apollo in his character of agricultural deity¹; and this devotion was symbolised by an annual tribute of ears of corn, conveyed by way of Dodona to his sanctuary of Delos by messengers called "Perphereës."² Through the medium of this same variety of the character and worship of Apollo, the legend of the Phæbus-smitten Aristeas connects itself, no less closely than curiously, with that of the equally mythical Aristæus, son of the same god, to a portion of whose history attention has already been directed as the supposed subject of a poem of Eumelus.³ This Aristæus was a Helleno-Thracian agricultural hero or deity, whose life was devoted to the spread of the arts of rural economy through the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and who occasionally assumes the person and honours of his father Apollo, under the title of Apollo Aristæus.⁴ The Proconnesian Aristeas is similarly identified with the arts of agriculture, through the same remarkable tradition above noticed, of the Hyperborean tribute of ears of corn to the Delian altar of his patron. It is an ingenious suggestion of Niebuhr⁵, that the title Hyperborean in this latter case, indi-

¹ See Müll. Dor. ii. iv. vol. i. p. 267. sqq.; Boeckh, Explic. ad Pind. p. 324.; Spannhem. ad Callim. p. 493.

² Herodot. iv. xxxiii.; Callim. Hymn. ad Del. 284. sq., et Spannhem. ad loc.; conf. Müll. op. cit. p. 271.

³ Supra, p. 451.

⁴ Pind. Pyth. ix. 64.; conf. Boeckh, Expl. p. 324.; Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 281., Orchom. 2d ed. p. 342.

⁵ Röm. Gesch. 2d ed. vol. i. p. 84. sq.

cates the North-Western or Adriatic race of Pelasgi, who by this annual mission maintained their primeval community of religious rite with their Hellenic kinsmen. The name of the messengers, Perphereës, "carriers," finds, accordingly, its palpable etymology, (*per-fero*), in the Italo-Pelasgic dialects. But the proper emblems of Metapontum, the city and state so highly favoured by Apollo, and where the "Apollo-smitten" Hyperborean traveller Aristeas was honoured in company with his divine patron, were Ears of corn. Hence these emblems form the device of the Metapontine coins¹, combined with the figure of the god, occasionally perhaps with that of his servant Aristeas. This singular series of coincidences seems conclusively to prove, that the further coincidence between the names of the Apollinean heroes, Aristeas and Aristæus, and the Italo-Pelasgic term *Arista*, ear of corn, is not the result of mere chance. It sheds, consequently, a new and striking light on the primitive connexion between the severed branches of the old Pelasgic stem.

ABARIS.

Abaris, the
Hyperbo-
rean.

The history of Abaris, son of Seuthes, is in many respects a counterpart of that of Aristeas. Although a native Hyperborean or Scythian², his adventures and accredited productions sufficiently connect him with Hellas, to entitle him to a place in her literary annals. During a great pestilence in his native country, he migrated southwards to Delphi, renewed an

¹ Müller, *Dor.* vol. i. p. 264., mentions, but without citing his authority, an offering of ears of corn, similar to that of the Hyperboreans, as annually paid by the Metapontines also to the Delian Apollo.

² Plato, *Charmid.* p. 168 B.; Paus. *III.* xiii. 2.; Strab. *VII.* p. 301 B.

ancient bond of alliance between that community and his own nation, and engaged himself as servant or agent of Apollo. In this capacity he travelled over the world, imparting the sacred functions of his master, prophecy, lustration, and other beneficent arts, to the nations, and collecting from them in return devotional offerings for the Pythian shrine. This service he performed, bearing an arrow on his head, the gift and symbol of the god, or in other accounts, riding on the weapon through the air.¹ Like Epimenides, he was exempt from the human necessity of taking food, and endowed with the power of swaying the elements to his purposes.² The age of this mysterious person fluctuates, in the popular data, between that of Orpheus and that of Pythagoras. Pindar³ fixed the date of his visit to Greece in the time of Cræsus. Some authorities describe him as a disciple and friend of Pythagoras, who showed him his golden thigh, and in a joint disputation defended the merits of their common philosophy, before Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum.⁴ Among the spurious letters current under the name of that prince is one from him to Abaris⁵, with the answer of the Hyperborean sage. Phalaris himself is said to have died suddenly on the morning of the same day on which he had determined to put his gifted correspondent to death.⁶ These lower dates refer, probably, here as in other like cases, to the age to which, in more critical quarters, the works that passed under the name of Abaris were ascribed. Of

¹ Herodot. iv. xxxvi. ; Iambl. vit. Pythag. § 141.

² Suid. v. Ἀβ. ; Porphy. vit. Pythagor. § 28. ; Iambl. vit. Pythag. § 136. alibi.

³ Fragm. Pind. Boeckh, p. 657.

⁴ Porphy. vit. Pyth. § 29. ; Iambl. vit. Pyth. § 135. 216.

⁵ Phalar. Epist. lvi. lvii. ed. Boyl.

⁶ Iambl. vit. Pyth. § 221.

those works, now entirely lost, the more remarkable were, the Nuptials of the river Hebrus, and the Progress of Apollo to his Hyperborean dominions ; besides oracular responses, lustral odes and charms, and a prose Theogony.¹

Hegesinoüs
(Atthis).

9. HEGESINOÛS is mentioned by Pausanias as author of a poem entitled Atthis, confounded by modern commentators² with the Amazonia or Æthiopis of Arctinus. Pausanias³ also quotes four verses of the text, in tolerably pure epic style, adding that he gives them at second hand, as the entire work had perished long before his time. They describe, in the way of episode it may be presumed, the mythical origin of Hesiod's birthplace Ascra. Nothing further is known, either of the author or the contents of the poem, beyond what is implied by its title, that it related to the affairs of Athens. That it was a poetical repertory of Attic genealogy and miscellaneous tradition, rather than a regular epopee, may also be inferred from the subsequent adoption of the same title by authors of prose works on the mythical annals of Attica.

Chersias.

CHERSIAS, a Bœotian of Orchomenus, was author

¹ Suid. v. "Aß.; conf. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. i. p. 11. Harles.

² Welck. Ep. C. pt. i. p. 313.; Bode, Gesch. der Hellen. Dichtk. vol. i. p. 404.; Düntz. frg. p. 4. Welcker (Ep. C. pt. i. p. 38.) himself supplies a conclusive objection to this view, in his own remark, that the Cyclic Amazonia was still extant in the time of Pausanias; whereas Pausanias himself distinctly states that the Atthis had perished before he was born. Nor is there a hint, by any antient authority, of Attic subjects having been treated in the Cycle. Of the Cyclic Amazonia, see supra, Ch. xviii. § 10.

³ ix. xxix. The other citation by Strabo, referred to by Düntzer, (frg. p. 4.), is evidently from a prose Atthis. The assignment, by the same compiler, of the four verses quoted by the Schol. of Pind., to this poem is purely conjectural.

of genealogical compositions the titles of which have not survived, but which seem to have related chiefly to the affairs of his native district. He was contemporaneous and intimate with Periander of Corinth and Chilon of Lacedæmon, two of the reputed Seven Sages. His poems were lost in the time of Pausanias, who quotes from them, at second hand, two somewhat commonplace verses. He also mentions Chersias as the accredited author of the elegiac epitaph on the mausoleum of Hesiod at Orchomenus, ascribed by some to Pindar.¹

The remaining poems in the foregoing list, the Phoronis, Danaïs, Theseïs, and Alcmaëonis, although no distinct notice is preserved either of their authors or the epoch of their composition, may yet, from the tenor of the existing fragments or appeals to their text, reasonably be assigned a place in this period. In the absence of more specific data, they have been classed in the order of their subjects.

The Phoronis² evidently derives its name from Phoroneus, son of Inachus, the primeval Pelasgic sovereign of Argos. As no adventures of a properly heroic character are recorded of this personage, the work may be presumed to have been rather a metrical chronicle of early Argive history than a heroic epopee. Its remains, referring exclusively to sacred matters, vouch for an extensive theological element. The hero was styled the "father of mortal men." The thirteen verses which have been preserved³ are not deficient in ease and purity of versification. They relate

¹ Pausan. ix. xxxviii. 6.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 366.

² Düntz. fragm. p. 68.

³ Düntz. fragm. p. 57.

chiefly to the Curetes and Idæi Dactyli, and to the first institution of the rites of Juno, the patron divinity of Argos.

Danaïs.

The Danaïs, devoted, as its name implies, to the adventures of Danaüs the Egyptian colonist of Argos, and his fifty daughters, may be considered as a continuation of the Phoronis. It comprised 5500 verses¹, two alone of which remain, describing the preparation of the vessel of the fugitive princesses at the mouth of the Nile. The poem is also cited relative to the birth of the Attic hero Erichthonius.²

Theseïs.

The Theseïs is adduced by Aristotle³ as a sample of those epic poems, which aimed rather at methodical fulness of historical detail than unity of poetical action. The terms of this criticism, though implying, if taken by the letter, that the hero's whole career of adventure was treated, may be more fairly understood as indicating a tedious minuteness in the portion selected as the subject of the poem. It is the less easy to decide what that portion may have been, that there existed other poems of later date under the same title; and the citations rarely afford the means of ascertaining to which they refer. Assuming however, as is probable, that a passage of Plutarch, containing the most detailed extant notice of a Theseïs, alludes to the more antient poem quoted by Aristotle, it would appear that a prominent portion of its action was the war between Theseus and the Amazon queen Antiope, in which the heroine was defeated, chiefly through the prowess of Hercules, as ally of the Athenians. The adventures of the Theban hero, as

¹ Tab. Borg. ap. Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 35.

² Poetic. viii. ed. Gräfenh.

³ Düntz. fragm. p. 3.

the friend and comrade of Theseus, seem, from the tenor of the extant notices, to have further entered largely into the action of the poem. The citation, by the scholiast of Pindar, of the "author of the The-seis" in connexion with Pisander and Pherecydes, as an authority relative to the golden stag of Istria, captured by Hercules, may safely be referred to the more antient poem of the name.¹

THE ALCMÆONIS.

10. This poem has, by eminent modern critics², <sup>Alcmæo-
nis.</sup> been supposed the same as the Cyclic Epigoni, but on very inadequate grounds. That to which weight has mainly been attached, is the circumstance that Alcmæon son of Amphiaraus, the hero from whom the title of the poem is derived, was intrusted with the chief command of the second Theban expedition, celebrated in the Epigoni. But among the various citations of the Alcmæonis, there is not one which tends to identify the subject of the two works; nor does Alcmæon enjoy any such preeminence in valour or heroic achievement among the younger heroes of the Theban war, as could warrant the selection of his name as the title of a poem in celebration of that adventure. His best claim to the part of protagonist in a heroic epopee, is to be sought in a more recent period of his history, marked by original and powerful features both of poetical and national interest.³

¹ Welck. Ep. C. pt. i. p. 321. sqq.; conf. Düntz. fragm. p. 62.

² Welck. op. cit. p. 209.; Düntz. p. 7.

³ Apollodor. III. vii. 2. sqq.; Thucyd. II. cii., conf. lxxviii.; Paus. VIII. xxiv. 4.; conf. Strab. XI. p. 462.; Ovid. Met. IX. 404. sqq.

Amphiaraus, when constrained, through the intrigues and avarice of his wife Eriphyle, to join the first Theban expedition, in which he foresaw he was to perish, exacted from his son Alcmaeon a promise to avenge his father's death by the blood of his unnatural mother. This vow remained unfulfilled until the close of the second war, in which Alcmaeon himself had been induced, by similar intrigues of Eriphyle, to take part. After his return home, he consults the Delphic oracle, and with its sanction carries his fatal purpose into execution. Pursued, in the sequel, by the Furies of his mother, and deprived both of rest of body and peace of mind, he wanders disconsolate and maniac over the face of Hellas. Passing through Arcadia, he is hospitably received by Phegeus prince of Psophia, who purifies him from the blood-stain, and gives him his daughter Arsinoë in marriage. The bridegroom bestows on his spouse, among other nuptial gifts, the golden necklace and royal mantle, with which his mother had been bribed by Polynices to her acts of treachery. But neither his matrimonial ties, nor the lustral rite of Phegeus, afford him permanent relief from his disease of mind. He again has recourse to the oracle, which now enjoins him to seek the apparently hopeless refuge, of "a land which had not witnessed his crime, as not yet in existence at the period of its commission." After a further series of wanderings, during which he is hospitably received by Ceneus king of Ætolia, he at length settles in an island recently formed at the mouth of the river Achelous by the alluvial deposit of the stream. Having thus fulfilled the instructions of the oracle, he obtains relief and repose. Careless of his Arcadian kindred, he now marries Calliroë daughter of the river god, who bears him two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus. His new spouse conceives a longing for the possession of the celebrated necklace and mantle. Alcmaeon accordingly journeys to the court of Phegeus, and having, under pretext of a divine order to dedicate those precious objects at the shrine of Delphi, procured them from Arsinoë, he sets out on his return to Acarnania, to present them to Calliroë. Phegeus, apprized of the deceit, sends his two sons in pursuit of his treacherous son-in-law, who is overtaken and slain. Calliroë, frantic with grief for the loss of her husband, supplicates Jove that her own two infant boys may be suddenly advanced to manhood, in order to avenge their parent's death. Her vow is gratified. The two young heroes assault and destroy not only the murderers of their father, but the old king

Phegeus and his wife in the royal residence at Psophis. After defeating the citizens of Psophis in battle, they dedicate the necklace and mantle to the god of Delphi, and return triumphant to their native kingdom of Acarnania.

That this series of adventures formed the subject of the Alcmæonis may, apart from their own fine adaptation to epic treatment, be inferred from the extent to which they have been reproduced in the page of the tragic poets. To Sophocles they have furnished matter certainly for one, probably for two dramas; to Euripides, Ennius, and Accius for one each¹; while nowhere has a similar prominence been assigned to this hero in any tragedy connected with the Theban war. As the tragedians drew their materials solely or chiefly from epic sources, it may be the more confidently inferred that they were here indebted to the Alcmæonis. To this circumstantial evidence may be added that supplied by the existing remains of, or appeals to, the text of the poem.² Several of these bear reference to the later vicissitudes of the life of the hero; in no case to the Theban wars. In one, the allusion to the history of Ceneus and his family, connects itself with the hospitality afforded by that prince to Alcmæon during his wanderings. In a second, mention occurs of the mythical connexion of the Laertian royal family with Acarnania, the name of which country was derived from Alcmæon's son by Calliroë. A third appears to be descriptive of the contumelious treatment of the corpses of Alcmæon's murderers. The remaining quotations, in one of which Atreus and his golden-fleeced ram, in

¹ Heyn. Obs. ad Apollod. p. 254. sqq.

² Düntz. frgm. p. 7. frg. iv. sqq.

another certain exploits of Peleus and Telamon are mentioned, bear no direct reference to any adventure of Alcmaeon, and may have belonged to the incidental or illustrative parts of the narrative. The poem, there can be little doubt, was the popular epopee of the Acarnanian Hellenes, of the citizens of Amphilochian Argos, Cœniadæ, and other states tracing their mythical foundation to the heroes of the Ætolian and Theban wars. The six remaining lines are in pure epic style, but are distinguished by no marked peculiarity either of sentiment or expression.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A. (p. 134.)

PARALLEL "SELF-CONTRADICTIONS" OF HOMER AND DANTE.

ABUNDANT evidence exists, that it was quite consistent with the laws of Greek epic poetry, in every age, for the same author to give prominence in different works to very different versions of the same fable. Pindar for example, in one of his odes, represented Orpheus as son of Apollo; in another as son of the Thracian river *Ægrus*.¹ In one, he described the dithyramb as invented in Naxos; in another, at Thebes; in a third, at Corinth.² In one place he described Homer as a native of Smyrna; in another, as a native of Chios.³ Nor do Heyne, Hermann, and other keenest of Homeric Separatists, make any difficulty in assuming *Æschylus* to have represented the punishment of Prometheus, in different dramas, as taking place in different parts of the world.⁴ That this license is not peculiar to the ancients will be manifest from the following example, derived from the poet of modern times between whose general character and that of Homer there is so great analogy, and where the parallel to P. Knight's imputed case of discrepancy in the Greek poet is also remarkable.

Dante, in the pathetic episode of Count Ugolino in the *Inferno*, has described the four younger victims of party rage who perished in the Tower of Famine, as sons of the count, and as young boys or youths of tender age.⁵ But it is certain, from the authentic records of the period, that two only of his fellow-sufferers were his sons; that the other two were his grandsons; and that all four were grown men, active members of their parent's faction, and taken in arms with himself. Of this Dante could not be ignorant, being not only a

¹ Boeckh, *Fragm. Pind.* 188.

² *Frg.* 43.

³ *Frg.* 189.

⁴ Welck. *Æsch. Trilog.* p. 32. sq.

⁵ Canto xxxiii. 88.

contemporary of Ugolino, but the man of all others of that day most conversant with the details of Tuscan history. He has therefore artfully given to the primary fact of the younger sufferers being the offspring of the principal victim, the turn most conducive to poetical effect. But, it may be urged, the anomaly in Homer is not so much in the extreme youth assigned to Achilles in the *Iliad*, as that the same poet should have described the same hero, in the *Odyssey*, as father of a full-grown son. The analogy however will here also be found complete, by reference to the second subdivision of the Tuscan bard's mythological poem. The catastrophe of the Tower of Famine took place in 1288; Dante's mystical journey in 1300, twelve years afterwards. Among the departed souls with whom he converses in the "Purgatory,"¹ is that of Nino Visconti, another grandson of Ugolino. This person, as we learn, both from his own account of himself in the poem and from contemporary history, was of advanced age at the epoch of his passage to the other world, and, to say the least, of mature manhood in 1288, the date of his grandfather's death in the tower. He appears, in fact, as early as 1282, acting as the able and popular leader of a powerful Pisan faction opposed to that of his grandfather.² The representation consequently by Dante, in the *Inferno*, of no fewer than four of Nino's uncles as young boys in 1288, involves a discrepancy between that poem and the *Purgatorio* which, upon modern Separatist principles, would infallibly prove the two works to be by different authors.

APPENDIX B. (p. 158.)

IMPUTED DISCREPANCIES IN THE COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY OF THE *ILIAD* AND *ODYSSEY*.

IN order to avoid an accumulation of controversial details in the text, the remarks suggested by the remaining objections, to which, under the heads of religion and manners, importance has been attached by Payne Knight and Nitzsch, the two leading advocates of the Separatist doctrine, have been reserved for this Appendix.

¹ *Purg. cant. viii. 47. sqq.*

² See *Giov. Vill. Istor. Fior. vii. lxxxiii. cxx. cxxiii.*

1. *The Abode of the Gods.*

The abode of the gods, it is maintained, appears, as represented in the two poems, under as broad features of dissimilarity as the deities by whom it is inhabited. "In the *Odyssey*," it is said, "there is not a single allusion which appears to characterise Olympus as a mountain. It is never called snowy, never many-topped, or steep, or rugged, or by any other epithet of the class so frequently occurring in the *Iliad*. The gods are described as dwelling behind the clouds, and their seat on Olympus is painted in the same glowing colours as the Elysian Fields."¹ These allegations are, as will be shown, like others already examined, altogether groundless. But even were they well-founded, it might be a question whether the distinction drawn, could properly be considered as more than a natural result of the difference of subject in the two poems. In the *Iliad*, the action is far more immediately connected with Olympus than in the *Odyssey*, owing to the number of Olympian deities of first rank who take part in the adventures of the former poem, and to their frequent journeys to and fro on their own account, or by order of Jove, who habitually maintains his seat on the summit of the mountain. The action of the *Odyssey* on the other hand, as of comparatively local interest, is to Jove a matter of proportionally little concern; to Juno and the other properly Olympian deities, with the exception of Minerva, of none whatever. Hence, as a natural consequence of this distinction, the name Olympus occurs five times more frequently in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*. Even, therefore, had the more peculiarly characteristic epithets of the mountain been omitted, in whole or in part, in the latter poem, that omission would scarcely have supplied ground on which to construct a theory. The fact is however, that such epithets not only do occur in the *Odyssey*, but are proportionally as numerous in that poem as in the *Iliad*, and perhaps still more specific. The "many tops"² of the mountain are mentioned, and Minerva is described as walking down them. It is frequently designated as lofty³, by the term *μακρός*, which with Homer is the proper epithet of lofty mountains, but is never applied to the heaven in its independent capacity. Olympus is also described as snowy by the epithet *αιγλήεις*⁴, "glittering;" a term which can here bear no other sense than that of "glittering

¹ Nitzsch, *Artik. Odyssee*, p. 407.³ x. 307., xv. 43., xx. 73., xxiv. 351.² 1. 102., xxiv. 488.⁴ xx. 103.

with snow," as well by reference to its parallel application to the mountain in the *Iliad*, as to the fact that it is never bestowed on the mere "heaven." The snow of the mountain is further indicated directly by the epithet *λευκή*, defining the nature of the glitter, and indirectly by the description, in the same passage¹, of the summit on which the gods dwelt as free from snow. The number and minuteness of these descriptive titles, compared with the limited number of times that the name of the mountain occurs in the *Odyssey*, seem to display at least as definite a conception of it in that poem as in the *Iliad*. The whole beautiful description indeed, in the last-cited passage of the *Odyssey*, deserves especial notice. Olympus is here figured as a mountain, the sides and visible summit of which are for the most part enveloped in snow and clouds, while its extreme peak, where the palace of Jove was situated, free from all such atmospheric contamination, enjoyed a perpetual brilliancy and serenity.

The distinction, or rather the confusion, between heaven as a mountain and heaven as a sphere, between the Olympian and the purely celestial dwelling of Jove, equally pervades both poems. It is indeed clear, that neither the Homer of the *Iliad* nor the Homer of the *Odyssey* had any very definite idea on the subject, nor in truth was the distinction capable of being very accurately defined.

2. *On the Invisibility of the Gods.*

For the fallacy of another series of distinctions to which importance has been attached by Nitzsch, it might almost suffice to appeal to the general remarks offered in a previous chapter (Vol. I. p. 475.) on the divine mechanism of the poems. Respect for his authority, rather than for his arguments, will render it proper here briefly to notice them. "Both poems," it is said², "are so far in harmony, that the gods, in their intercourse with men, frequently appear in human disguise. But there is this marked difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, that in the former poem the deities, when preserving their divine character, appear, as a general rule, visible to human eye, and in order to conceal themselves, are under the necessity of enveloping their persons in a cloud or mist; in the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, they are essentially invisible to men without any such precaution; it is only to each other, as

¹ vi. 41. sqq.

² Artik. *Odysee*, p. 408.

in the visit of Hermes to Calypso, that they appear, in that poem visible in their natural form."

The distinction is altogether imaginary, as an appeal to a few among many passages of each poem will at once evince.

Pallas, on the very first occasion of her appearance in the *Iliad*¹, is described as presenting herself in the Greek council without any cloud, invisible to all but Achilles, by whom alone it was her pleasure to be recognised.

In the ensuing battle, the same goddess removes the mist from the eyes of Diomed, "that he may be able to recognise the persons of gods as well as of men;"² or in other words, "to recognise what was habitually invisible to him." It is surprising that Nitzsch, who cites this passage, should not have perceived it to be in itself subversive of his theory. What could be the use of removing a mist from a particular hero's eyes, if the persons of the gods were habitually palpable to the eyes of all human warriors? Minerva ought to have removed the mist, pronounced by Nitzsch their only means of concealment in the *Iliad*, from the persons of her fellow-deities, not from the eyes of Diomed. In the sequel, endowed with this divine second sight, he is enabled to recognise various deities, Mars among others.³ Yet Nitzsch does not hesitate to quote his having, in the exercise of this new and exclusive privilege, descried that god in the distance, as proof that Mars was equally visible to the rest of the army.

When Apollo and Minerva interfere⁴ to promote the duel between Hector and Ajax, it is evident from the whole context, and especially from the mode in which their conversation is described as penetrating to the ears of the augur Helenus, that their persons, without any cloud, were invisible to that hero as well as to the surrounding host. The same may be inferred as to *Iliad* II. 168. sqq., XXIV. 170. It were superfluous to accumulate citations, or numbers might be added.

Thus far the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey*, we are told, the case is reversed: "In their divine personality the gods are here always invisible, never appearing to mortals but in some mortal disguise." Upon this principle we must assume that Ulysses, during his long cohabitation with Circe and Calypso, never beheld either of those goddesses. Nitzsch asserts accordingly, that Calypso appears in her own proper person to Mercury alone. We prefer the authority

¹ I. 198.² v. 127.³ v. 596.⁴ VII. 22. sqq., 44. sqq.

of Homer, who certainly describes both her and Circe as equally visible to their lover Ulysses, and the latter goddess as visible all along to the hero's mariners as well as to himself.;

Minerva appears in her own proper person to Telemachus in Sparta¹; and in Ithaca to Ulysses and to the dogs, while invisible to the hero's son. A like honour is vouchsafed by her to Ulysses on at least one other occasion, as well as by Hermes to the same hero.² Add to these examples the appearance of the sea goddess Idothea and of her father Proteus to Menelaus, and that of Leucothea to Ulysses.

The practice therefore is quite uniform, or it may rather be said quite arbitrary, in both poems. The gods appear in each visible or invisible, in their own proper persons or in disguise, as may suit their own convenience or that of the poet.

The subjoined passages offer a curious parallel in the phraseology as well as the doctrine of the two poems, and may be added to similar examples of unity formerly cited in the chapter on style :

Il. xx. 131. . . . χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς.

Od. xvi. 161. οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς.

The term ἐναργής, it may be observed, occurs but five times in Homer, twice in the Iliad, thrice in the Odyssey, and invariably with reference to divine apparitions. Hence the vain-glorious Phæacians boast of their power of recognising the gods at all times, as an especial boon to their favoured race (Od. vii. 201.); falsely however, as appear from viii. 193. The humour of this, as of so many other parts of the poem, is a dead letter to Separatist commentators.

3. On the employment of Iris in the Iliad, Mercury in the Odyssey, as Jove's Messenger.

The discrepancy in the religious mechanism of the two poems to which the greatest importance was attached by the old school of Separatists, was the employment of Iris in the Iliad, of Hermes in the Odyssey, as the messenger of Jove. By Nitzsch, the chief of the modern Separatist school, this argument has been judiciously set aside, as more properly referable to difference of subject; and the soundness of his reasoning on this point renders it the more to be regretted, that he has not allowed his judgement to

¹ xv. init.

² Odys. xvi. 159. sqq., conf. xiii. 287. sqq., x. 277.

operate in a like critical manner in regard to other peculiarities, equally, or still more naturally accounted for by the same cause. To the motives which he has adduced for a preference of Mercury, inherent in the action of the *Odyssey*, may be added the marked popularity of the worship of that god in the Cephallenian islands and on the adjacent continent of Greece¹, and his near family connexion with the hero of the poem.²

The change of agency in the two poems, may furnish the interpretation of an otherwise enigmatical passage of the *Odyssey*. On the first introduction of *Hermes* in that poem, *Jove*, when about to intrust him with a commission, addresses him as follows: ³

Ἑρμεία· σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τὰ τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελός ἐσσι·
Hermes! for thou art again, as formerly, our messenger.

Whence this solicitude to announce, at the expense of so abrupt a parenthesis, that a deity, about to perform his customary functions, had been employed before in the same capacity? May not the apologetic or explanatory tone of the remark be interpreted as a spontaneous allusion by *Homer*, through the mouth of *Jupiter*, to the substitution of the god for the goddess; a poetical atonement, as it were, to the former, for having previously appropriated to his female rival an office which by antient, and doubtless prior right belonged also to himself?

APPENDIX C. (p. 163.)

ON THE IMPUTED DIFFERENCES IN THE STATE OF MANNERS AS DESCRIBED IN EACH POEM.

THE remaining distinctions of this nature urged by *Payne Knight*, are founded on a misunderstanding of some of the pas-

¹ VII. 137., XVI. 471., XIV. 435. His worship, in this latter passage, connects itself with that of the nymphs, in honour doubtless of his mother, the nymph *Maias*, here also mentioned by name. *Cyllene*, one of his popular sanctuaries, whence his title *Cyllenius* and that of the neighbouring mountain-ridge, and where he was worshipped, as in *Ithaca*, under the special character of *Lar* or Household god, was on the projecting promontory of *Elis*, within a few miles of the Cephallenian group of islands. *Pausan.* VI. XXVI. 3.

² XIX. 395. sqq.

³ V. 29.

sages cited by him, and on an arbitrary dismissal of others as spurious. Of the former class of cases may be taken as an example his appeal to the simile in the *Odyssey*¹, borrowed as he imagined from the art of falconry, and hence assumed by him, strangely enough at best, to indicate a more advanced state of manners in that poem. It is evident however, from the phrase *ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλθόντες*, that the vultures (not hawks, as he translates the term *αἰγυπιοί*) here described, were not trained, but wild birds.

The arguments of this critic, though reproduced by W. Müller and other secondary professors of the Separatist school, have been very justly dismissed, as inconclusive or hypercritical, by Nitzsch, who supplies another series similar in character from his own resources. The impartial arbiter will probably incline to pronounce the list of Payne Knight to be, upon the whole, the better of the two. The examination of a few items of that substituted by Nitzsch, for it were tedious to analyse the whole, will tend still further to show the weakness of a doctrine which required to be supported by such arguments. It will be remembered that this critic's whole train of reasoning, proceeds on the hypothesis of a more advanced state of society in the *Odyssey*:²

"1. In both poems, missions are sent by states to demand redress for grievances, but in the *Odyssey* the ambassador is much younger than in the *Iliad*.

"2. In the former poem alone does any notice occur of engagements between states, binding the contracting parties to abstain from plundering each other, with penalties mutually imposed in case of violation.

"3. Prisoners of war are, it is true, occasionally set free in both poems, but in the *Odyssey* alone is there an instance of a captive marauder generously pardoned, and permitted to settle in the territory of his conqueror.

"4. Allusion is made in the *Odyssey* alone, to the foundation of a city; and a new temple is promised, *ex voto*, to Apollo.

"5. In the *Odyssey* there is the peculiarity that the hand of the widow queen carries the crown along with it, while the crown prince retains but his own private patrimony," &c. &c.

The advocates of the old opinion might perhaps safely allow these, and about as many other similar subtleties, so gravely adduced by the same critic, to rest on their own merits. Let

¹ xxii. 302. sqq.

² Artik. *Odyssec*, p. 406. sq.

us, however, concisely test their value in the order of their statement:

1. Extreme youth in an ambassador, if it indicate anything, were evidence rather of barbarism than of civilisation. In our own middle ages, a noble stripling would frequently be sent as envoy in cases where, in the present day, none but an aged and experienced statesman would be selected.

2. Such treaties of "black-mail" are about the rudest kind of alliance customary in the rudest ages, and but sorry proof of the superior civilisation of the *Odyssey*, when compared with the maintenance in the *Iliad*, during ten years, of two such mighty feudal confederacies as those ranged under the banners of Agamemnon and Priam.

3. The lively fiction of Ulysses, here referred to, may illustrate the generous character of the reigning Pharaoh of that day. But it is difficult to see in what respect the civilisation of Egypt can be adduced in illustration of that of Greece. With equal reason, might the cases of Polyphemus and the Læstrygonians be cited as proof of brutal, even cannibal barbarism in the *Odyssey*. One hears of no man-eaters in the *Iliad*.

4. Where both cities and temples abound, as they do in the *Iliad*, it may be presumed that they were occasionally both founded and dedicated. Direct allusion to such undertakings can prove nothing but that the subject of the one poem offered greater opportunity for the introduction of similar notices.¹

5. There is no evidence whatever that the suitor on whom Penelope's choice might fall, was to become king of the Cephallenians in right of her hand. Even supposing it to be so, it would prove but a singularity in the Achæan law of royal succession. That law indeed, as illustrated in both poems, offers curious anomalies of heroic jurisprudence. It is never explained why, in both poems, Menelaus, through his wife Helen, should have inherited the kingdom of Tyndareus, to the prejudice of her brothers the Dioscuri; or why Ulysses should, equally throughout both poems, appear as reigning sovereign, his father Laertes being still alive and, in the *Iliad*, still in vigorous health.

¹ He must indeed be a very subtle casuist, who can discover in the allusion to the foundation of Scheria, *Od.* vi. 9., here adduced by Nitzsch, as compared with *Il.* xx. 216. sqq., *xxi.* 446., *vii.* 452. sq., any sensible advance in the science either of civic architecture or of fortification.

APPENDIX D. (p. 164.)

ON THE IMPUTED DIALECTICAL DISCREPANCIES OF THE TWO POEMS.

PAYNE KNIGHT is the Separatist commentator by whom the greatest importance has been attached to this head of evidence. Among the arguments most pointedly pressed by him are, the substitution in the *Odyssey* of contracted for primitive forms, as in *δόαρο* for *δοάσσαρο*, *θέσπς* for *θεσπέσιος*, *νώνυμος* for *νώννυμος*, *ἀγρότης* for *ἀγροίωτης*, and the use of *κρέα* as a monosyllable, which word in the *Iliad* is bisyllabic.¹

In the first four of these cases, the argument of archaic usage, if valid at all, would be in favour of the superior antiquity of the *Odyssey*. The obscure term *δόαρο*, which occurs but once even in that poem, is assumed by Knight to be a contraction of *δοάσσαρο*. Another critic however, of still higher authority², prefers the reading *δέαρο*, which he derives from an entirely different source. So precarious is the very foundation of this class of arguments. In any case, *δόαρο* is an antiquated and, with the exception of this passage of the *Odyssey*, obsolete idiom.

Similar is the case with *θέσπς*. This epithet, far from being, as assumed by Knight, a contraction of *θεσπέσιος*, is the primary form, of which *θεσπέσιος* is an extension. That the form *θέσπς*, though it does not happen to have been employed by the author of the *Iliad*, was familiar before his time, is evident from another of its derivatives, *θεσπιδάης*, compounded of *θέσπς* and *δαίω*, and of frequent occurrence in that poem.

Νώννυμος and *ἀγρότης*, in like manner, are not derivatives of *νώννυμος* and *ἀγροίωτης*. On the contrary, the latter are evident extensions of the more antient and simpler forms, suggested for the convenience of the hexameter verse.

Κρέα is a mere synizesis; it is also one of a class of synizeses³ abounding in both poems, and perhaps most numerous in the *Iliad*. If the occurrence of *κρέα* as a monosyllable in the *Odyssey* alone be a proof of the recent age of that poem, the occurrence of *ρέα*, *ἔῤ*, *βέλεα*, in the same contracted form in the *Iliad* alone, must

¹ Prolegg. xliii. sqq.

² Buttmann, *Lexilog.* vol. ii. p. 103.

³ The optative *κίλοι* cited by P. Knight as another synizesis, is never used as a monosyllable. The imputed reading is one of the many fallacies resulting from his monstrous theory of the digamma.

be at least equal proof of the more recent age of the Iliad. This counter-argument might be carried a good deal further. The contracted or monosyllabic forms in *εων*, for example (*ἀγορέων*¹, *ἐφετμέων*, *ἀρέων*), and in *εω ω* (*Πηληϊάδεω*, *Ἀτρείδεω* *Ἀρμονίδεω*, *Ἄλτρεω*, *Ἰδεω*, *χαλκέω*, *Μίνω*²), predominate in the Iliad, and are comparatively rare in the Odyssey. Add to these *πολεῖς* for *πολέας*, which occurs five times in the Iliad, and but once in the Odyssey; *ἄριστος*, for *ὁ ἄριστος*, eight times in the Iliad and but once in the Odyssey; *ἱππεῖς* for *ἱππῆες*, so written in the Iliad, never in the Odyssey.

Another hypercritical distinction, founded by Knight on the use of the full and contracted forms *γεραιά* and *γρηῖς* suggests a curious illustration of the elegant subtlety with which the Homeric dialect varies the forms even of the same word, to suit the varieties of its signification. The form *γρηῖς* occurs twice in the Iliad, in the more homely sense of "old woman;" *γεραιά* four times in the same poem, in the more dignified sense of "venerable matron." In the Odyssey the abbreviated form alone is used (varied once into *γραιή*), and exclusively, as in the Iliad, in the more homely signification of "old woman." That the difference of form is here connected with that of sound and sense, with the sonorous dignity of the one phrase and the quaint brevity of the other, must be palpable to every ear familiar with the niceties of the Greek tongue. Convert, for example, the phrase *γρηῖ καμινοῖ* of the Odyssey into *γεραιῇ καμινοῖ*, and the impropriety is obvious. The difference then resolves itself into this: that the subject of the one poem involved allusions to both classes of antient female, that of the other poem to one class alone.

The employment of the terms *χρᾶν*, *χρᾶσθαι*, in the sense of "consulting" and "delivering" oracles, has also been adduced as a novelty peculiar to the Odyssey. The answer to this objection is simply that, as no oracle is consulted in the Iliad, there was no room for the introduction of those terms. Stress has also been laid on the employment, in the two poems respectively, of different terms, *χρήματα* and *κρήματα*, for example, to express the same idea. The former of these words is found solely in the Odyssey, where it occurs fourteen times; while *κρήματα* is common to both poems, occurring forty-four times in the Odyssey, eighteen in the Iliad. As however the two terms are substantially the same in signification, as they have precisely the same metrical power, and differ but

¹ In the Odyssey, *ἀγορέων*.

² In the Odyssey, *Μίνωα*.

by a trifle in pronunciation, it is evident that wherever the one now stands, both sense and rhythm would equally admit the other. It may therefore reasonably be assumed that the uniformity of usage in the Iliad is the work of editors or diasceuaists, rather than of the original author. Granting however the phrase *χρήματα* to indicate a more complicated state of property, might not the fact of the general idea which it expresses occurring three times oftener in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, account better than any more far-fetched hypothesis for its introduction in the latter poem alone? Even accident or caprice might suffice to explain many such incidental anomalies.

Another similar argument has been founded¹ on the occurrence of the term *χραισμεῖν*, "to succour," nineteen times in the Iliad, and not once in the Odyssey. Here it will be remarked, that there are four terms more or less habitually used by Homer, to denote the cognate ideas, "defend, succour, rescue." These terms are *ἀμύνειν*, *ἀλέξειν*, *ἀρήγειν* and *χραισμεῖν*. The whole number of times that they occur collectively in the Iliad is one hundred and twenty-eight; in the Odyssey the whole number is but nineteen. *Ἀμύνειν* occurs seventy-six times in the Iliad, sixteen times in the Odyssey; *ἀλέξειν* sixteen times in the Iliad, thrice in the Odyssey; *ἀρήγειν* and *χραισμεῖν* are limited to the Iliad alone, where each occurs eighteen times. All that can here be inferred is the more martial character of the latter poem, involving a far more frequent introduction of words of martial import. That the nineteen examples of the Odyssey should happen to be confined to *ἀλέξειν* and *ἀμύνειν* may be the result of chance or caprice, but can supply no legitimate ground of speculative argument.

It has further been maintained, that certain terms of common occurrence are used in broadly different senses in the two poems; and that not in incidental passages, but with such constancy throughout each work, as to reflect a corresponding difference of vernacular usage. The futility of this objection, in the only instance where it has been pointedly pressed, has already been shown in an article in the Rheinische Museum (1839, p. 491.), by the author of this work.

¹ Buttmann, Lexil. vol. I. p. 1.

APPENDIX E. (p. 173.)

MINOR APOCRYPHAL TEXTS OF THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY.

THE doubtful or disputed texts of this minor class have been enclosed within brackets by Wolf in his edition of the poems. The whole number of those so treated by him comprises ninety-three verses for the Iliad, and a hundred and fourteen for the Odyssey. In this collection there are comparatively few passages which have been impugned by the antient grammarians on what can properly be called historical or "diplomatic" evidence; many have been stigmatised by Wolf on his own authority alone; others on so slender or so hollow a basis of antient grammatical speculation, as can scarcely amount to classical authority. Considered with reference to the intrinsic value of the passages, the omission would in many cases be an improvement, as in the examples here subjoined:

Il. v. 808.; viii. 528. 557.; ix. 694.; x. 84. 409.; xi. 515. 543.; xii. 175.; xiii. 731. 749.; xiv. 376.; xvi. 614.; xx. 135.; xxi. 570.; xxiii. 843.; xxiv. 514. 569.

Od. ii. 191.; iii. 493.; iv. 15. 285. 553. 726.; v. 133. 157. 337.; viii. 303.; ix. 30. 483. 531.; x. 265. 456. 470.; xi. 92. 245. 343. 604. 631.; xii. 445.; xiii. 347. 428.; xiv. 515.; xv. 63. 295.; xvi. 101.; xxiii. 48. 320.; xxiv. 121. 158.

In the following cases the effect would be prejudicial to the spirit or connexion of the text:

Il. ii. 168.; v. 342.; vii. 353. 380.; viii. 73. 183. 189. 277. 466. 475. 548.; x. 531.; xi. 662.; xiii. 255.; xiv. 95. 114.; xvi. 381.; xvii. 585.; xix. 94. 177.; xx. 312.; xxi. 471. 481. 570.; xxiii. 565. 757.; xxiv. 558. 790.

Od. i. 141.; iv. 57. 192.; v. 91. 110.; vi. 313.; viii. 58.; x. 253. 329. 368. 430. 475.; xi. 38. 60. 157. 343. 525.; xii. 147.; xiii. 320.; xiv. 132.; xv. 45. 74. 139.; xviii. 330. 393.; xix. 130.; xxi. 109. 276.; xxiii. 127.

In the remainder the result would be comparatively unimportant:

Il. i. 265.; ii. 206. 558. 670.; viii. 235.; x. 191.; xv. 481. 610.; xvi. 689.; xix. 365.; xxi. 158.; xxii. 121.; xxiv. 693.

Od. iii. 78.; iv. 353. 511. 783.; xiv. 154.; xvii. 49.; xviii. 59. 413.; xix. 153.; xxi. 66.; xxii. 43.; xxiv. 143.

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APPENDIX F. (p. 226.)

ON THE CHANGE FROM MONARCHAL TO REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT
IN GREECE.

For the abolition of royalty in Bœotia, see Pausanias, ix. v. 8.; conf. ix. i. 2. For the same political crisis in Attica, see Pausanias, iv. v. 4.; Smith, Dict. of Biogr. art Codrus. For the virtual abolition of royal power in Argos, see also Pausan. ii. xix. 1.: hence the subsequent monarchy of Phidon in that state is designated a tyranny, as distinct from the constitutional royalty of Lacedæmon. In conformity with the first-cited text of Pausanias, kings in the Homeric sense seem not to have been known to the Bœotian poet Hesiod, Works and Days, 258. sqq.; conf. 38. alibi. The title Basileus frequently occurs in the Works and Days, but in the plural number, and evidently denoting an aristocratical magistracy acting also as judges, similar to the Archons of Athens, or the Prytanes of Corinth and Corcyra. The responsibility of those Basileis to the Demus, or public, for their conduct, is also inculcated by the same poet. In the Homeric hymn to Ceres¹, the most antient probably in the collection, the government of Eleusis is described as a magistracy of six Basileis, uncontrolled by any presiding power. Similar, it may be presumed, to the magisterial kings of Bœotia and Attica, were those who swayed the early destinies of the Ionian republics. Their royal dignity is stated, in what appear to be the more authentic notices on the subject, to have been extinguished almost immediately after the settlement of the colonies. In other more popular accounts it is described as remaining hereditary, in a sacerdotal probably rather than a civil form, in the legendary heroic lines of Codridæ, Glaucidæ, and others, just as the office of rhapsodist in Chios was hereditary in the family of Homeridæ.² The names indeed of most of the sons, brothers, or grandsons of Codrus, who act as leaders of the Ionian migration, and from whom the Ionian noble families boasted descent, have nearly as much the air of fabulous eponyme titles as those of Hellen, Ion, or Dorus. Such are Apœcus, the "colonist;" Naucleus

¹ 150. sqq.² Herodot. i. cxlvii.; Strab. xiv. p. 633.; Steph. Byz. v. Βέρνα, vulg. Βερναύλα.

the "navigator;" Damasichthon, the "subduer of territory;" Damasus; Prometheus, the "provident;" with Cnopus, and Ægyptus son of Nileus, titles significant probably of "Cecropian" origin.¹

The remains of the earliest extant Ionian poets in the first century of the Olympic era, of Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, with the notices of their own lives or of the vicissitudes of public affairs during or previous to their times, exhibit a purely republican state of society; and the term "tyrant," stigmatising monarchical rule, in contradistinction to republican government, as unpopular or unjust, is of familiar occurrence in their writings.² Even the legendary biographies of Homer, though comprising probably some of the more authentic traditions concerning primitive social life in the Ionian states, represent their form of government as republican. The poet's patrons are there but wealthy citizens, occasionally, when acting as judges³, styled "Basileis," in the magisterial sense. The only genuine kings mentioned are those of Phrygia and Lydia. Of monarchical government in Crete there is no trace whatever, except in the poems of Homer.⁴

APPENDIX G. (p. 257.)

ON THE COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE EPIC CYCLE.

HITHERTO the view taken in the text, of the nature and extent of the Epic Cycle, has been substantially the same as that so ably illustrated by the author's valued friend Professor Welcker, in his excellent work on the subject. The above list of poems will be found however, in respect to the ante-Troic portion of the series, to differ from that of Welcker in several important particulars. This is chiefly owing to the author's inability to attach the same degree of value or importance as Welcker has done, to the Borgian tablet, as an authority relative to the contents of the Cycle, or to admit the validity of his restoration of the missing parts of that inscrip-

¹ Strab. sup. cit.; Pausan. vii. ii. 7.

² Archil. frg. 21. (Bergk); Simonid. frg. vi. 69. (Bergk).

³ Herodot. vit. Hom. xi. xii. xxxi.; Plut. vit. Hom. A. § 3.

⁴ Conf. Hermann, Lehrb. der Griech. Staatsalt. § 55. sqq.; Ulrici, Gesch. Der Hell. Dichtk. vol. i. p. 191. sqq.

tion. Our objections to Welcker's views, are much the same as those urged by K. O. Müller in his criticism¹ on the work in which those views are explained. We cannot admit that either the "Amazonian war" or "Atthis," supplied, conjecturally by Welcker as one of the erased names of the tablet, or the epithet of "Chian," added by him on equally conjectural grounds to the still existing name of Cinæthon, formed part of the entire monument. Nor, even had an "Amazonian war" been included in the list of the tablet, would that circumstance have been any sufficient proof that such a poem had ever found a place in the Homeric Cycle. Welcker's argument seems to proceed throughout on the understanding, that if in any such inscription as the Borgian tablet, a certain number of the poems mentioned can be identified as Cyclic poems (the *Œdipodia*, for example, and the *Thebais*, in the present case), the others in the same list must also be considered as members of the Cycle. The inadequacy of any such evidence in any such case, is sufficiently clear from the fact, that in the *Tabula Iliaca*, the most remarkable document of this kind, the poem to which the most conspicuous position is assigned is the lyric *Ilii-Persis* of Stesichorus, a work which could never possibly have found a place in the Epic Cycle. The "*Danaïdes*" consequently, which occupies a prominent place in the preserved part of the Borgian tablet, can have no claim on that account alone to the honour awarded to it by Welcker of a place in the Homeric collection. Still less pretension can it advance on any other account, as neither treating of a subject possessing the smallest claim to the character of Homeric, nor being ever alluded to as a Cyclic poem, or as the work of a Cyclic author, in any extant notice on the subject. It has therefore been omitted in the list given in the text. Our reasons for excluding the *Minyas*, identified by Welcker with the *Phocais*, and inserted by him between the *Epigoni* and the *Œchalia*, will be given in the part of the text devoted to the two former works, which we consider as quite distinct poems. The only very important matter of fact supplied by the Borgian inscription, as bearing on the history of the Cycle, is the notice of the Homeric poet Cinæthon as author of the *Œdipodia*; a notice which tends to confirm the otherwise plausible claims of that poem to a place in the collection.

¹ Zimmermann, *Zeitschr. für Alterthumswiss.* 1835, p. 1162. sqq.

APPENDIX H. (p. 265.)

ON CINÆTHON OF LACEDÆMON AND CYNÆTHUS OF CHIOS.

CINÆTHON flourished, according to the received chronology, in 765 B. C.¹, and ranks accordingly next in antiquity to Arctinus, among the successors of Homer and Hesiod. His name, under slight variety of form, is common to Cynæthus of Chios, celebrated by Hipponostratus as a rhapsodist at Syracuse in the LXIXth Olympiad, and the accredited author of the Delian hymn to Apollo, as will be seen further in treating of that poem. Welcker (Ep. Cycl. pt. I. p. 237. sqq.) endeavours to show the latter date to be corrupt, and that Cinæthon and Cynæthus represent but a single Chian Homerid of the earlier period. To this view there are insuperable objections. Apart from Welcker's somewhat summary disposal of the existing numerals of Hipponostratus, the title of "Rhapsodist," habitually given to Cynæthus and never to Cinæthon, who is as pointedly described as "Poet,"² forms so marked a distinction between the two by the authors who mention them, as to be incompatible with any hypothetical theory of their identity. It could never have occurred to these authors, to connect the title Rhapsodist in so specific a manner with the name of a primitive bard of the IIIrd Olympiad. The further description, by the same authorities, of Cynæthus, as one of the first rhapsodists who systematically corrupted or interpolated the Homeric poems, while quite appropriate in regard to a professor of the Pisistratid era, were totally inapplicable to a Cyclic poet of the eighth century B. C. Nor were it easy to comprehend, on Welcker's view, how the inventors of this supposed fictitious Cinæthon should have had recourse, for his equally fictitious title, to Lacedæmon, a city of all others least fertile in such characters. Conf. note on Delian hymn, *supra*, p. 329.

APPENDIX J. (p. 297.)

ON THE POETICAL MERITS OF THE CYCLIC POEMS.

THE composition and style of the Cyclic poems have found a zealous and able, though not, we apprehend, a successful vindicator

¹ Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* vol. I. p. 155.² Conf. Clint. *loc. cit.*

in Welcker.¹ That distinguished critic, uninfluenced by the various facts or authorities, from Isocrates² and Aristotle downwards, appealed to in the text, maintains that several of these poems not only possessed great merit, but even rivalled the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in epic unity, and in other higher excellences of the genuine Homeric minstrelsy. As a test of the success of his argument, it might almost suffice to state, that his extensive reading and thorough insight into all the details of this head of subject, have not enabled him to adduce a single passage of any antient critic unequivocally favourable to his own opinion. His argument has, in fact, been restricted solely or chiefly to attempts to explain away certain passages of Callimachus, Horace, and other critics, where the term *Cyclic* is used in a satirical or contemptuous sense, as alluding, not to the old poems of the Homeric Cycle, but to certain works of a later period, which he assumes, on more or less valid grounds, to have been also occasionally entitled "*Cyclic*." Even admitting this line of argument to have been completely successful, all that it would establish would be, that the poets of the Homeric Cycle had not been actually ridiculed by those critics. But this result were still a very slender basis on which to found an opinion as to the great excellence of the same poets, in the face of the, to say the least, disparaging terms in which Aristotle alludes to them, and of the indifference to their merits displayed by the other great critics of antiquity. We cannot acquiesce in the reasoning by which Welcker would persuade us that Horace, in his expression "*Scriptor cyclicus olim*," "*Cyclic writer of old*," alludes to any other than "*the old Cyclic poets*," in the simple and natural sense of the terms. We are still also inclined to abide by the opinion expressed in the text, that the same Horace, in characterising the particular *Cyclic* writer whom he has in view, as one who "*began by announcing his intention of singing the Trojan war and the fortunes of Priam*," alludes to the author of the *Little Iliad*; although we readily admit that the allusion may be conceived in a spirit of severe or even of harsh sarcasm. The analysis of the action of the *Cypria* in the text above, added to the authority of Aristotle, must also outweigh Welcker's objections to the belief that the other poem, alluded to by Horace³ as commencing the history of the Trojan war from

¹ *Der Epische Cyclus*, pt. i. p. 110. sqq.; pt. ii. *passim*.

² *Panathen.* p. 324. Bekker; *conf. auctt. ap. Welck. loc. sup. cit.*

³ *Epist. ad Pis.* 148.

Leda's twin eggs, is the Cypria. Still less can we subscribe to Welcker's proposal, to interpret the epigram of Callimachus on the Æchalia of Creophylus in a sense laudatory of that poem or of its author. All that Callimachus¹ appears to say is, "that it was indeed a mighty honour for a second-rate poem, by a second-rate author, to obtain the title of Homeric : "

Κρεωφύλον πόνος εἰμὶ . . . Ὀμήρειον δὲ καλεῦμαι
γράμμα · Κρεωφύλῳ, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα !

APPENDIX K. (p. 391.)

ON THE SUPPOSED LOST PORTIONS OF HESIOD'S WORKS AND DAYS.

THE most curious of these passages is that of Manilius², who, in an appeal to the Bœotian bard's agricultural science, describes him as treating of an extensive range of subjects scarcely if at all touched on in his extant poem, such as the soils or exposure best adapted to the culture of the vine, of the olive, or of corn ; the grafting of fruit trees ; with the worship and attributes of the sylvan deities male and female. There can be no reasonable doubt that this is a mere random apostrophe by the Roman poet to "Hesiod," in his capacity of classical eponyme or patriarch of the science of husbandry.

The supposition that a poem, so universally popular and familiar as the Works and Days was at every period of antiquity, should, as assumed in Thiersch's theory, have become extinct in its genuine form between the age of Manilius and that of Plutarch, and that its place should have been occupied in the interval by a garbled abstract of its former contents, seems in itself something almost too wildly improbable to be seriously entertained. In the age of Proclus, the most copious extant scholiast of the poem, the commentaries not only of Plutarch, but of the great Alexandrian critics, Aristarchus, Aristophanes, and Zenodotus, were still extant, and are copiously cited by that scholiast. (See Scholl. Gaisford, *passim* ; conf. Göttl. Præf. p. xxxii. sqq.) But no where in these citations is there a symptom of the same Alexandrian critics having found more in the text than Proclus did himself, while in several instances verses are now read which he states them to have con-

¹ Epigr. vi. Tauchn.

² Astron. II. 19. sq.

demned. Nor, in the vast number of incidental quotations of or appeals to Hesiod by antient authors, has a single verse or passage been specifically cited as from the *Works and Days*, which does not now form part of its text. These facts are in themselves sufficient to outweigh a multitude of such random generalities as the passage of Manilius, or others similar, occurring in the works of popular Roman writers.

Nor can any thing be more fallacious than the proposal of Göttling and other modern critics, to assign to this supposed original and more comprehensive *Works and Days*, all the existing fragments or citations of Hesiod in which reference is made either to rural affairs generally, or to particular plants, vegetables, drugs, and the like. The allusions by Homer in the *Odyssey* to the herb Moly, and to the use of dung as manure, with those occurring in both his poems to many other interesting matters connected with rural husbandry, sufficiently prove, that even in works of the purely heroic order ample scope was afforded for the introduction of such notices. How much more likely then were they to find a place in the voluminous body of didactic poems which, beside the "*Works*," passed current under the title Hesiod.

Of the citations in question, those relative to the herbs Polion and Hippomanes (Göttl. frgg. xv. — xviii.) belonged probably to the *Ornithomantia* or the *Melampodia*. Frg. xiv. (Göttl.) has no claim to a place in the collection; the words "*præcipua voluptate*" being evidently but Pliny's free translation (after Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* vii. ii.) of Hesiod's μέγ' ὄνειαρ; showing the quotation consequently to be made from an existing (41.), not a lost, passage of the "*Works*." In frg. xii. from Fulgentius, the corruption of the text places it beyond the pale of profitable criticism. It seems to contain vestiges of an elegiac distich:

Προῖτος σταφυλῶν
εὐλακτιστῶν αἱματόεντι δρόσῳ.

For any more detailed examination of this question, as also of that concerning another supposed poem of Hesiod under the title of "*Ἔργα μεγάλα*," or "*Great Works*," altogether distinct from the existing "*Works and Days*," the reader is referred to Marckscheffel's valuable treatise on the Hesiodic fragments. The whole subject has there been fully and ably discussed¹, with results

¹ p. 202. sqq.

substantially the same as those to which we had been led on the same data, before obtaining access to that treatise.

APPENDIX L. (p. 404.)

ON THE LYRE AND THE LAUREL BRANCH IN EPIC RECITAL.

A DISTINCTION has been drawn by various commentators, antient and modern¹, between the modes of recital proper to the respective minstrelsies of Homer and Hesiod, which distinction has also been made the basis of an argument bearing on the relative age of the two poets. Homer, it has been said, with the heroic school of which he was the chief, sang or chanted his compositions to the chords of the lyre. Hesiod on the other hand simply recited or declaimed, without musical accompaniment, holding in his hand, in place of the lyre, a wand or rod as his emblem of office. In support of this view, appeal has been made to a passage of the *Theogony*², where the Muses, as a symbol of the poetical genius with which they inspire its author, present him with a laurel branch. This text has been brought into connexion with the later custom of persons, when reciting poetry on convivial occasions, bearing a similar branch or rod; from the Greek name of which rod, *rhabdos* or *rhaps*, some would also derive that of "rhapsodist," or professional rehearser of epic poems.³ Hesiod's art therefore, it has been inferred, may be considered as a transition from the pure epic minstrelsy to the later less genial style of performance. This however appears a somewhat overstrained interpretation of the passage of the *Theogony*. The laurel may there with better reason be taken as the type of poetical recital generally, whether with or without the lyre, for such it was at every period, than of any distinct class of performance. Homer himself frequently appears in his classical effigies with a laurel wand in his hand instead of a lyre. There is no doubt something plausible in the general argument, that the transition from the more musical to the more familiar mode of delivery, would be likely to take place in connexion with a style of poetry itself of a more homely and

¹ Pausan. ix. xxx. 2., x. vii. 2.; Nitzsch, *Hist. Hom.* p. 139.; Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* pt. i. p. 358. sqq.

² 30.

³ Welck. loc. cit.

familiar character. It must be remembered however, that many of the Hesiodic poems, inclusive of the Theogony itself, where this notice of the supposed rhapsodist rod occurs, are as essentially heroic in their style and materials as the Iliad and Odyssey, and were as dependant for their full effect on the aid of lyric accompaniment; so that, giving their authors credit for any reasonable degree of antiquity, it seems very improbable that such aid should have been withheld.

APPENDIX M. (p. 408.)

ON THE SUPPOSED LOST PORTIONS OF HESIOD'S THEOGONY.

IN explanation of several of these anomalies, recourse has been had by modern commentators to the same hypothesis already noticed in treating of the Works and Days; that each poem namely, as it now exists, is but an abridgement or epitome of the original work. The main argument urged in favour of this view, the citation by antient authors, apparently from one or other of the poems, of passages no longer extant in their text, if more specious perhaps in respect to the Theogony than to the sister poem, is hardly more conclusive. The point, apart from its immediate bearings on the text of the Theogony, is the more deserving of somewhat closer attention, as tending to show generally the vague and problematical nature of many of these incidental appeals by classical authors to the works of their predecessors, and the danger, consequently, of founding theories upon such evidence.

Manilius, in the same passage above appealed to as containing a supposed allusion to the Works and Days, also cites Hesiod with apparent reference to the Theogony, as narrating, among other matters, the second birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Jupiter:

Hesiodus memorat Divos Divomque parentes,
Et Chaos enixum terras, orbemque sub illo
Infantem, et primos titubantia sidera partus;
Titanasque senes, Jovis et cunabula magni,
Atque iterum patrio nascentem corpore Bacchum.¹

But in the extant Theogony, the god of the grape is described simply as begotten by Jupiter of Semele. Hence, it is urged, the

¹ Astronom. II. 12.

passage of the original poem relating to the second nativity of the divine infant, must have been ejected subsequently to the time of Manilius. The inference is fair, assuming the testimony of Manilius to be true to the letter. That this however is neither a necessary nor a reasonable assumption, will appear from a comparison of the opening lines of the existing Theogony with the second verse of the text of Manilius above quoted, in which Hesiod is made to describe Earth as the progeny of Chaos. The genuine character of those opening lines has never been, nor can it reasonably be, called in question. But in them we find no trace of Earth having been generated by Chaos. Chaos, Earth, Tartarus, and Eros are described as springing into existence spontaneously, in independent succession. This, in fact, is a peculiarity of the Hesiodic system which distinguishes it from the Orphic and others in popular vogue. It has accordingly been pointed out as such by other commentators¹, who had the original text of the Theogony before them in writing; and it seems very doubtful how far that may have been the case with Manilius. The further description by that poet, in the above text, of the globe or sphere as in a state of infancy, and of the parturition of the various stars, finds also no parallel in the Theogony. Such vagueness in these essential particulars gives ample colour to the suspicion formerly expressed, that the Roman astronomical poet here uses the name "Hesiod" merely as the poetical type or standard of the classical theology, with the details of which the same Manilius was more familiar in the text of other more popular repertories of his own age.

A similar discrepancy of Hesiodic legend occurs in the case of the Hydra, and of other kindred monsters. Nicander², in his *Theriaca*, quotes "Hesiod" as deriving the origin of the whole race of venomous animals from "the blood of the Titans." The scholiast on this text plainly taxes his author with falsehood or error; no such passage being to be found in Hesiod. In support of Nicander's credit appeal has been made to another scholiast³, who represents the Hesiodic Theogony as having described "the genealogy of the gods; Erebus and Chaos; Heaven and Earth; Cronus and Jupiter; the Hecaton-Chiras (or Titans); the battle of the Giants, and the issue from their blood of many venomous monsters, of the Hydra slain by Hercules, of the Chimæra slain

¹ Plato, *Sympos.* p. 178.; Pausan. ix. xxvii.

² *Theriaca*, 8. sqq.

³ Ap. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 567.

by Bellerophon, of the Gorgon slain by Perseus, and of the three-headed dog" [Cerberus]. Here again the question at issue is not one of mere omission, but of entire discrepancy; for the existing Theogony, in a passage of unexceptionably Hesiodic character¹, derives the Hydra, Chimæra, and Cerberus from an amour of Typhaon and Echidna. The same passage gives fifty, not three heads alone, to Cerberus. It must therefore be assumed, either that a passage of the Theogony, tracing the birth of the Hydra and her fellow-monsters to "the blood of the Titans," had been ejected, and another with a different version of the story inserted in its stead; or that the original text contained both accounts, and, by consequence, was guilty of a self-contradiction; or, thirdly, that in the different editions of the poet different versions of the same fable were preferred; or, finally, that the whole dilemma originates in a misunderstanding on the part of Nicander and of the secondary authorities on the same side, all probably drawing from a common source of error, and imputing to Hesiod, or to the Theogony, statements contained in other popular compendia of mythological science. The latter alternative is certainly the most reasonable of the whole. It may be added that the commentaries of Aristophanes, Aristarchus, and other leading Alexandrian critics who flourished prior to the age of Nicander, are freely cited in the extant scholia to the Theogony; and it would certainly be very surprising, had the text of the poem, as known to those critics, differed in so remarkable a degree from that extant in later times, that the same scholia should betray no knowledge whatever of any such difference.

APPENDIX N. (p. 416.)

ON THE PROCEMIA OF THE THEOGONY.

THIS theory appears to have been somewhat exaggerated in its application by its acute and ingenious proposer, Hermann.² Not less than seven of these supposed separate exordia have been set apart by him; a number which seems at least double that

¹ 306. sqq.

² Epistol. ad Ilgen. in Præf. ad Hymnos Homer., and ap. Gaisf. Præf. ad Theogon.

required to explain the difficulty. Nor can that number be elicited but by assuming a process of mutilation and repatching on the part of the antient compiler, almost as improbable as that the whole mass should be the genuine production of a single poet. It has been but rarely and with diffidence, in the course of this history, that we have ventured to expatiate in the field of subtle, and for the most part profitless criticism, to which such questions belong. Admitting however the validity of the theory itself, three of these elementary proœmia were the utmost number of which it could reasonably warrant the assumption. They might be distributed as follows :

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------------|
| I. | comprising verses | 1 — 4 and 22—52. |
| II. | „ | 1—21 „ 75—103. |
| III. | „ | 1 „ 53—74. |

The points of distinction are here marked out with obvious plainness by the three leading incoherencies of the text, at vv. 22. 53. 75. The opening lines, as in Hermann's arrangement, are admitted as more or less common to each subdivision. Each also combines the two conventional heads of celebration essential to all such epic exordia, the one addressed directly to the Muses, the other indirectly to Jupiter and the rest of the gods.

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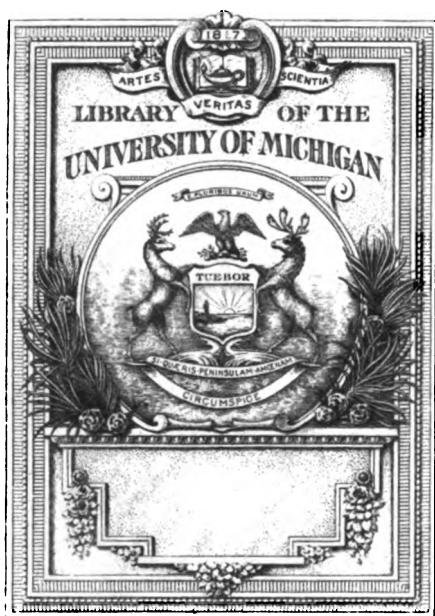
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CRITICAL HISTORY,

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BOOK III.

POETICAL PERIOD.—LYRIC POETRY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL HISTORY OF LYRIC COMPOSITION DURING THIS PERIOD.

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1. In the present book it is proposed to offer :

First. A general outline of the history of lyric poetry, in its connexion with the kindred arts of music and dancing.

Rise and early cultivation of Greek lyric poetry.

Secondly. A review of the more remarkable occasions or objects of lyric celebration, and of the varieties of hymn, ode, or song, appropriated or adapted to each.

Thirdly. A biographical notice of the more dis-

B

tinguished lyric poets of the period, with critical remarks on their genius and works.

Attention has already been directed in the previous book¹ to the origin of lyric poetry, and to the causes which obtained for the sister epic art, if not the palm of prior invention, a preference at least in respect to culture and preservation. It will now be proper to inquire into the circumstances to which, at a later epoch, the Lyric Muse was indebted, in her turn, for an equal share of honourable distinction.

The primary cause of the rise, progress, or decline of every popular art is to be sought in the social condition of the country where it is exercised. The decay of the epic school, the productions of which had hitherto sufficed for the higher poetical wants of the nation, was a consequence partly of changes in the social state of Greece unfavourable to the prosperity or popularity of that school, partly of the tendency of all human art to degenerate after reaching a certain climax of excellence. The same external influences which led to the decline of the one branch of composition, contributed to the improvement and extension of the other.

Epic poetry, as it appears in the age and works of Homer, is the poetry of a whole nation. The honour, the interest, or the ambition of the individual is concentrated around common objects, of a grandeur in the national estimate which requires a corresponding extent and dignity in the works devoted to their celebration. The break up of the old heroic confederacy, the substitution of independent republics for patriarchal monarchies, with the complexity of social interests consequent on advancing civilisation,

¹ Vol. I. p. 168. sqq.

produced a parallel change in the taste for literary pursuit. As the objects of popular ambition became more numerous and varied, the channels for the display of poetical talent were proportionally multiplied. The decay of the heroic minstrelsy, originating in causes peculiar to itself, involved no similar decline in the national genius, which, still buoyant and energetic, sought out the more zealously fresh materials for its exercise. The attempts of Pisander and his contemporaries to enliven by artificial expedients the languor of the superannuated epic style have already been considered. The same thirst for novelty led others to abandon that style altogether, and turn for relief from its dulness to more original sources. The nicer distinction of dialects, coinciding with a like subdivision of the federal body, tended still further to vary and extend the field of literary enterprise. Hence, while the old epic masterpieces still remained the common standards of poetical excellence, the Ionians and Æolians of the Asiatic coast, and the Dorians of Southern Greece, the three races now jointly in the ascendant of the Hellenic body, each started forth to enliven, by some new style of treatment, the new subjects and interests which the progress of society had called into existence.

The more practical or "subjective" tendency of the lyric, as compared with the epic order of composition, is strikingly illustrated in several distinctive features of their respective histories. It can hardly be doubted that the earlier ruder stages of epic poetry abounded in popular ballads, celebrating the heroes or enterprises of the day. Yet in no instance has the author of any great heroic epopee selected his subject from contemporary events. A certain mist of

antiquity was required to magnify both actions and characters to the pitch which constituted them fit subjects for the higher inspirations of the Epic Muse. Her lyric sister, on the other hand, recognises the full rights of the present. She seeks her materials by preference in local, or even domestic sources: in the honour of a patron deity or an illustrious citizen; in a victory which the poet has helped to achieve, or a disaster in which he has participated. The distinction is similarly marked in the personal lot of the authors. In scarcely an instance, if indeed one can be found, has a lyric composition of any note been transmitted to posterity anonymously. Not only is the poem, whether a war-song of Tyrtæus, a lampoon of Archilochus, or a love melody of Mimnermus, invariably identified with the name and person of the author, in most cases through his own allusions to himself or his concerns, but he is often himself the subject of his work.¹ Many of the greatest epic productions, on the other hand, are either unconnected with the name of any poet, or, what is nearly equivalent, are claimed by so many, as to impart not only to the pretensions, but to the existence, of those claimants, a doubtful or mythical character. Nor is there any instance of a distinct allusion contained in a great epic work to its author or his affairs. The first advance towards the individuality of spirit

¹ Hence, too, the number of allusions, direct or indirect, by lyric poets of this period, from Callinus downwards, to each other, or to their fellow epic minstrels; allusions which form some of the most valuable data for the illustration of the obscurer points of Greek literary history. See a catalogue of such passages in Marcksch. *Fragm. Hesiod.* p. 149. sq., to which additions might be made. No such notices can be discovered either in the text of, or citations from, the epic poets of this period.

which distinguishes the Lyric Muse is observable in the Works and Days of Hesiod. That poem may, accordingly, be said to form an intermediate stage between the two branches of composition, as being the production of a local school of poetry devoted to a comparatively homely class of subjects, and deriving its chief interest from its detailed notices of the author and his domestic affairs.

2. Another important cause or concomitant of the more extended culture of the art of lyric composition was the improvement of that of music. These two arts were, in the early ages of Greece, if not inseparable, so closely connected, that the advance of each from infancy to maturity must have been simultaneous. Lyric composition was invariably destined, at least on occasions of public or festive recital, for musical accompaniment. Purely instrumental music, on the other hand, at all times comparatively little popular among the Greeks¹, could at this early period have exercised proportionally slender influence on the progress of the science. While, therefore, the developement of the more complex forms of poetical metre depended on that of the musical schemes or systems, these, in their turn, were similarly indebted for their extension and refinement to the parallel improvement or complication of the poetical measures to which they were adapted. The adjustment of the accompaniment to the words, on the most delicate ideal principles, thus became essential to the full effect of a lyric performance. Hence that harmony between the genius of the different families of the

Its connexion with music.

¹ Plato repudiated the separation of music from poetry as a corruption of the former art. Legg. 669. D. sq.; conf. Boeckh de Metr. Pind. 258.

Hellenic race and that of their respective lyric and musical styles, which, in these earlier stages of elegant culture, forms so prominent a feature in the character as well as literature of the nation. The gravity and severity for which the habits and language of the Dorians were proverbial, were also the proper attributes of their music and poetry. Among the Æolian colonists, on the other hand, a race of a naturally ardent temperament, and whose primitive patriarchal rudeness, verging on ferocity of manners, was superseded in their new seats by a taste for voluptuous enjoyment, the change in their own character was accompanied by a softening down of the native asperities of their dialect into an apt vehicle for the impassioned strains of Alcæus and Sappho. The more sprightly genius and varied intellect of the Ionians displays itself in the point and precision of the elegiac and iambic orders of composition, which they were the first to cultivate, and with which was associated a spirited but somewhat licentious musical style, as distinct from the severe majesty of the Dorian as from the fervid excitement of the Æolian school.¹

The nicer relations between the two arts belong to the history of music rather than literature. The analysis of those relations is a subject which, beyond a few elementary facts, is involved in great obscurity. It is one, too, which, even apart from defective historical data, would demand, for the full apprehension of its more subtle details, a depth of insight into the theory of musical science by no means necessary to the general student of classical literature, and which few, even of the most accomplished, can be expected

¹ See Boeckh de Metr. Pind. p. 238. sqq.

to possess. Poetry and music, to whatever extent they may tend mutually to adorn each other, and vitally as they were linked together among the Greeks, are yet, like architecture and painting, literary composition and elocution, distinct arts. A building may derive much of its effect from the coloured decoration of its walls, or an oration from the eloquence of its recital; but an architect is not, on this account, required to be a painter, nor an elegant writer an orator. Similar is the relation between poetry and music. The office of the poet is to adapt the style of his work, even in the form of expression, or the sound of the words, to the spirit of his subject. The musical accompaniment, like colour in architecture, is but a secondary aid to these primary requisites. A poetical composition which through the vehicle of language alone failed to produce its effect, and was solely dependant on its musical arrangement, would be but a sorry performance.

The question here naturally arises, how far, among the Greeks, the functions of poet and musician may have been combined in the same person. It must certainly have been desirable, in the spirit of the Greek Lyric Muse, in order to secure the requisite harmony between the words and the air of a composition, that both should be the produce of the same genius; and such, there is reason to believe, was frequently the case in the infancy of musical science, among a people so highly gifted in regard to all the imaginative faculties. But neither probability nor historical data warrant the belief that this was the universal rule¹, or

¹ Among the most celebrated performances of Terpander was his arrangement of portions of the Homeric poems, where a lyric character predominates, as musical nomes. Plut. de Mus. III.

that all the great lyric poets, from Callinus down to Callimachus, were also accomplished musical composers. Nor can it be supposed that the original words would be held at all times inseparable from the original melody. The same ode might acquire popularity in different places, where different musical tastes prevailed. The air might, in such cases, be varied at pleasure, without real detriment to the literary character of the composition. It may also be presumed that, from the earliest period at which the two arts had reached that stage of maturity in which they already appear in the days of Archilochus and Terpander (B. C. 676), there was, besides the public or festive, also the purely literary enjoyment of lyric composition, through the medium of written circulation, without the aid either of voice or instrument.

Wherever the above relation between the two arts was reversed, and the words of an ode became altogether secondary to the air, the case would pass from the province of poetical into that of musical criticism. The parallel of the modern opera is here closely in point. As a general rule, the words of the Italian musical dramas, where not mere vapid commonplace, possess no pretensions to higher poetical excellence. They are but a vehicle for the execution of the music, which is alone responsible for the effect on the audience. There are however exceptions to this rule, supplying cases analogous to the Greek lyric rehearsals. Many of the popular dramas of Metastasio, for example, were composed for musical recitation, and the odes in which they abound were arranged to melodies; yet the intrinsic poetical value of those compositions has secured for them, apart from all

musical aids, a permanent popularity with the reading public. If a knowledge of the sister art can be dispensed with in a case where the means of obtaining that knowledge exist, still less essential must it be in one where the utmost extent to which it can be acquired amounts to a few doubtful antiquarian speculations. All, therefore, that here falls strictly within the province of the literary historian is the fact that lyric compositions were, among the Greeks, especially in the public festivals, far more closely and habitually combined than in modern times with musical execution, and that the latter was adapted to the genius of the poem on the most refined ideal principles.¹ As, however, the general connexion between the two arts will necessarily form the subject of frequent allusion in the sequel, it will here be proper, without enlarging on the nicer links of that connexion, to offer a concise notice of the Greek musical systems, and of the terminology by which they are distinguished.

3. The foundation of the Greek art of music² was the tetrachord, or four-stringed lyre, an instrument furnishing, as its name indicates, but four distinct sounds or tones. The limited variety of accompaniment which these sounds supplied seems to have sufficed for the recitative of the epic minstrelsy during its flourishing ages. With the progress of lyric art, the number of strings was increased to seven (B. C. 676), the first and last of which, by the omission of a centre tone of the scale, were placed at the interval of an octave from each other. The different key or

General characteristics of the arts of music and dancing in Greece.

¹ See especially Arist. Polit. viii. vii.; Plato de Legg. p. 669. sq.; Burette, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. x. p. 212.

² Boeckh de Metr. Pind. p. 204. sqq.; Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pind. p. 40. sq.

pitch in which this scale of chords was strung constituted the fundamental distinction between the national styles or harmonies.¹ Of these there were at first but three, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian. The Dorian was in the lowest key; the Phrygian was strung a tone higher than the Dorian; the Lydian a tone higher than the Phrygian. Not long after the regulation of these three primary harmonies two others were invented: the Ionian between the Dorian and Phrygian, the Æolian between the Phrygian and Lydian; the interval between the key note of each harmony and that of the next in order being here, consequently, but half a tone. Besides the key or tone, these styles were characterised by the genius of their metrical numbers.² The Dorian measure was distinguished by a grave and equable modification of notes, and a corresponding arrangement of the words, with a prevalence of long syllables and uniform succession of feet. In the Phrygian and Lydian, and their respective modifications, the Ionian and Æolian, a livelier, more flexible, sometimes turbulent or enthusiastic rhythm was preferred. In the different harmonies, these peculiarities of national style depended mainly for their developement on the different modes of applying to each the three musical scales or "genera," still familiarly known under the titles of diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic; according to which the seven notes of the octave were intonated, and the intervals between each note regulated, in the adaptation of the instrument to different styles of performance.³

¹ Boeckh de Metr. Pind. p. 212. sqq.; Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pind. p. 44. sqq.

² Auctt. ap. Boeckh de Metr. Pind. p. 238. sqq. 276. sqq.

³ Boeckh op. cit. p. 207.

The above three or five primitive harmonies form the basis of numerous other subordinate varieties, under the titles of Hypophrygian, Hypolydian, Mixolydian, and others similar. This multiplication of styles, involving a proportional mixture or confusion of the antient fundamental forms in which the new varieties originated, is censured by the best native critics as a corruption of the popular taste, concurrent with the general decline in the character of the nation.

One of the few distinctly recorded facts in the history of antient music is, that, at least during this earlier more genial period of the art, the rhythmical numbers of the air were far more essentially dependant on the poetical numbers of the song than in modern times. The accompaniment was considered, as a general rule, altogether subservient to the words, both in its adaptation to the character and genius of the poem, and in the special adjustment of its numbers to the length or brevity, gravity or vivacity, of the verses and of their syllables and feet.¹ The best or only practical insight therefore, into the musical element of Greek lyric poetry, is the familiarity which every competent scholar possesses with the fundamental laws of prosody, quantity, and versification.² The analysis of these laws belongs to the

¹ Plato de Rep. p. 400. ; Aristot. Probl. xix. 9. ; Plut. de M. xxxv. ; conf. Herm. Doctr. Rei metr. p. 660. sqq. The neglect or reversal of this rule, and the degradation of the words of the song, as in modern operatic music, into vehicles for the display of licentious musical combinations, or of brilliant powers of vocal or instrumental execution, formed one of the corruptions of national taste consequent on the later complications of the theory and practice of music above adverted to.

² Beyond these elementary principles the science of Greek metres is itself a mystery, forming, in fact, a chapter of the same general field of investigation as that concerning the more subtle connexion of the musical and poetical arts, and offering the same poverty of tangible results. This

grammar of the language, not to its history, where they can fitly be considered but with reference to the mode of their application by different authors or schools of poetry.

Much of what has here been said of music applies also to the sister art of dancing, on which certain orders of Greek lyric composition seem to have been little less dependant for their full effect than on the musical accompaniment.¹ With the varied movements of the festive dance were more immediately connected, in their origin or their artistic arrangement, those varieties of poetical form which under the names of Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, constitute so prominent a characteristic of the more advanced stages of lyric art. Several of the more popular styles of poetical composition are also identical, in name and origin, with the dances to which they were chiefly adapted. In Homer, the Threnus or dirge, and the Pæan are the only two classes of song with which dancing is not combined; and in the immediately subsequent age the Pæan no longer forms an exception.² In the festive halls of Ithaca, Scheria, and Sparta the bard not only plays, but sings, to the dance of the suitors, of the Phæacian youths, and of the guests of Menelaus. A similar

sufficiently appears from the wide discrepancies in the respective views of the two distinguished modern grammarians, Hermann (*Doctrina Rei metr.*) and Boeckh (*De Metris Pindari*), who have bestowed the greatest amount of labour and ingenuity on the subject. The scholar who correctly appreciates the more recondite excellences of Greek rhythmical science according to the one, must be a stranger to them in the estimation of the other. See Herm. *op. cit.* Præf. p. xvii.; Boeckh, *Expl. Pind.* pp. 693—698.; conf. Thiersch, *Einleit. zu Pind.* p. 66.

¹ Lucian. *de Salt. Athen. Deip.* xiv. p. 631. *alibi*; Boeckh *de Metr. Pind.* p. 269. *sqq.*

² Hom. *Hymn. Apoll. Pyth.* 338. *sqq.*

accompaniment enlivens the evolutions of the vine-dressers on the shield of Achilles, and those of the more accomplished performers in the Cretan dance of Dædalus, in another compartment of the same sculptured series. The word Chorus, signifying in later usage a concert of voices, denoted in earlier times simply a dance, or even, in the stricter usage of primitive art, a place suitable for such exercises.¹ The custom of the dancers joining in the song led to the term being extended to each kind of performance. Finally, on the greater distinction of the two arts, and the substitution in the tragic chorus of the processional march and gestures for the ordinary dance, the phrase was appropriated in a great measure by the art of music. The more extended application of it maintained its ground however, during the flourishing age of lyric poetry, in regard to many of the higher branches of festive solemnity.

4. It has already been shown, that while epic composition was indebted for its highest perfection to Æolian genius, the chief seat of its later cultivation and subsequent decline was the neighbouring region of Ionia. That decline however, it has also been remarked, was but a prelude to a spirited development of the national talent in a new direction. In the same Ionia the first fruits of this revival were brought to maturity in the elegy and iambic trimeter. These two branches of composition, if they cannot be proved to be next to the hexameter the earliest cultivated, are those at least of which the next most antient remains have been preserved. Each, while

Elegiac
poetry.

¹ In this sense it is chiefly, perhaps exclusively, used by Homer. II. XVIII. 590., Od. VIII. 260., XII. 4. 318. Hence, also, a part in some instances the whole, of the agora of cities, where dances were performed in primitive times, is said to have been called χορός. Pausan. III. xi. 7.

conventionally classed as lyric, might perhaps with greater propriety be defined as a medium between the lyric and epic; a first step in the transition from the one to the other style of popular art. Of the two, the elegy possesses upon the whole the strongest claims to priority, as well on historical grounds, as from its close connexion with the old heroic measure, of which the pentameter may be considered, theoretically at least, but a slight modification, adapting it to more homely and familiar objects.

For the better understanding of the nature of this modification, attention must be recalled to those properties of the hexameter verse formerly¹ pointed out as peculiarly fitting it for epic composition; to the variety and flexibility of its metrical numbers, and the scope which they afforded both to narrative continuity and dramatic mechanism, in the treatment of every kind of subject. These properties were illustrated by the contrast of certain other systems of epic versification, where the text is subdivided into groups of lines, forming, in their successive repetition, distinct metrical stanzas or clauses of the narrative.

Character-
istics of
the elegiac
measure.

This subdivision of the metrical text, and into very minute parts, is the special characteristic of the elegiac, as compared with the purely hexameter order of versification. The fundamental base or element of the former is not, as in the hexameter, a single line, but a distich or couplet, formed by subjoining to the heroic verse another shorter line consisting of the same dactylic elements, and commonly called the pentameter. The single distich² is named,

¹ Vol. II. p. 103. sq.

² The employment of the pentameter in its single capacity was never countenanced by classical usage. The few examples which occur belong

technically, an Elegium. The elegy or elegiac poem (Elegia) is but a repetition of the distich in numbers proportioned to the extent of the subject. The obvious effect of this combination of the longer and shorter measures, enhanced by a peculiar abruptness in the central cæsure of the latter, and in its closing foot or "catalexis," is to impart a certain emphatic point to the entire period. This branch of composition therefore is essentially epigrammatic or sententious. Its scope and tendency is to express concisely and emphatically, in the case of the single distich a certain statement or maxim; in that of the prolonged elegy a series of similar statements or maxims. Each distich forms, it is true, a concise metrical system, capable, like the hexameter verse, of being multiplied into a poem of any length. But the process of repetition is here far from offering the same freedom and facilities for the treatment of a varied and extensive subject. Each pentameter couplet ought, obviously, in the true spirit of the Elegiac muse, either itself to comprise a distinct clause or period of the sense, or at least to form a subdivision of another more comprehensive clause or head of argument terminating in a pentameter verse; in other words, every full pause in the sense ought to coincide with a full pause in the measure. Where a continuous head of the subject runs through the close of one distich into the commencement of another, there results a palpable incongruity, which becomes the more glaring when the ensuing pause takes place in the body of the distich; whether at the close of the hexameter or in the middle

either to the lower ages of Greek literature, or are to be considered as mere specimens of poetical caprice. See Bode, *Gesch. d. Hellen. Dichtk.* vol. II. p. 136. sq.

of either verse. Not only, therefore, is the elegy disqualified by its epigrammatic spirit for continuous narrative, but even in its own proper sphere comparative brevity is essential to the full effect of an elegiac poem. A protracted series of such epigrammatic commentaries, upon any subject, can hardly fail to prove jejune and monotonous. These anomalies, it is true, are all more or less authorised by the practice of the great professional masters of this style, in their natural anxiety to adapt their favourite means to every kind of object. The real impropriety however does not the less exist: and, despite the ingenuity with which it may be smoothed over, the discerning critic must, in his own experience, have felt how much superior is the effect of the elegiac measure in the pointed epigram, and other concise and pithy compositions, than in prolonged poetical narratives or moral dissertations.

Origin and
early cultivation.

5. In any theory therefore as to the origin of this measure, we may safely assume, by reference both to the general law of human invention and to the discriminating taste which marks the developement of art among the Greeks, that the elegiac distich was called into existence by the object to which it was best adapted, that of modifying the old dactylic metre to familiar epigrammatic purposes.

This view is confirmed by the fact that the elegy was the measure solely or chiefly employed, in early times, for sepulchral or dedicatory inscriptions: the kind of epigrammatic composition which would first, or alone, suggest itself as an object of polite culture. The parent term *Elegos*, whence *Elegium* and *Elegia*, denotes accordingly, in its earliest usage, mourning or sorrow; as we learn from the united testimony of

the antient critics¹, confirmed by its own probable etymology.² It is accordingly classed by some of the same authorities, though not with strict propriety, as identical with Threnus. The threnus was the dirge, or funeral lament, sung over the corpse, or during the funeral solemnity. The elegy was the more permanent tribute of mournful respect to the memory of the deceased, recording his own virtues with the regrets of his friends, and commonly engraved on his monument. So peculiarly was the elegiac measure, in the subsequent stages of its cultivation, considered as proper to poems of a doleful tendency, that the name Elegy was extended, in vulgar use, even to those of like character where a different metre was preferred.

To this view, however, it has been objected³, that the extant elegiac compositions of remote antiquity are for the most part in a style quite opposite to

¹ Didym. ap. Etym. M. v. *Ἐλεγία*; Procl. Chrestom. p. 379. Gaisf.; Drac. Straton. de Metr. p. 161. sq.; conf. Aristoph. Av. 217.; Eurip. Hel. 186., Iphig. Taur. 146. alibi; alios ap. Frank. Callinus.

² For the infinity of speculative, often very fanciful hypotheses upon this point, see Frank. Callin. p. 42. alibi; Welck. der Elegos, Kleine Schr. vol. I. p. 63.; Osann, Beiträge zur Gr. Literaturgesch. vol. I. p. 11.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 101. sq.; Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 120. sqq. The most reasonable etymology appears to be that which connects the term with *ἔλεος* or *ἔλεος*. But even this connexion is obscure and doubtful. All that can safely be assumed is, that the word was originally of mournful import.

³ Frank. Call. p. 7. sqq., 36. sqq.; conf. Ulrici, loc. sup. cit. The doctrine of these authors, that the first application of the elegy to mournful purposes was not earlier than the time of Mimnermus, a century after Callinus, seems quite inconsistent with their admission, as above quoted, of the originally mournful signification of the term. Equally groundless is the assumption of Frank. (p. 77.), that the phrase *Elegos* and its derivatives were first invented in the age of Simonides. The former term occurs a full generation earlier, in an epigram of Echembrotus, a poet of the XLVth Olympiad. Paus. x. vii. 3.

either the funebral or the epigrammatic, being chiefly martial or patriotic appeals, often of considerable length, addressed to the poet's fellow-citizens in times of public emergency. These poems however, while possibly the oldest ascertained specimens of pentameter style, cannot reasonably be assumed to represent the taste or practice in which that style originated. The distinction between what may formerly have existed, and what has been preserved to posterity, is one of essential importance in questions of this nature. The elegy, in the works of Callinus, and others of its earliest recorded professional votaries, already appears in an advanced state of cultivation, implying a long course of previous practice, and consequent modification of its primitive use. Their compositions stand to its first beginnings in the same relation as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to the earlier efforts of the Epic Muse. It were as reasonable to argue, from the actual priority of the *Iliad*, that the first poem in hexameter verse was a finished epopee, as from the existing compositions of Callinus, admitting him to be the most antient author in this style, that the first elegy was a martial or political ode. For the great antiquity of the elegy, however, in its application to what has here been assumed to be its original object, appeal may be made to Archilochus, an author of the same age as Callinus, but of far more varied genius. The remains of the former poet, while exhibiting the measure in its adaptation to every variety of subject, plaintive, martial, and satirical, offer, together with several elegies of a funebral character, a general predominance of those of the epigrammatic order.¹ But, even did the works of

¹ Ap. Bergk. Poett. Lyr. Gr. p. 467. sqq.

these earlier poets furnish no distinct proof of this presumed original destination of the measure, there remains another more competent source of illustration in the sepulchral or votive dedications of the same era. The existing relics of this class, though scanty, in the ratio of their antiquity, yet form a more or less continuous series of evidence that, during this whole early period, from an epoch equal or little inferior to that of the poets above cited, the pentameter was the measure exclusively preferred in monumental inscriptions. The general rule is curiously confirmed by the exceptions, the few dedications where the hexameter verse occurs being confined, solely or chiefly, to such occasions as either possessed or pretended to an antiquity prior to the age at which the elegiac measure is supposed to have come into popular use. Another indirect proof of the essentially epigraphic character of the latter measure is the circumstance, that the only other compositions of a like brief or sententious nature emanating from the same period, the oracular responses, are with equal constancy couched in hexameters. This may be ascribed partly to a religious veneration-for primeval custom, partly to the heroic measure being itself, in a poetical point of view, better suited to the dignity or sanctity of such edicts.¹

¹ Of the thirty or forty dedicatory epitaphs or epigrams given by Pausanias, all are pentameters but three; two of which (i. xxxvii., ix. xi.), as in honour of mythical heroes, are appropriately embodied in the hexameter measure. The only hexameter distich connected with the historical age is that to Miltiades (vi. xix.). Of those in elegiac measure, four or five may belong to this earliest lyric period (iv. xxii., v. xxiv., ix. xxxviii., x. vii.). To these may be added the inscription of Orrhippus at Megara (Boeckh, *Inscr. tom. I. p. 553.*; *Clint. ad Ol. xv.*). The oracles cited by Pausanias, on the other hand, about thirty in number, are all in hexameters, with the exception of one in iambs (iv. ix.). The

Supposed
inventors
and principal
masters.

6. There can be no reasonable doubt that the remote origin of the elegiac distich is lost, like that of the hexameter verse, in the mists of antiquity. When therefore we find, according to the prevailing practice of confounding the higher cultivation of an art with its invention, the merit of that invention variously ascribed in the present case to Callinus and Archilochus, the only real question of precedence must relate to the age of these authors, or of others of still greater antiquity, if such can be pointed out, from whom genuine specimens of this style of composition have been transmitted. Both these poets flourished towards the close of the eighth or commencement of the seventh century B. C. They are by consequence so nearly contemporaneous, that the closer examination of their claims to priority, as of no material bearing on the history of elegiac poetry, will be reserved for the chapter on their personal history. The same measure was also cultivated in its primary epigrammatic form by Asius of Samos¹, an epic poet of uncertain age, but possessing claims, perhaps, to equal antiquity with either Callinus or Archilochus. Their younger contemporary Tyrtæus was distinguished, still more than Callinus, for its application

same general rules apply, with rare exception if any, to similar specimens of these various orders of monumental or sacred literature preserved by other compilers.

The inscriptions on the Chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. xviii. sq.) are in hexameter verse; but they are of a properly epic character. It is also probable that the age of this monument may be prior to the familiar use of the elegy. This latter remark applies further to the epigrams cited by Herodotus (v. lix. sq.) in the Ismenian sanctuary, whether genuine or forgeries.

¹ A single epigram of Asius, alluding, it would seem, to Homer's fabulous father Meles, has been preserved by Athenæus (iii. p. 125. D.; conf. Bergk. Poet. Lyr. p. 313.).

to martial and political subjects. About the same time certain of the earlier Greek musicians, Olympus, Clonas, Terpander, Sacadas, and others, are mentioned as authors of elegies; but it seems doubtful whether the term here applies to the pentameter measure, or to the plaintive style of music with which that measure was originally connected.¹

The next elegiac poet of any celebrity is Mimnermus of Colophon, who flourished about the close of the seventh century B.C. To him belongs the credit of having greatly extended the use of the pentameter measure in the more plaintive style of amatory composition, its adaptation to which constituted, in later times, its chief source of general popularity.²

Coeval with Mimnermus was Solon, in whose remains, and those of his contemporary Sages, are the first distinct traces of the gnomic or didactic elegy. This style was extensively cultivated in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. by Phocylides and Theognis. During the same period flourished Xenophanes of Colophon, who seems first to have employed the pentameter measure in prolonged narrative compositions; and Simonides of Ceos, who above all his predecessors gave prominence and effect, as a cultivated branch of literature, to the strictly epigrammatic style of elegiac poetry.

¹ Plut. de Mus. III. VIII.; Suid. v. Ὀλυμπος. It appears probable, from these passages and other sources referred to in p. 17. supra, that the term *Elegos*, in its origin, attached with equal, or perhaps greater propriety to the melody than to the words of a composition.

² Mimnermus was celebrated on this account by Hermesianax ap. Athen. XIII. p. 597. sq. This passage, misinterpreted by later uncritical writers, obtained for the same poet with those writers, in spite of the notoriously far higher antiquity of Callinus and Archilochus, the credit of first "inventor" of the elegiac measure. Conf. Frank. op. cit. p. 9. sqq.

In the sequel of the Attic period Antimachus of Colophon, an early contemporary of Plato, distinguished himself in the tender amorous elegy as an imitator or emulator of his fellow-citizen Mimnermus, by whom that style had been first carried to perfection. In the Alexandrian school, as among the Romans, both the joys and the sorrows of love supplied abundant and popular subjects for the elegy. With the poets of the latter nation this measure obtained a peculiar vogue, and was largely employed in compositions of an epic character.

In the musical accompaniment of the pentameter distich, the flute, though not to the exclusion of the lyre, was the instrument preferred, as that which in every age was considered more immediately adapted to mournful composition. Accordingly Mimnermus, the most popular author in the plaintive style of elegiac poetry, and various other early elegiac poets, are themselves described as skilful flute-players.¹ This preference may perhaps be considered as in part a consequence of the Ionian origin of the elegy, the taste for wind-instruments among the Greeks being confessedly derived from Asia. Among the Lydians of the coast on which the Ionian colonies were established, the flute was extensively used in martial as well as mournful music.² Hence, as the earliest regular odes of the elegiac order, those of the Ionian Calinus, are of a martial tendency, the preference of the flute by the Greeks, as the accompaniment of the Elegy, the more naturally suggested itself. How far elegiac

¹ Pausan. x. vii. 3.; Echembrot. ap. eund.; Plut. de Mus. iii. viii. alibi; Hermesian. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 597. sq.; Suid. v. *Tóπραος*; Theogn. (Gaisf.) 532. 1052. alibi.

² Herodot. i. xvii.; conf. Athen. xiv. p. 627.

poems were at any time regularly set to music, how far merely attuned to harmonious chords like the epic recitative, would probably depend much on the nature of their subject. The more it partook of a continuous narrative character, the more appropriate the simpler style of accompaniment; the nearer the approach to the pure lyric, the more artificial would be the style of music preferred. The poems of Mimnermus, where the lyric character predominates more than in those of any previous author, are stated accordingly to have been set to music.¹ To the more dignified martial and political addresses of Callinus or Tyrtaeus, a graver recitative tone might seem better adapted; while the elegies of Solon, Periander, Xenophanes, and Phocylides, where the gnomic or didactic style predominated, are expressly said not to have been musically arranged.²

7. The invention of the Iambus, the rival of the Elegy in antiquity and early popularity, was familiarly ascribed by the antients, as was that of so many other

Iambic
poetry.

¹ Plut. de Mus. viii.; Chamæl. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 620.

² Athen. xiv. p. 632. In the older vocabulary of the poetical art (Solon, frg. xvi. 2.; Gaisf. alibi; conf. Herodot. v. cxiii.), and indeed during every subsequent age of literature (conf. Frank. Callin. p. 77. sqq.), the more familiar title of poems of any length, either in pentameter or hexameter measure, was *ἔπη*, or "lines;" obviously with reference to that continuity of style which distinguishes each order of composition, in its relative degree, from the more properly melic branches of lyric art. The plural formation *τὰ ἐλεγεία*, denoting, like *ἐλεγεία*, an elegiac poem, originates in this usage, *ἔπη* being understood. The term *ἔπη* was also occasionally applied, on similar grounds, to iambic, trochaic, and other compositions marked by a like continuity of metrical succession (Bekk. Anecd. p. 751.; Dionys. Hal. de Comp. verb. xxvi.). Hence, in later times, the works of Archilochus, Simonides the elder, Tyrtaeus, and Phocylides, are said to have been "rhapsodised" occasionally, along with the properly epic poems of Hesiod and Homer. Plat. Ion. p. 530, 531. Athen. xiv. p. 620.

metrical forms, to Archilochus.¹ In the Margites however, a poem of very early date, and assigned by Aristotle to Homer himself, iambic verses were interspersed with heroic hexameters.² It must be presumed therefore, either that the respectable authors who attribute the invention of the former measure to Archilochus differed from Aristotle as to the genuine antiquity of the Margites, or that the term Invention, as here applied by them, relates merely to the regular poem of continuous trimeters, to which, in popular usage, the phrase Iambic measure was appropriated.

Character-
istics of
the iambic
rhythm.

But the nature and spirit of the Iambus, still more perhaps than of the Elegy, entitle us to look, for its first beginnings at least, to the spontaneous effort of the primitive Muse rather than to the artifice of a politer age. The component elements of the elegy were contained in the old hexameter. It might very naturally occur, therefore, to an ingenious master of later times to invent a new form to suit a new purpose, by curtailing two syllables of every alternate verse; for such in fact is the whole amount of change in the mechanical structure of the measure. The iambus on the other hand bears, perhaps above all other metres, in its very essence the stamp of popular origin. It is, as Aristotle³ and other antient critics have pointedly remarked, the metre of familiar discourse. Hence, as the same critics observe, the frequency of its spontaneous occurrence in prose compositions, the justice of which remark may be

¹ Plut. de Mus. xxviii.; Clem. Alex. Stromat. p. 308.; Horat. de Art. Poet. 79.

² Supra, B. ii. Ch. xix. § 16.

³ Rhetor. iii. i., Poetic. xxiv.; conf. p. 9. ed. Gräfenh.; Hermogen. de Form. Orat. ed. Laur. p. 263.

easily verified by the test of experiment. The measure suggested itself instinctively, therefore, to primitive genius, in any attempt to impart to the poetical treatment of a subject, not so much dignity or solemnity, as emphatic pungency and smartness. This view, together with the remote mythical antiquity of the iambic measure, is supported in the tradition of the Homeric Hymn to Ceres¹ by what is probably the earliest extant vestige of the name, the title of the Eleusinian nymph Iambe, who contributes by her jibes and drolleries to dissipate the grief of the goddess for her lost daughter. A popular ceremony of the rites of Ceres, both at Eleusis and elsewhere, were sallies of bantering and railery, directed by the assembled crowd against each other or the passers by, during the procession.² Iambe is the mythical type both of this ceremony and of the mode in which it was performed. A similar custom prevailed in the kindred worship of Bacchus, combined with a still more decided dramatic ingredient, which afterwards ripened, under the auspices of Thespis and Susarion, into the regular Attic tragedy and comedy. So naturally indeed, in the opinion of the antient critics, did the iambic measure suggest itself as the weapon of satirical attack, that both Horace and Ovid suppose its imputed invention by Archilochus to have been for the special convenience of his biting pasquinades.³

¹ Verse 195.; conf. Gaisf. Heph. p. 157. sq.; Procl. Chrestom. p. 379. Gaisf.; Welck. Archilochos, Kl. Schr. vol. i. p. 78. The words Iambe, Iambus, are derived apparently from *ιδπτω* (*ιδβε*, *ιδμβω*), to provoke, harass, rail; by the same analogy as *λαμβω* or *λαμβάνω*, from *λήπτω*, *λδβε*.

² Apollodorus, i. v. 3.; conf. Heyn. Obs. ad loc.; Aristoph. Ran. 384. sqq.; Bentl. Opuscc. p. 312.

³ Liebel, fragm. Archil. p. 26.

Early cultivation.

In its further cultivation however the iambus, or rather the iambic trimeter, for in that form alone is its full excellence displayed, not only embraces, like the elegy, the treatment of every variety of subject, but as possessing, in a degree little short of the hexameter, the principle of continuity which is wanting in the elegy, is qualified to treat those subjects with similar, if not the same, ease, amplitude, and dignity as the hexameter itself. The essential property of the iambic foot, consisting of one short and one long syllable, so as to commence with the weaker and terminate smartly in the stronger element, may be defined as a union of simplicity and emphasis. These primary elements again, through the ordinary expedients of Greek metrical art, solution, common syllable, and the like, admit, without any actual violation of their own fundamental attributes, the variety of effect derivable from an interspersion of trochaic, dactylic, spondaic, or anapestic forms. Still however the excellence of the measure, even in its complete adaptation to the drama, shines forth less in the flowing discourse or narrative, than in its own original proper class of subjects, lively conversation, pungent satire, or smart repartee. An oration of Æschylus, with all its rhetorical pomp and elevation, falls far short in true poetical grandeur of the higher eloquence of the *Iliad*. The perfection of iambic versification is the text of Aristophanes, where it will ever remain unsurpassed and unrivalled in variety and brilliancy of dramatic effect.

The honour of the first invention, or in other words higher cultivation, of the iambic measure, while usually awarded to Archilochus, was disputed in some quarters in favour of the elder Simonides, author of the most antient extant iambic poem of

any considerable length. The point is of little importance as affecting either the history of this style of composition, or the credit of the two poets, both having adapted it to satirical purposes, and having been contemporary with each other. If we except these two authors and Solon, who was partial to the iambic trimeter, the measure seems to have been comparatively little popular during this period, owing, perhaps, to its being less well adapted than other rhythmical forms to the melic or pure lyric order of performance, now so greatly in the ascendant. The iambic compositions of Solon, consisting chiefly of addresses to the Athenian public in vindication of his own political conduct, or reflecting upon that of his fellow-citizens, appear from the extant specimens to have partaken at times much of the character of speeches in the mouth of a hero of Euripides, affording a foretaste, as it were, of the style of the tragic dialogue.

In the arrangement of the iambic trimeter to music, the same general rule seems to have been observed as in the case of the elegy. Where the melic element prevailed, as in the jocund sallies of festive revelry, a properly musical accompaniment might be preferred; where the composition was of a graver character or more continuous tenor, the simple recitative would suffice. This view seems in some measure confirmed by the statement of Plutarch, that the iambic odes of Archilochus, the standard master of this branch of art, were partly sung partly recited to the harp, and that their author had himself prescribed rules for the allotment to each of its appropriate style of accompaniment.¹

¹ Plutarch. de Mus. xxviii.; conf. Lucian. de Saltu, xxvii.

Melic
orders of
lyric com-
position.

8. The two branches of composition above treated, the elegiac and iambic, while both apparently of Ionian origin, form, as already observed, an intermediate stage between the epic or heroic and the purely lyric style, and might thus be conjointly characterised as the Epico-lyric, in contradistinction to the melic or choral orders of poetry, where a more vital connexion with the sister art of music was maintained. The precocity of Ionian inventive genius is, however, similarly exemplified in these more refined and complicated styles of lyric performance, to which attention will now more immediately be directed. Although the strictly musical element of lyric poetry appears to be chiefly of Æolian origin, a priority in respect to the culture and extension of its literary element is, by a preponderance of antient testimony¹, awarded to the same Ionian Archilochus so distinguished by his services in extending and adorning the elegiac and iambic branches of art. Certain it is, that in the works of this remarkable man a number even of the more delicate varieties of melic rhythm appear in an advanced state of maturity. Among these the Trochaic, while capable in its lighter combinations of the liveliest musical effect, may, in its more prolonged tetrameter form, be classed along with the elegy and iambic trimeter, as another intermediate stage between the epic and lyric styles. It offers in fact a counterpart to the iambic trimeter, as well in the equal division and regular progression of its numbers, and its consequent, though less complete, adaptation to continuous recital, as in the general spirit of its poetical expression. The iambic foot, rising from the short to the

¹ See the authorities collected by Liebel, fragm. Archilochi, p. 27. sqq.

long syllable, possesses a vigour and emphasis favourable to smart invective or keen expostulation ; the trochee, subsiding from the long to the short, has a more rapid but comparatively smooth and equal progression, suited rather to persuasive appeal, querulous complaint, or even dignified declamation.¹ Hence its names of Trochæus, the runner, or Choriæus, the dancer, from its adaptation to the more airy motions of the dance. The Anapæst, the converse of the dactyl, and another imputed discovery of Archilochus, is an extension of the time and rhythm of the iambus, enhancing the rhetorical power of that measure from emphasis to impetuosity, but forfeiting much of its narrative or conversational spirit. To the same poet were also ascribed the Choriambic and Pæonic, with various more complicated metres, arising from the combination of those already described with each other or with the elementary forms in which they originated, and adapted to corresponding varieties of poetical expression.²

The term Invention, as applied to the earliest ascertained use of these varied metres, may in some cases safely be taken in a literal sense. Not only were many of them dependant on a parallel improvement of the art of music, but their arrangement seems to imply a more forward stage of literary culture, and a more copious stock of technical resources than was required for the earlier recitative branches of composition. Still however it is not likely that any art, in the ordinary course of things, can have reached at a single step the stage in which lyric rhythm appears in the works of Archilochus. It may

¹ Hermogen. de Form. Orat. II. p. 383. ed. Laurent.

² Liebel, op. cit p. 30. sqq.

reasonably, with all respect for the brilliant genius of that author, be assumed in his case, as in that of Homer and the epopee, that many zealous labourers, had preceded him in the same field, but that their productions, whether from their own slender claims to permanent popularity, or from the slowness of the public to appreciate those claims, had not been preserved. There can, indeed, be little doubt that even in the very infancy of society, among all poetically gifted nations, popular songs admitted of a variety of metrical forms suited to their variety of subject ; and that in Greece, consequently, even in the days of Homer, there must have existed for the lighter orders of composition livelier systems of versification than the dactylic hexameter, or even the elegy and iambus. The same rule holds good in modern literature. Many of the lyric stanzas which now charm in the page of Dryden or Gray, existed in substance in the popular ballad minstrelsy, long before the more dignified epic measure was improved by Chaucer, or carried to perfection by Milton. In every age however the nobler orders of poetry, as more immediately connected with objects of public or national interest, naturally take precedence, in polite cultivation, of those of a lighter more familiar character ; and it is the epoch of that cultivation which, in any such case, can alone or chiefly supply tangible material for critical commentary.

Origin
of melic
poetry.
The Nome.

9. It has already been remarked, that while any technical analysis of the Greek art of music would here be out of place, the elementary history of musical composition must enter to a greater or less degree into the history of Greek lyric poetry, owing to the vital connexion between the two arts, especially

during their earlier stages. All the authentic notices of the origin and early progress of the more refined branches of lyric composition revolve, in fact, around the names and performances of the primitive improvers of the science of music. To the efforts of these personages consequently, in the joint field of invention, a reasonable share of the present chapter will be allotted. With the notices of their labours will also be combined the few particulars of their personal history which have been recorded. This arrangement will here be preferable, on various accounts, to that of reserving such biographical details for separate treatment; the method which, for equally valid reasons, has been adopted in regard to contemporary authors of the strictly poetical order. Scarcely one of those celebrated patriarchs of the art of music, while all were probably to a certain extent poets, seems to have possessed claims to higher distinction on the ground of his poetical, apart from his musical talents.¹ Nor, indeed, is there any one of them of whose personal affairs the extant notices are such as to supply material for a separate memoir.

The views of the leading antient authorities relative to the early progress of the combined arts have been preserved in the Treatise on Music which passes current under the name of Plutarch. This tract is more remarkable for learning than method or precision. The object of its author was less to promulgate any definite system of his own, than to embody an abstract of the doctrines of the older writers on the subject. His authorities, accordingly, while agreeing generally in fundamental matters, are often much at variance

¹ Of Terpander alone have any fragments, amounting to but eight verses, been preserved.

in details; nor has any serious effort been made by the compiler to reconcile their discrepancies. The greater indulgence therefore is due to the following attempt, by a collation of his best accredited and most consistent data, to place before the reader, in as distinct a form as the case will admit, the substance of the information which they supply.¹

The clearest insight into the earlier stages of pure melic art is afforded by the extant notices of that primitive order of poetico-musical performance called *Nome*. This term, by reference to its etymology, denotes any thing "set apart" or "appropriated." In its application to the arts of music or poetry it admits of a twofold interpretation, as signifying either a poem or ode set to a musical air, or a piece of music arranged to the words of a poetical text.² The foundation of Plutarch's treatise is a distinction between the recitative and the lyric element in the works of the old epic poets. Under the head of Lyric he classes the hymn, the threnus or lament, the chorus, the convivial song; illustrating his doctrine by the Hymn of Mars and Venus, and other parallel portions of Homer's poems.³ Such compositions, he remarks, were not merely chanted or recited, like the ordinary epic narrative, at the free discretion of the poet, but were arranged to a *nome* or piece of music specially adapted to their respective characters. The existence of some such distinction seems, indeed,

¹ The reader is further referred to the ingenious commentary of Burette, in the 10th vol. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*

² In this primitive sense the term seems to be used in the Homeric hymn to Apoll. Del. 20. *νόμοι φθῆς*; conf. Aristoph. *Aves*, 110., *νόμους ἱερῶν θυμῶν*; Suid. *v. νόμος*; Aristot. *Probl.* xix.; Clem. Alex. *Str.* i. p. 309.

³ III. sq. ed. Tauchnitz.

inherent in the first principles of art. It can hardly be supposed that the music of the brilliant chorus of Phæacian youths, of the joyous pæan to Apollo Chryseus, or the song of the Muses in Olympus, "responding to each other with their beautiful voices¹," was but the same comparatively monotonous succession of citharædic chords used by the epic minstrel in his ordinary narrative.

At a period however, when the lyre had but four strings, and wind instruments were comparatively little popular in Greece, any such instrumental accompaniment must have been at the best but meagre. These early citharædic nomes therefore, are consistently described as first permanently arranged and reduced to system on the introduction of the seven-stringed lyre by the celebrated master Terpan-der.² But previously to his improvements, a wider compass and nobler character had already been imparted to the nomic order of composition, through the medium of the flute or clarionet³, by the Phrygian musician Olympus. From this composer dates also the extension among the Greeks of a taste for the aulodic branch of music. Wind instruments were obviously better qualified than the primitive lyre, by their greater flexibility, compass, and sonorous power, to give effect to a complicated variety of metrical forms, or to that lively expression of mental emotion which forms a distinguishing characteristic of lyric poetry. Olympus accordingly is described as the founder, that is, the first systematic improver of the musical or "nomic" element of Greek lyric

Aulodic
noms.
Olympus.

¹ Od. viii. 260.; II. i. 472. 604.

² Plut. de Mus. iii.; conf. Procl. Chrest. Gaisf. p. 382.

³ On the Greek wind instruments, see Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pindar, p. 54. sq.

art¹, the more advanced cultivation of which took place in connexion with the heptachord lyre, as the more chaste and purely Hellenic instrument. All authorities seem to agree that aulodic music, although in its ruder rustic form the most antient probably in every country, was first scientifically cultivated (in popular phraseology, invented) in Asia.² The mythical contests of Apollo, the god of the lyre, with Marsyas³ and other patrons of the flute, shadow forth the struggles of the two styles for the ascendant. The lyre represents among the antients the more chaste and elegant order of music; the flute, that of a more turbulent and exciting character, expressive equally of morbid melancholy, joyous revelry, or phrensied passion. Hence the former instrument was preferred by Apollo, the patron of all the more noble and refined branches of Hellenic art; the latter by Bacchus and his worshippers, as best adapted to their enthusiastic orgies.⁴ Herein, too, lies the historical import of the long rivalry between the festive solemnities of the two gods. Apollo however became reconciled to the flute. Alcman and Corinna

¹ Plut. de M. v. VII. XI. XXIX. *ἡ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τε καὶ νομικῆς μουσικῆς ἀποδιδόασιν.*

² Plut. de M. v. VII.; Athen. XIV. p. 624.; Eur. Iph. Aul. 578., Bacch. 127.; Marm. Par. Epoch x.; Suidas, v. Ὀλυμπος. The popular citations however, of Homer, as an authority for this view, are fallacious. Homer represents both Greeks and Asiatics as equally familiar with the lyre and the flute, each on its proper occasion. (Il. III. 54., IX. 188., XIII. 731., x. 13., XVIII. 495.) Wind instruments had this disadvantage, that the poet could not accompany his own compositions. Every "aulodic" minstrel required an assistant. Nanno accordingly, the mistress of Mimnermus, was his favourite flute-player.

³ Pausan. II. XXII. 9.; Apollod. I. IV. 2.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. I. p. 344.; Welck. d. Elegos, p. 64. sq.

⁴ Aristot. Polit. VIII. VII.; Pratin. ap. Athen. XIV. 617.; conf. Hom. II. x. 13., XVIII. 495.; Plato de Legg. p. 700., De Rep. III. p. 398. sqq.; Eurip. Bacch. 127.; Pausan. x. VII. 3.

describe him as himself a flute-player.¹ The bond of amity was cemented by the union of the worship and of the favourite instruments of each deity in the Pythian sanctuary.²

To return, however, from the history of the instruments to that of the art which they contributed to adorn, Olympus, the earliest accredited author of these refinements of Greek lyric style, must not be confounded with another Olympus, who, as a mythical reflex of the fame acquired by his successor, occupies a place in Græco-Asiatic legend, similar to that of Amphion, Orpheus, or Musæus, in the fabulous records of Greece.³ The historical reality of the younger Olympus, together with the priority and extent of his influence on Greek musical science, is attested by numerous and competent authors.⁴ Concerning his age, the only specific account places him towards the close of the eighth century B. C., coeval with Midas, king of Phrygia, whose name, like his own and various others celebrated by the Greeks in connexion with that country, denotes both a fabulous hero and a person of real note in national history. The compositions of Olympus are frequently mentioned, by the highest authorities in such matters, as still extant and greatly esteemed in the best ages of Greek art.⁵ Among his imputed inventions is the Enharmonic Scale of Intervals, the ac-

¹ Ap. Plut. de M. xiv.

² Pausan. ii. xxii. 9.

³ He appears accordingly, in these legends, as a contemporary and associate of Marsyas, Silenus, the Idæi Dactyli, and other fabulous worthies of his native district. He is also occasionally quoted, as may be supposed, as the author of various inventions or improvements ascribed in more critical quarters to the real musician of the name. See Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 344. sqq.

⁴ Ap. Clint. Fast. Hell. loc. cit.

⁵ Clint. loc. cit.

knowledgeed foundation of a higher and nobler style of Greek music, chiefly preferred in the accompaniment of hymns to the gods.¹ As there is no authority for Olympus ever having used stringed instruments, this notice supplies an additional evidence that the higher refinements of antient musical art were first developed by Asiatic masters in connexion with the flute, and subsequently adapted to the heptachord lyre by Terpander.² The trochaic order of musical rhythm used in the festivals of Cybele, besides several others popular in later times, was also considered as an invention of Olympus.³ This Phrygian form of trochaic rhythm is understood⁴ to be the same as the galliambic, the powerful effect of which may be appreciated from the spirited ode of Catullus⁵, commencing

“Super alta vectus Atys celeri rate maria.”

Among the more remarkable compositions of Olympus extant in later times were nomes to Apollo, Mars, and Minerva⁶, the latter of which is cited by Pindar. One of those to Apollo was called, from its compass and variety of parts, the Polycephalic, or many-headed Nome.⁷ Another of great celebrity was a processional nome of Cybele, hence called the Harmatian Nome⁸, of the character of which some notion may be formed from the lament uttered by the Phrygian slave in the Orestes of Euripides.⁹ That impetuous outpouring of excited feeling, in broken irregular measure, is described by

¹ Plut. de M. vii. xi. xxix. ; conf. Burette, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. x. p. 279. ; Thiersch, Einleit. zu Pind. p. 37. sq.

² Appendix A.

³ Plut. de M. xxix.

⁴ Hephæst. p. 67. sq. Gaisf. ; conf. Herm. Doctr. R. Metr. p. 504. sqq.

⁵ Carm. LXIII.

⁶ Plut. xxix. xxxiii.

⁷ Plut. de Mus. vii.

⁸ Plut. de M. vii. ; conf. Etym. Mag. v. 'Απυδρείον.

⁹ 1380. sqq.

the complainer himself as the "Harmatian Song."¹ Aristophanes² also alludes to aulodic nomes of Olympus, of a similarly mournful nature, as popular at Athens. All authorities bear testimony to the excellence of his compositions, as combining with passionate fervour great purity and simplicity of character.³

The above notices seem to refer almost exclusively to the musical element of the nomes of Olympus; nor is there any distinct trace of a poetical text having passed current at any period under his name. The ambiguity, however, incident in all languages to the technical phraseology of the two branches of art, and especially among the Greeks, owing to the peculiar closeness of the connexion between the two in the practice of that nation, renders it often difficult or impossible to distinguish whether in such notices allusion be made to poetical or purely musical composition. The term *Nome* appears, indeed, at all periods to have borne a more immediate reference to the music or air, than the poetry or words of a song. In later times it came to be restricted, in a proper sense, to a certain graver more dignified order of musical composition, both vocal and instrumental, performed in honour chiefly of the greater gods, and on high and solemn occasions.⁴

The only two musicians specially described as disciples of Olympus are Hierax of Argos⁵, and Crates,

¹ Plutarch mentions also the adaptation of this nome to martial compositions; and cites an example of the powerful effect of its performance in rousing the military ardour of Alexander. *De Alex. M. Fort. orat.* 11. p. 335.

² *Equit.* 9.

³ See especially Plato, *Sympos.* p. 215.; Aristot. *Polit.* VIII. v.; conf. Clint. F. H. p. 344. sq.

⁴ Müller, *Dor.* i. 349.; conf. Boeckh, de *Metr. Pind.* p. 182. sq.

⁵ *Plut. de M.* xxvi.; conf. *Jull. Poll.* iv. x. 79.

of uncertain birthplace. To Crates some ascribed the celebrated Polycephalic Nome usually attributed to his master.¹

Citharædic
nomes,
Terpander.

10. Nearly coeval with Olympus was Terpander, by whom were extended to the citharædic branch of lyric composition the same services for which the aulodic branch was indebted to Olympus. This celebrated musician was a native of Lesbos, then the most distinguished seat of the Æolo-Asiatic colonies. In his person, therefore, Æolian genius asserts the same priority and the same preeminence in the art of music which the Iliad and Odyssey had secured for it in that of poetry. The chief seat, however, of his professional activity was Lacedæmon, the centre of Dorian power and Dorian national feeling. His high reputation is figured in the tradition² of his descent from Homer according to some accounts, from Hesiod according to others. In the same fable he inherits the lyre of Orpheus, borne on the waves from the shores of Æolian Greece to those of Æolian Asia, where it was discovered and preserved by fishermen for his use. Other organs of the popular tradition make him a contemporary of Lycurgus; on the principle common with classical antiquaries, of connecting the origin of all the chief institutions of Sparta, among which was the musical system established by Terpander, with the name of her great lawgiver. More distinct and satisfactory is the notice of Hellanicus, who makes Terpander the first victor in the great musical festival of the Carnea, instituted under his own direction in the year 676 B.C.³ He may thus be

¹ Plut. de M. vii.

² Suid. v. Τέρπ.

³ Hellanicus et Sosibius ap. Athen. xiv. p. 635.; conf. Plut. de Mus. ix.; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. pp. 187. 201. The notice of the Parian Chronicle, which brings down the first promulgation of Terpander's

considered as a generation younger than Olympus, and nearly coeval with Archilochus. Sparta was, at this early period, the state in which musical art was cultivated with the greatest zeal. Her citizens were in the habit of engaging the services of the ablest professors from every part of Hellas. Here accordingly the leading improvements of Terpander were matured and promulgated.

Terpander's connexion with Lacedæmon is said to have originated in an invitation by the Spartan rulers to visit their city during a period of intestine discord. This step was taken by them in obedience to an injunction of the Delphic priestess, by whom the Lesbian musician had been pointed out as the destined means of reconciling the hostile factions. Such is said to have been the effect of his music on those reputed men of iron, that the contending parties, dissolved in tears, embraced each other, and buried all previous differences in oblivion.¹ Fixing his abode in the city, he fulfilled during the remainder of his life the functions of state poet and musician, amid

new system of music at Sparta as late as 644 B.C., is strangely at variance with the account of his triumph in the Spartan Carneia in the first year of their institution, thirty years before. It is certainly far more probable that the introduction of his improvements should have been, if not anterior to, simultaneous at least with the institution, under his own auspices, of the national festival where they were publicly sanctioned and reduced to practice. See Appendix B. Nor is there the least notice of any fundamental change in the Spartan system of music after the institution of the Carneia. The date of the chronicle is also, it need hardly be added, repugnant to the received tradition, which describes the revolution effected by Terpander in the musical art and taste of Lacedæmon as simultaneous with his first settlement in the country, not as a work of his old age, after more than thirty years' service as state musician.

¹ Stesich. ap. Philodam. de Mus. Voll. Hercul. i. p. 81. 91. sq.; Sappho, frg. lxi. Gaisf., lxi. Neue; Aristot. ap. Eustath. ad Il. ix. 129.; Diod. Sicul. ap. Tzetx. Chil. i. 16.; Plut. de Mus. xlii.; Gaisf. Paræm. Gr. p. 74. 341.; Apostol. v. *μετὰ Λέσβιον φθόν.*

universal admiration and esteem. After his death his memory was revered, and his compositions esteemed as models to all succeeding professors of citharædic art. His system continued to flourish, chiefly under Lesbian masters, both at Lacedæmon and elsewhere, up to the time of his countryman Phrynis¹, whose innovations, about the period of the Persian war, were considered as corruptions of the "genuine Hellenic music."² Terpander, besides his victory in the Carnea, conquered four times in the Pythian festival³, at that time apparently the only one of the great Panhellenic solemnities of which competitions in lyric poetry formed a part.

Great as was Terpander's fame as an original genius, his merits would yet appear, from the more authentic notices, to have consisted less in actual discovery, than in the adaptation to Greek tastes and habits of refinements of art already familiar to the cultivated nations of Asia. The most celebrated novelty for which he obtained credit was the invention of the seven-stringed lyre⁴, by the addition of three chords to the old tetrachord instrument. This however cannot be considered, nor has it been so understood by the more critical even of his own countrymen, as indicating the first actual construction of a stringed instrument with the compass of an octave. There can be no doubt that the more civilised nations of Asia possessed, before his time, instruments of equal or greater compass; and Terpander is stated, on no less authority than that of Pindar, to have founded

¹ Plut. de Mus. vi.

² Aristoph. Nub. 971.; Procl. Chrestom. p. 382. Gaisf.; Suid. et Hesych. v. *Λέσβιος φῶδς*.

³ Plut. de Mus. iv.

⁴ Fragm. Terpand. i. ap. Schneidewin, Del. Poes. Gr. p. 237.; Plut. de Mus. xxx.

his improvements of the Greek cithara on a Lydian instrument of two octaves, called *magadis*, which, under the Greek name of *pectis* or *barbiton*, he had also the merit of first introducing into Europe.¹

Terpander is also the accredited "inventor" of the art of writing music²; and there can be little doubt of his having possessed a system of notation forming the basis of that still in use. Here again, however, his services are probably to be understood rather in the way of adaptation to native Greek practice than of original discovery. It is difficult to believe that Olympus could not only have carried his branch of art to so high a degree of excellence, but have succeeded in transmitting his many elaborate compositions to posterity, without the aid of some such expedient.

Consistently with his preference of the lyre as the favourite instrument of the old Heroic Muse, Terpander, even in its adaptation to melic poetry, showed a partiality for the antient rhythmical forms. His nomes were chiefly in hexameter verse, and the words of many of them are described, not as his own composition, but portions of the Homeric poems arranged by him to a lyric accompaniment. He was, however, also the author of original poems, though apparently few in number, and with a preference here also for the hexameter or other cognate³ metres. Of these

¹ Boeckh, de Metr. Pind. p. 261.; Frag. Pind. 9.; Athen. xiv. p. 635.; Plutarch (De M. xviii.) also describes him, while adding compass to his native lyre, as reducing or curtailing the superabundant strings (*περιέλαε τὴν πολυχρῶδιν*) of the Asiatic instruments; for of these instruments, obviously, the notice must be understood.

² Plut. de M. iii.; Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 308.; Boeckh, de M. Pind. p. 245.; infra, Ch. vii. § 19.

³ Ap. Plutarch. de Mus. iii. who also (iv.) ascribes to him citharædic proemia in epic measure, probably hymns to Apollo, similar to the

poems several fragments still remain. One is a portion of a hymn or nome to Jupiter, in spondaic measure¹, and marked by both grandeur of conception and harmony of numbers. Of the four pure hexameters which have been preserved, two² recording, in somewhat boastful terms, his substitution of the seven-stringed for the four-stringed lyre, are a less favourable sample of his style. Far superior are two others³ imitated by Pindar, in honour of the combined musical and military genius of Sparta. Pindar's assignment to Terpander of the "invention" of the Scolion or Greek convivial Catch⁴, can hardly be understood as referring to any thing more than improvements in the style or musical accompaniment of that entertainment.

Other early
poet-musi-
cians.
Thaletas.

11. The next in celebrity among these early improvers of Greek melic art is Thaletas, a native of Gortys in Crete⁵, and attracted like Terpander to Sparta, as the central seat of musical culture. Like Terpander also he possesses claims to mythical antiquity, but his probable epoch may be placed about a generation subsequent to the Lesbian musician. His chief merit consisted in his application of Terpander's system to the martial and orchestric branches of Spartan state ceremonial, as founder, in the year 665 B. C., of the second of the two great Lacedæmonian musical festivals, that of the Gymnopædia⁶;

Delian Hymn in the Homeric collection. See *supra*, Ch. XIX. § 3. The second fragment in Schneidewin's collection seems to have belonged to one of these compositions. Conf. Procl. Chrest. Gaisf. p. 382.

¹ Frg. IV. ap. Schneidewin, *Delect. Poes. Gr.*

² Frg. I.

³ Frg. III.; conf. Plut. *Lycurg.* XXI.

⁴ Plut. de M. XXVIII.

⁵ Polymnest. ap. Pausan. I. xiv. 3.

⁶ Plut. de M. IX. X. He must not be confounded with another earlier, perhaps mythical Thales or Thaletas, who acts as coadjutor of Lycurgus

Trepander being still more renowned as the author of the first, or Carnea. Of the younger solemnity the war-dance formed the leading feature, and it was distinguished generally by its athletic character from the graver more dignified Carnea.¹ The pyrrhic, and other dances chiefly preferred in the Gymnopædia, were held, like the author of the ceremony, to be of Cretan origin.

The personal history of Thaletas is, in its details, little more than a counterpart of that of Trepander, and may accordingly be considered as somewhat apocryphal. By the power of his music he allayed a pestilence which ravaged the city, and by his soothing influence repressed the factious spirit of the inhabitants, and moulded their wills to the wise purposes of their rulers.² His musical compositions are described as chiefly pæans or hyporchems³, both of which were connected with the rites of Apollo and with the popular exercise of the dance, and were nearly akin to each other. The poetical works ascribed to him were, accordingly, in pæonic measure, and in honour of Apollo; but no remains of them have been preserved. The originality of his productions was questioned by antient critics, some of whom stigmatised him as a plagiarist of Archilochus, others of Olympus. From the latter he is also said to have borrowed the mea-

in his legislative labours. (Plut. in Lycurg. iv., Clinton, F. H. vol. i. pp. 159. 191. 201.) It is however not easy to understand how Clinton, in the face of the authorities which he himself quotes, should have placed the genuine Thaletas, author of the second musical "Catastasis" of the Spartans, earlier than Trepander, the author of the first. See Appendix B.

¹ Plut. de M. ix.; Athen. xv. p. 678.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 127.

² Pind. ap. Philod. de Mus. Voll. Hercull. i. pp. 81. 91.; Pausan. i. xiv. 3.; Plut. de M. xlii.; conf. Müller, Dor. vol. ii. p. 17.

³ Plut. de M. ix.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 127.; Ephor. ap. Strab. x. p. 480.

sure called, probably from his own partiality for it, the Cretic.¹

Clonas.

Nearly contemporaneous with Thaletas was Clonas², another aulodic musician and poet of elegies and epic hymns, whom the Thebans of Bœotia and the Tegeans of Arcadia each claimed as their citizen. He shares with several other primitive artists the credit of having composed the celebrated trimelic or tripartite nome, so called from consisting of three parts or strophes, each in one of the three chief musical modes or styles, Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian.

In the arrangement of the Gymnopædia, the name of Thaletas is associated³ by classical authorities with those of four other poet-musicians, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locris, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas, of Argos, all, like Thaletas himself, distinguished as performers on the flute or clarionet, the instruments preferred in the Gymnopædia. It is certain, however, that several of these artists belong to a much later epoch than Thaletas. The notice, therefore, of their joint services in regard to the Gymnopædia, must be understood to imply, not a simultaneous exercise of their talents, but their successive modifications or improvements of the solemnity, resulting in the form which it afterwards presented during the flourishing age of the Spartan republic.

Xenodamus.

Xenodamus of Cythera, the first on the list, is otherwise little known to fame. A hyporchein however, or gymnastic dance, ascribed to him, was ex-

Polymnestus.

tant in later times. Polymnestus⁴, son of Meles of Colophon, was a contemporary, probably a disciple

¹ Plut. de M. x.

² Plut. de M. ix.

³ Plut. de M. iii. v. viii.

⁴ Plut. de M. iii. iv. v. ix.

of Thaletas. He was employed by the Spartans to compose an ode or elegy in honour of that musician¹, and was similarly celebrated in his turn by Alcman and Pindar.² He may, by reference to the above data, be placed in the latter part of the seventh century B.C.³ His compositions are described as belonging chiefly to the class of nomes called Orthian, literally steep or straight, indicating the sustained elevation of their pitch.⁴ Several of his nomes bore in later times the distinctive title of Polymnestian. He was also considered the originator of various more or less important refinements of musical art.⁵

Xenocritus of Locris⁶ towards the close of the seventh century B.C., and Sacadas of Argos in the early part of the sixth, attained a certain distinction, both as poets and musicians, in a peculiar style of epico-lyric composition, apparently of Locrian origin, and which was carried to high perfection, about or shortly after the time of Sacadas, by Stesichorus of Himera. Hence, such notices as may be due to their character as poets will be more opportunely introduced in connexion with the history of that more celebrated author.⁷ They will here be considered but in their capacity of musicians. Xenocritus, a native of the Italian or Epizephyrian Locris, said to have been blind from his infancy, was celebrated for his pæans, and as originator of a Locrian school of music, distinguished for its elegance,

¹ Paus. i. xiv. 3.

² Plut. de M. v.

³ Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 191.

⁴ Plut. de M. ix. The pathetic power of the Orthian nome is evinced by its having been sung by Arion, as his own death dirge, before his plunge into the sea. Herodot. i. xxiii.; conf. Suid. v. ὀρθίος νόμος.

⁵ Plut. de Mus. xxix.

⁶ Plut. de Mus. x.

⁷ Infra, Ch. iv.

Sacadas.

but censured also for meretricious levity of style.¹ Sacadas was victor in the competition of flute-players in the Pythian games, on the first (586 B.C.) and two subsequent occasions after the performance on that instrument had been introduced as a regular part of the solemnity.² He also competes with Clonas for the honour of producing the celebrated trimelic nome.³ The elegiac is described as his favourite style of composition. A monument at Argos, and statues at Olympia and Helicon, with an ode by Pindar in his honour⁴, bore testimony to the esteem in which he was held.

Spartan influence on Greek lyric art.

12. From the foregoing historical details, it appears that Sparta took a decided lead among the states of Greece, during this early period, in the cultivation of lyric poetry. Her influence however was exercised, not through the agency of her own citizens, but of foreigners invited and entertained at public expense. Herein may appear to lie a twofold anomaly: first, that a people proverbially indifferent to the value of other kindred arts should have been so feelingly alive to that of music; secondly, that where so great a passion prevailed for so attractive a pursuit, talent for its exercise should have been wanting. The anomaly, however, finds a satisfactory explanation in the genius of the Lacedæmonian institutions, which exercised not merely an influence, as in other states, but a despotic tyranny over both the intellectual pursuits and social habits of the citizens. Although the Dorians may, upon the whole, have

¹ Aristot. ap. Heraclid. frg. xxx. et Schneidew.; Callim. ap. Schol. Pind. Ol. xi. 17.; Athen. xiv. p. 639., xv. p. 697.; conf. p. 625.

² Pausan. ii. xxii. 9.; conf. Plut. de M. viii.

³ Plut. loc. cit.

⁴ Pausan. loc. cit.; conf. ix. xxx. 2., vi. xiv. 4.; Plut. loc. cit.

been less gifted by nature in regard to the imaginative faculties, than some other tribes of their fellow Hellenes, they were not certainly deficient in that innate sense of beauty and harmony common to the whole Hellenic race. The example of Corinth and of various other states sufficiently proves that, where no special causes interfered, the Dorians wanted neither the faculty nor the inclination to excel in every department of elegant science. Wherever therefore in any case, the spirit of the Spartan legislation permitted or enjoined a participation in those pursuits which, as a general rule, it was bent on repressing, there would be no want of disposition to profit by the indulgence.

The vital principle of the Lacedæmonian constitution was harmony, a complete unity of interests and feeling among the members of the privileged class; an absorption in fact, to this extent, of the individual in the mass. According to a no less fundamental doctrine of Greek political ethics, one of the most efficient modes of promoting this object was a national system of music. The connexion between music and political government among the Spartans, is strikingly exemplified by the legends above narrated of the popular seditions suppressed by Terpander and Thaletas through the mere charm of their musical performances. In a military point of view the value of this art was equally recognised by the Lacedæmonian legislators, as will be no less strikingly illustrated in the sequel, in treating of the history of Tyrtæus. Music formed an important element of their military economy, both in the city and camp as an incitement to valour and patriotism, and on the battle field as an aid to martial discipline. Its ad-

vantage in this latter respect, so highly appreciated in modern warfare, seems in fact to have been fully recognised in Sparta alone among the Greek states. She was the only member of the confederacy, of whose armies the field movements were habitually and systematically regulated by musical performance.¹ The connexion between music and dancing, the latter of which arts constituted an essential branch of Spartan military education, still further tended to secure and extend the influence of the former. Nor was music less highly appreciated in a convivial point of view.² In the *syssitia*, or public banquets, popular songs, celebrating the glory of the nation and its heroes, proved an effectual means of riveting the bonds of social unity, and inspiring fresh vigour for the daily routine of political or martial duty. To the prevalence of this custom may possibly be attributed the pains which Terpander, the state musician, is said to have bestowed on the important branch of convivial composition called *Scolion*, the invention of which, or in other words its improvement or more artistic regulation, forms one of his claims to celebrity. To all this may be added, that Apollo the patron deity of the Dorian race, and especially of the Spartan republic, was by preeminence the god of music and song. Hence the earliest local solemnities of which lyric performances constitute a prominent feature are the Carnean games of Sparta, in honour of this god, in which Terpander was the first victor.

It is however remarkable, that with all this susceptibility of the power and charm of music and

¹ Thucyd. v. lxx. ; Lucian. de Salt. x. ; Plut. de M. xxvi., Vit. Lycurg. xxii. ; Polyb. iv. 20. ; Athen. xiv. p. 627.

² Plut. Lyc. xxi. ; Athen. xiv. p. 630.

poetry, and this high sense of the more solid advantages derived from an encouragement of the combined arts, the Spartans themselves do not seem to have been at all distinguished either as poets or musicians. This apparent inconsistency may be owing partly to an actual want of original genius in the race for an art the creations of which, as emanating from the genius of others, they were abundantly qualified to appreciate. Another cause of the anomaly may perhaps be found in the circumstance, that, popular as these more ideal pursuits may have been in Sparta, their professional exercise by Spartan citizens, to the extent necessary to form finished masters, or to the neglect of other more strictly martial and athletic accomplishments, was probably, if allowed at all, neither encouraged nor approved of. The history of human society, in every age, furnishes similar instances of sciences highly prized in themselves, while their professors were lightly esteemed. As, however, what might be deemed effeminate or degrading in a Spartiate reflected no such discredit on a Lesbian or Athenian, the magistrates were at all times forward to invite the most esteemed foreign professors to their city, and to secure their services by handsome treatment and honourable distinctions. It is to this peculiarity that Aristotle¹ alludes, in describing the Lacedæmonians as good critics but bad artists. Hence, during this early period, Sparta, while herself producing no single poet or musician of any real eminence among her own sons², was the central seat

¹ Polit. viii. iv. p. 263. Tauchn.; conf. Athen. xiv. p. 628.

² Xenodamus, one of the establishers or improvers of the *Gymnopaedia*, was a native of Cythera, and in so far a Lacedæmonian, though not probably enjoying the full privileges of a citizen. His name however,

of musical culture, and of a school of art which gave laws to the rest of Greece. All the more illustrious professors who flourished during the ascendancy of this school, Terpander, Thaletas, Tyrtæus, Polymnestus, Alcman, Sacadas, were either settled in Sparta, or employed by the Spartan government. The exception of Archilochus, to whom on special grounds the same privilege was denied, tends but to confirm the rule.

Sparto-
Dorian
school.

13. It may seem strange that the Spartan school, amid the varieties of genius to which it owed its cultivation, and of which the enthusiastic and voluptuous Æolian, as represented by Terpander, is the most conspicuous, should yet have acquired that gravity and severity of character for which it was celebrated. It might perhaps be said in explanation, that an essential condition of the popularity of any foreign artist would be an adaptation of his style to the taste of his employers; and that an Æolian or Ionian master composing for a Dorian audience would be expected to divest himself of his native method, and conform to that of his patrons. Original genius, however, does not easily submit to any such accommodation to circumstances. It is more probable that, in the time of Terpander, no such separation of tastes or styles had yet taken place, in regard at least to the higher public or sacred departments of musical

although the most prominent in the annals of native art, cannot rank in celebrity within many degrees of those of the distinguished foreign masters above noticed. Other Spartan musicians of whom incidental mention occurs, are Gitiades, Spondon, Dionysodotus. The first of these, architect of the Brazen House of Minerva, is said to have composed a hymn to that goddess. (Paus. III. xvii. 3.) Dionysodotus was author of pæans performed in the Gymnopædia. (Athen. xv. p. 678.) Conf. Plut. in Lycurg. xxviii.

performance, which afterwards bore the name of Dorian.¹ The character of this graver order of composition was probably the same, or similar, at this early period, in every state; and the art of any truly great Æolian or Ionian master, as applied to sacred or solemn objects, would be as congenial to Dorian taste as the art of a native Dorian. When therefore we find Terpander described as establishing a Spartan system of music, the notice is not to be understood as if, on his settlement in Lacedæmon, he had discarded his previous Æolian practice, and tasked his genius to produce a new style more suitable to the taste of his new audience; but simply that the superiority of his system to that previously in vogue among the Spartans obtained for it a preference, and for himself the honour of future director of their musical solemnities. The question with them was, not whether his style was Æolian or Dorian, but whether it was more excellent than their own. This view is, indeed, borne out by the tradition concerning the powerful effect of his music on their sympathies on his very first performance.²

The Spartan school therefore represents but the graver more dignified order of national music, of which congenial features in the Laconian character

¹ The deference to Dorian practice seems however, in later times, to have been far more broadly exemplified in regard to the dialect than to the rhythm or music, both in the choric element of the Attic drama and in other styles of lyric composition. Pindar admits no exclusive preference of Dorian rhythm even in his loftier range of subjects. (Boeckh. de Metr. Pind. p. 276. sq.) The dialect of the dithyrambic odes was the Doric, at least down to the age of Aristotle; yet that critic himself remarks that the dithyrambic metres were altogether incompatible with a Dorian musical accompaniment. Polit. viii. vii.; conf. Probl.

xix. xv.

² See Appendix C.

had rendered Sparta the principal seat. The same influences extended in a greater or less degree to other Dorian states; and the more solemn and sacred style, as authorised not only in the Carnean, but the Olympian, Pythian, and other Panhellenic festivals, acquired the familiar title of Dorian. To this ascendancy of Dorian taste and practice is to be further attributed the subsequent general preference of the Doric dialect in the higher branches of lyric poetry, as exemplified in the odes of Pindar and other contemporary poets, and in the lyric element of the Attic drama. The lighter styles of composition, on the other hand, as more successfully cultivated among the native Æolians and Ionians, acquired from those tribes their own distinctive titles, in contradistinction to the more severe genius of the Sparto-Dorian Muse.

But amid all the ascetic gravity of their character and institutions, it is certain that the Lacedæmonians were far from repudiating a style of lyric performance of a lighter and livelier nature than that appointed for more solemn and serious public festivals; a style even of a licentious tendency. This seems to be evinced by the extant remains of Alcman, their most popular national poet, many of whose odes would not be unworthy of a place in the collections of Sappho or Anacreon. The adaptation of such words to the graver Dorian music, would have been an anomaly too repugnant to every law of propriety to have been sanctioned by any Hellenic school of art; they must therefore be understood to have been furnished with a corresponding style of melody. It may hence be presumed that, besides the improvement of the Dorian music properly so called, Sparta

was indebted to her Terpanders and Polymnesti for the introduction of the more sprightly and jocund Æolian or Ionian styles, either as they prevailed in the native countries of those musicians, or as modified by themselves to suit the taste of their new patrons. The prevalence, accordingly, of Æolism in the dialect and metres of "the Laconian poet" Alcman is pointedly noticed by antient critics.

14. In reverting from the music to the literature of Greek lyric composition, attention must again be directed to the inventions or improvements for which Archilochus enjoys credit, in the more essentially melic, as well as elegiac and iambic orders of Greek metre. That this poet was a great inventive genius is vouched for, as well by the testimony of antiquity, as by the variety of forms which Greek poetical rhythm suddenly, as it were, assumes in his extant productions.¹ The precise extent to which, in each individual case, he may be entitled to the honour of priority is difficult to determine, owing to the obscurity which involves the previous stages of lyric art. The credit will at least remain to him of having, in regard to a majority of those forms, produced the first specimens considered worthy of being preserved and cherished as standard models by the latest posterity. In addition however to the simpler styles of melic rhythm, his fragments offer the first traces of the next remarkable step in the progress of lyric art, the development of the choral or strophic order of poetry. For the better elucidation of the early history of this important branch of composition, a concise notice will be required of its chief component parts

Strophic
and choral
styles of
lyric poetry.

¹ Conf. Plut. de Mus. xxviii.

or elements.¹ These are, a Verse, a System, and a Strophe.

Metrical
definitions.

A Verse may be defined a continuous series of metrical numbers, forming a complete harmonious clause, of such length as may be conveniently recited in a single respiration.

A System is a similar clause or section of the text of a metrical composition, the numbers of which section, while succeeding each other in like continuous order², are too extensive to admit of their being comprised in a single verse.

A Strophe is a similar section of a metrical text, the numbers of which may either proceed in the same uninterrupted order of continuity, or may comprise distinct verses or systems of verses.

Where no two strophes of the same ode correspond in form to each other, or where an ode consists of but one form of strophe successively repeated, the poem is called Monostrophic. Where the same strophe is repeated alternately with another different form of strophe, the ode is called Antistrophic; every alternate corresponding strophe being entitled the antistrophe of its predecessor.

By reference to these definitions, a system successively repeated in a lyric composition forms a strophe. A strophe however, not only does not necessarily form a system; but may itself comprise several systems, alone, or in connexion with other unconnected verses; or it may consist altogether of such verses.

An epode is a shorter combination of numbers

¹ Conf. Herm. Elem. Doctr. metr. p. 666. sqq.

² Namely, without the intervention of any of those accidents (hiatus, common syllable, and others) which in Greek prosody form an impediment to metrical continuity. Herm. op. cit. p. 25.

subjoined to a longer one. In the more elementary stage of art, the term was applied to the combination of a single short verse or "catalexis" with one or more longer verses, so as to round them off into a concise system or strophe. In the more advanced stages of strophic composition it denoted any concise series of verses, or short strophe, appended to one or more strophes of greater compass, to enhance the choric effect of their periodical recurrence.

The origin of the Strophe is probably coeval with Strophe. that of lyric song. Such stanzas, or subdivisions of a continuous poetical text, are in every country a common or even universal characteristic of the popular ballad, and other ruder productions of the infant Muse. The Greek critics seem themselves to have been of this opinion, since, by a rare exception to their general rule, the "invention" of the strophe seems nowhere to have been attributed by them to any definite era or author. The invariable connexion between music and poetry in every primitive state of society, also implies the existence of the strophe; a similar subdivision of the musical measure into staves or stanzas being indispensable to the livelier class of tune or melody; and the words could hardly fail to be regulated by the music.

The first and simplest form of strophe which, by reference to the foregoing definition of the term, the Greek or indeed any other language can present, is exemplified in the elegiac distich, where a short verse is subjoined to a long one. Similar are those elementary combinations already noticed called Epodes, of frequent occurrence with Archilochus, and of which he was the reputed inventor. They usually consist of two lines of mixed dactylic and iambic measure, the

second of which stands to the first much in the same relation as the pentameter to the hexameter in the elegiac couplet. An extension of this more elementary form, also first exemplified in the works of Archilochus, is the subjoining of a single catalectic iambic verse to two acatalectic verses of the same measure¹: —

αἶνός τις ἀνθρώπων ὄδε,
ὡς ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ καίετος,
ξυνωνίην ἔθεντο.

These shorter combinations of verses are, however, rarely if ever comprehended under the general term Strophe, but are familiarly known, as already remarked, by the proper title of Epode.

Strophic odes, in the more restricted sense, may be classed under two heads, Melic and Choric. The former head comprises such compositions as were sung or recited, with or without instrumental accompaniment, by a single voice, or a chorus of limited number, for the most part it would appear on private convivial occasions. The choric odes were performed

¹ The verses called Asynartete (or disjointed), another imputed invention of Archilochus, and to the use of which he was partial, also belong properly to this elementary class of epodes. They are deficient in the metrical continuity essential to a single verse, comprising in reality two, a shorter subjoined to a longer one, as in the simplest form of the epode. The only difference consists in the customary mode of writing them. When, therefore, as occasionally happens, another shorter verse is subjoined to the so-called Asynartete, the result is a strophe or epode of three lines. Ex. gr.

οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἀπαλὸν χρῶα,
κάρφεται γὰρ ἤδη·
βγμος κακοῦ δὲ γήραος καθαιρεῖ.

Archil. ap. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. p. 487.
frg. 91.; conf. 104.

in the public solemnities, in conjunction with the dance or processional rites.

The distinctive properties of the Melic Strophe are comparative brevity and precision.¹ The number of verses in each rarely in the more classical odes of the kind exceeds four, usually marked by a certain similarity of rhythmical character. As a general rule, the continuity of numbers is not extended beyond the limits of each verse. The last verse frequently assumes the form of an epode or catalexis to the remainder, imparting to the whole an elegant roundness and compactness of numbers. The poems of this class are invariably monostrophic, consisting, that is, of but a single form of strophe repeated throughout from the commencement to the conclusion. This style of composition, if not of Æolian origin, appears in its greatest perfection in the works of Æolian poets. The oldest and most excellent specimens which have been preserved are the Sapphic and Alcaic odes, so called from the preference² given to the rhythmical forms in which they are composed, by the two distinguished chiefs of the Lesbian school, Sappho and Alcæus.

Melic
Strophe.

15. The properties of the Choric strophe may be defined as in a great measure the opposite of those by which the Melic strophe has just been characterised. The former requires or admits a greater number of verses, with a proportionally greater complexity and compass of rhythmical forms. The continuity of numbers is also, as a general rule,

Choric
Strophe,
Anti-
strophe,
Epode.

¹ Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. XIX.; Herm. Doctr. Rei metr. p. 674.

² This remark applies to other similar phrases, Alcmanic, Stesichorean, Pindaric, &c., which, as a general rule, refer to the favourite rather than to the first use of those various forms by the authors whose names they bear. Conf. Theon. ap. Welck. Alkaios; Klein. Schr. vol. I. p. 137.

prolonged beyond the close of each line, sometimes through the whole strophe. At other times this continuity is limited to separate groups of verses, forming, in each strophe, subordinate rhythmical masses or systems within its own limits. A corresponding variety and complexity are observable in the structure of the entire ode. Instead of being restricted, like the compositions of the melic class, to a single model of strophe repeated in succession, although that method is not excluded, it admits of several varieties of form; strophe and antistrophe alternating and responding to each other. This arrangement was still further varied by the addition of the epode; which term, as already remarked, denoted, in this more advanced stage of strophic composition, a shorter subsidiary strophe subjoined to each pair of principal masses, and imparting distinctness to their periodical returns. To these three elements, strophe, antistrophe, and epode, may be reduced the numerous forms of ode exemplified in the page of the lyric or tragic poets. The epode, when prefixed to the two former, assumes the name of Proode; when inserted between them, that of Mesode.

The choric ode, in addition to its greater variety of parts and numbers, and the wider scope which it thus afforded to the expression of mental emotion, is distinguished, as a general rule, by a superior dignity and severity of character, qualifying it for the more solemn or sacred orders of public festivity. To such occasions accordingly, during the flourishing ages of Greek art, its performance was solely or chiefly appropriated. The more weight, therefore, is due to the tradition which traces its earliest cultivation to the Spartan-Dorian school. The term Cultivation is here again

more appropriate than that of Invention. The origin of antistrophic recital, like that of the elementary strophe or stanza, may reasonably be sought in the more primitive ages of poetical culture. The practice of singing in parts, or of choral response, whether with or without alternation of measure and air, was as old as the days of Homer.¹ The merit of the Spartan school may, therefore, be limited to the establishment of a more regular and scientific method of arrangement. The claims of Lacedæmon, as placed on this modified basis, are also favoured by the peculiarly close connexion between lyric poetry and the dance in this republic. While to that connexion this style of composition is indebted for its proper title of Choric, or Choral, the name Strophe is derived, with apparent reason, from the turns or passages of the choristers in the performance of their evolutions. Strophe and Antistrophe signify their advance, retreat, or procession round the altar; Epode, their stationary position. To Alcman accordingly, one of the state musicians of Sparta, the scanty notices transmitted by the antients ascribe the "invention" of the antistrophic ode. He is more particularly cited² as the author of one consisting of fourteen strophes, subdivided into two sets of seven, each with its separate form of numbers; but in what precise mode the parts of each were disposed, we are not informed. The remains of Alcman com-

¹ II. I. 604. The notices of several names of Olympus, Terpander, and other poets prior to Alcman, also seem to point at various forms of antistrophic arrangement. It seems, however, doubtful whether that arrangement in these cases extended to the literary text, or may not rather have been limited to the musical element of the composition. Plut. de Mus. iv. vii. viii. alibi.

² Heph. Gaiss. p. 134.; conf. Welck. Fragm. Alcman. p. 13.

prise accordingly several passages marked by much of the continuity and consistency proper to the choric strophe, but in no case of sufficient length to admit of their being distinctly identified as parts of an antistrophic ode.

The addition of the epode to the strophe and antistrophe is ascribed to another distinguished lyric poet, Stesichorus of Himera, a younger contemporary of Alcman. To the joint services of these two authors in the improvement of their art allusion appears to be made in the notice by Clemens of Alexandria¹, that while Alcman "invented" the choric ode, Stesichorus "invented" the hymn. The latter allusion is probably to the perfecting of the choral or antistrophic order of hymn, which had supplanted the old epic hymns in the popular festivals, and of which the epode formed a principal element.²

"Triad of
Stesichorus."

So great was the celebrity of this invention in later times, that the "Triad of Stesichorus"³ (denoting the strophe, antistrophe, and epode) passed into a proverb for the fundamental elements of a liberal educa-

¹ Strom. i. p. 308. c.; conf. Plut. de Mus. xii.; Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. xix.

² Similar seems to be the import of another enigmatical, and in its literal sense unmeaning, statement of Suidas, that the name of the Himæran poet "was altered from Tisias to Stesichorus, owing to his having first brought the lyre into use in the accompaniment of the chorus." The allusion is here probably to the distinction mentioned by other authorities, that the song of the chorus when in motion, that is, when executing, in the primitive spirit of the choral ode, the strophe and antistrophe, was accompanied by wind instruments; but that the "hymn," in the stricter sense, or "stationary part" of the solemnity, namely the epode in the same early practice, was accompanied by the lyre. Suid. v. Στησίχορος; Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 381.; Didym. ap. Etym. M. v. προσῳδαί.

³ Suid. v. οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησίχορον; conf. Gaisf. Paræmiogr. Gr. p. 88. 153.; Klein. Fragm. Stesich. p. 37.

tion. The pedigree of this poet is somewhat obscure. He seems, however, to have been a member of a Locrian family settled in the mixed colony of Himera, on the north coast of Sicily; and the more fabulous details of his history traced his descent from Hesiod.¹ Upon this view of his origin it would result, that to the same primitive Æolian genius to which Greece owed the perfection of her epic minstrelsy in the muse of Homer and Hesiod, and of her art of music in that of Terpander, she was also indebted, in a somewhat less direct line, for the last finish imparted by Stesichorus to this, her purest and most dignified order of lyric poetry. Nor can a share, perhaps an equal share, in the merit of perfecting this branch of art be justly withheld from another poet of purest Æolian blood, and an early contemporary of Stesichorus, Arion of Lesbos²; whose dithyrambic chorus, there can be little doubt, embodied, though in less distinct or regular forms, the same three essential elements of antistrophic composition. And here, again, it is remarkable that the fruits of Æolian genius were elicited and matured under Dorian auspices. Arion was the court musician of Periander of Corinth, where the dithyramb was first composed and performed. That Stesichorus also composed under Dorian influences may be assumed, as well from the ascendancy of the Dorian race and habits in his native island, as from the grave and serious tendency of his compositions and his preference of the Doric dialect. The historical notices however of these two authors, contain no allusion to any such connexion between them and Sparta, as existed in the

¹ *Infra*, Ch. iv. § 9. sq.

² *Infra*, Ch. ii. § 6. iv., § 5. sq.

case of their predecessors in lyric invention. From the period when they flourished, downwards, the claims of that republic to the honour of exclusive or central seat of the Dorian school of art appear to have declined, simultaneously with the general spread of poetical and musical culture through the other members of the confederacy; nor does Sparta herself exhibit any similar zeal for the maintenance of her ascendancy.

CHAP. II.

ORDERS AND OCCASIONS OF LYRIC PERFORMANCE.

1. THEIR NUMBER AND VARIETY. NOME. HYMN.—2. PÆAN.—3. HYPORCHEM, ITS DRAMATIC ELEMENT.—4. PROSODIA. PARTHENIA. DAPHNE-PHORICA.—5. DITHYRAMB. ITS EARLIEST FORM. DITHYRAMB OF ARION.—6. DORIC MIMES.—7. POETICAL AND METRICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ARION'S DITHYRAMB.—8. ITS OTHER TITLES. CYCLIAN CHORUS. TRAGEDIA, OR GOAT-SONG.—9. TRANSITION FROM DITHYRAMBIC TRAGEDIA TO ATTIC TRAGEDY. LYRIC TRAGEDY.—10. LYRIC COMEDY; "SATYR" OR SATYRIC DRAMA.—11. THRENUS. SONG OF LINUS.—12. CONVIVIAL POETRY (SYMPOSIACA). PÆAN. PARGENIA.—13. SCOLIA, OR GREEK MUSICAL CATCHES.—14. THEIR POETICAL AND RHYTHMICAL CHARACTERISTICS. ALLITERATION AND RHYME.—15. ENCOMIA. COMUS. EPINICIA.—16. EROTICA. GAMELIA. HYMENÆA. EPITHALAMIA.—17. MILITARY MUSIC: WAR SONGS, MARCHES.—18. "POPULAR" SONGS. DEFINITION OF.—19. EXTANT SPECIMENS.

1. HAVING now passed in review the origin and elementary principles of Greek lyric composition, it remains to consider the various modes of its adaptation to those festive rites, public or private, with which its higher cultivation was so vitally connected. The number, variety, and methodical distinction of these modes or orders of lyric performance, supply one of the most striking illustrations of the fertile genius and discriminating taste of the Greek nation. From Olympus down to the workshop or the sheepfold, from Jove and Apollo to the wandering mendicant, every rank and degree of the Greek community, divine or human, had its own proper allotment of poetical celebration. The gods had their hymns, nomes, pæans, dithyrambes; great men their encomia and epinicia; the votaries of pleasure their erotica and symposiaca; the mourner his threnodia and elegies; the vinedresser had his epilenia; the herdsmen

Their
number
and variety.

their bucolica; even the beggar his *iresione* and *chedonisma*. The number of these varieties of Grecian song recorded under distinct titles, and most of them enjoying a certain benefit of scientific culture, amounts to upwards of fifty.¹ A portion indeed of this number no longer exist but in name; and, with the exception of those immediately connected with the great public festivals, few have been described with such precision, or are so clearly illustrated by existing specimens, as to supply materials for treatment as distinct heads of subject. Those which in this more tangible capacity will here chiefly claim attention are the following: the Hymn, Nome, Pæan, Hyporchem, Prosodium, Parthenia, Dithyramb, Threnus, Symposiaca, Encomia, Epinicia, Erotica, Gamelia, Embateria. This catalogue may be ranged under two general heads, of Sacred, and Profane or secular²: the former comprising poems in exclusive honour of the gods; the latter those devoted, in whole or in part, to human concerns or interests. To the former head belong the hymn, nome, pæan, hyporchem, prosodium, dithyramb; to the latter, the symposiaca, encomia, epinicia, erotica, gamelia, embateria.³ As an intermediate class, partaking of both characters, may be ranked the threnus and parthenia. To the notices of these more regular orders of composition will be subjoined, under the head of "Popular Songs," a few

¹ See Ilgen, *Scolia sive Carmina convivialia Græcæ*. p. xiv. sqq.

² Conf. Procl. Chrestom. ed. Gaisf. p. 380. sq.

³ To these might be added the Elegy in its various branches, and the lampoon, or satirical poem (*σάλλοι, σκωπτικά*, &c.). The elegy however has already (Ch. i.) been examined under its own proper title. For the others, which can scarcely be considered as forming any separate branch of composition, see the previous head of Iambus, and the sections on the *Scolia* infra, § 13. sq.; with those on Archilochus and Simonides in Ch. iii.

remarks on some other highly characteristic but less polished productions of Greek lyric genius.

The first two names in the above list, Hymn and Hymn. Nome, are, as remarked in a former page, in their primary sense rather generic terms applicable to every more dignified species of melic composition, than designations of any particular class of ode. The pæan, for example, was the hymn of rejoicing or triumph; the prosodion, the processional hymn; the proœmium, the introductory hymn to the sacred office in the sanctuary. The term Dithyramb, in its origin, appears to have comprised every species of Bacchic hymn, as that of Pæan, in familiar usage, was more especially applied to the hymns to Apollo.¹ In later times however, the title Hymn appears to have attached in a peculiar sense to the odes sung by the chorus during the sacrifice, when stationary around the altar.²

Nome, in its original more comprehensive significance, denoted simply that more definite adaptation of musical to poetical numbers which forms the essence of all lyric composition, as distinct from the continuous chant or recitative of the old epic minstrelsy.³ But in the more advanced stages of lyric art, the term is restricted in a proper sense to a certain more solemn order of hymn or anthem, the older specimens of which were marked by a peculiar simplicity and dignity of style, and passed generally current as productions of the earliest and purest periods of lyric art.⁴ Consistently with the same gravity and solemnity of character, the nome is

¹ Didym. ap. Etym. M. et Orion Theb. v. ὕμνος; Menand. Rh. de Encom. II.; Plato de Legg. p. 700.

² See supra, p. 60.

³ See Ch. i. § 9.

⁴ Plato de Legg. p. 700.; Procli Chrestom. p. 383. Gaisf.

further described as the only branch of Greek lyric composition which was never combined with the performance of the dance, nor ever, by consequence, admitted of antistrophic arrangement.¹ No ascertained examples have been preserved of poems entitled *Nomes* in this more limited sense.

PÆAN.

Pæan. 2. The pæan, in its oldest and purest form, may be considered in the light of the popular hymn or anthem of the Hellenic race.² It united, by a natural association of opposite ideas, the characteristics both of song of war and song of peace. As a song of rejoicing for victory in battle, or deliverance from calamity, it was also a song of repose and relaxation, as the fruits of the achievement. A pæan was sung accordingly on attacking the enemy, to propitiate the gods and encourage the troops, and after the victory, to celebrate the triumph.³ The pæan was at every period more immediately connected with the worship of Apollo, a preference to which he was entitled as the patron god of music. But that preference was not such as to exclude the claims of other deities.⁴ In the *Iliad* the pæan is described as sung in special honour of Apollo, at the expiatory sacrifice in his Chrysean sanctuary. It is also chanted by the whole Greek army, as a triumphal hymn, on the

¹ Aristot. *Probl.* xix. 32.

² Hence occasionally, though rarely, and in a somewhat far-fetched strain of poetical metaphor, the term is applied in the same general sense of hymn or ode to other compositions of a very different character. Bode, *Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtk.* vol. ii. part i. p. 20.

³ Thucyd. ii. xci., iv. xliii. Schol. ad loc., vii. xlv.; Xenoph. *Anab.* iii. ii. 5. See *infra*, §§ 12. 17.

⁴ Procl. *Chrest.* p. 381. Gaisf.; Boeckh, *Fragm. Pind.* p. 568.; conf. Bernhardt, *Gesch. der Griech. Lit.* vol. ii. p. 450.

march back to the ships with the body of Hector. On this occasion, however, it could hardly have been selected as the hymn of Apollo, Hector having been throughout the war notoriously the favourite hero of that deity, who in support of the Trojan cause had shown himself the most fatal enemy of the Greeks. The name, in its Homeric form Παῖῶν, corresponds with that of Homer's god of medicine, and may be referred to the same origin, as significant of relief or deliverance from labour or distress.¹

Among the more familiar examples of songs under this title, sung in honour of other deities besides Apollo, were the martial pæans chanted in the hour of battle or at other times. These, in each state, were commonly dedicated to its own patron deity, and even among the Spartans, whose patron god was Apollo, were frequently addressed to Mars.²

The custom of singing the pæan at banquets, restricted by Homer to expiatory feasts, prevailed in subsequent ages at ordinary convivial meetings. The musical part of such entertainments commenced and closed with pæans chanted in chorus by the whole company, and usually distinguished from other convivial songs by the recurrence of the burden "Ιεῖε-Παιαν."³ Pæans were also chanted at the ratification of treaties of peace, and in Roman times at the coronation of the emperors. The instances in which pæans were composed in honour of private individuals

¹ (παῶν) παῖων. The phrases *ἡλῖος*, *ἡλις*, in the burthen of the chant, may in like manner be derived from *ἰάουαι*. The two gods were identified in later times; but there is no trace of any such connexion in the early mythology.

² Suid. v. *παῖνες*.

³ Alcman. frg. xi. Bergk.; Plat. Symp. p. 176.; Plut. Symp. i. i., vii. viii. 4.; Xenoph. Anab. v. ix. (vi. i.), Symp. ii. i.; Timæ. ap. Athen. vi. p. 260. conf. v. p. 179., xiv. p. 680.

are confined to the lower more corrupt ages of Hellenism, when the bestowal of divine honours on great men became a favourite form of popular adulation. Such were the pæans celebrating Lysander, Antigonus, and Demetrius Poliorcetes.¹

That the pæan of the Homeric age was in hexameter verse may be assumed, on the general ground that this was the chief or only metre adapted at that early period to the higher orders of poetry. The first artistic arrangement of pæans to other properly melic forms is commonly ascribed to the Creto-Spartan musician Thaletas², who is said to have composed pæans in the rhythm which, from his own country or from himself as its accredited inventor, acquired the name of Cretic. Hence also a certain modification of that rhythm, more especially adapted to these hymns, obtained the title of Pæonic measure; the peculiar feature of which was the solution of one of the two long syllables of the Cretic, imparting liveliness and variety to what is in itself a somewhat monotonous cadence. Before the time of Thaletas however, Archilochus sang the "Lesbian pæan" in lively trochaic measure³; and in the subsequent stages of its cultivation the style of composition admitted a great variety of rhythmical arrangement, with little or no special preference, judging from extant remains, either of the cretic or pæonic.⁴ The antiquity of a real or mythical connexion of the pæan with Cretan forms of celebration is vouched for by the Homeric hymn to Apollo Pythius, where the destined Cretan ministers of his oracle, on their progress from the shore to

¹ Athen. vi. p. 253., conf. xv. p. 696.; Diog. Laert. v. v. 7.; Plut. vit. Lys. xviii., vit. Cleom. xvi.

² Plut. de Mus. ix. x.; conf. Boeckh, de Metr. Pind. p. 143.

³ Frg. xli. Bergk.

⁴ Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. p. 567. sqq.

the sanctuary, are described as "chanting the pæan in the mode in which the Cretan pæan was used to be chanted." The song was also accompanied on this occasion by dancing, Apollo himself heading the chorus. This, while an apparent innovation upon Homer's description of the pæan, is also in harmony with Creto-Dorian taste, which loved to unite the dance with almost every branch of festive solemnity. The dance accordingly remained in later times a popular, though not an essential accompaniment of the pæan.¹

HYPORCHEM.

3. The term Hyporchem denotes, in familiar usage, both a popular Hellenic dance, and the branch of lyric composition by which that dance was accompanied.² The musical or poetical element of the hyporchem, from the earliest period of its cultivation, appears in style and numbers to have closely resembled the pæan. Both performances were connected preferably, during their best period, with the worship of Apollo³; and a favourite measure of both was the cretic or pæonic. Much similarity is accordingly observable between existing specimens of each order of composition; and among the antient critics themselves it was often matter of doubt under which denomination an ode was to be ranked.⁴ The main difference seems to have been, that the pæan was characterised by a pervading dignity and propriety, the hyporchem by a greater degree of vivacity, tending at times to levity or license.⁵ Another

Hyporchem.

¹ Athen. xrv. p. 631.² Procl. Chrestom. p. 384. Gaisf.³ Menand. Rhet. de Encom. i.⁴ Plut. de Mus. ix.; conf. Boeckh, de Metr. Pind. p. 201.⁵ See a hyporchem of Pratinas ap. Athen. xiv. p. 617.

feature of distinction between the pæan and the hyporchem was the greater prevalence in the latter, when combined with dancing, of that mimetic action which entered more or less into all such solemnities among the Greeks. That this ingredient of the ceremony was carried in the hyporchem to a high degree of perfection may be gathered from Plutarch's special appeal to that dance, in illustration of his maxim, that poetry was an articulate species of dancing, the dance a silent species of poetry.¹ A third distinction between the two was, that the pæan during the best ages was exclusively addressed to the gods; hyporchems appear to have been, though rarely, composed and performed in honour of men.² In both styles of composition, the accompaniment of wind or of stringed instruments was equally authorised by reference to the place or occasion of the performance.

Dramatic
element of
the hypor-
chem.

There was this further interesting analogy between the pæan and the hyporchem, that while the pæan as above characterised was the antient national anthem of the Hellenic race, the hyporchem may equally claim to represent their oldest popular dance. The chorus described by Homer as sculptured on one of the compartments of the shield of Achilles corresponds in all essential particulars, as has been remarked by the best classical authorities, to the hyporchematic dance, as that dance was performed in every subsequent age of Greek antiquity, and is still performed by the native peasantry of various parts of Greece on days of popular festivity. The chorus, in the *Iliad*³, consists of a band of youths and maidens in festive attire, with joined hands, sometimes

¹ Symp. ix. xv. 2.; conf. Luc. de Salt. xvi.; Athen. i. p. 15., xiv. p. 631.

² Boeckh, *Fragm. Pind.* p. 596. sq.

³ xviii. 590. sqq.

revolving in a circle around the minstrel, who seated in the midst accompanies their motions with voice and lyre; sometimes in prolonged file advancing and retiring to and fro, while two chief dancers, or leaders of the chorus, perform their evolutions in the centre. In the *Odyssey*¹ the same performance, including the two independant dancers or leaders, takes place in the hall of Menelaus. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo², the dance of the divine chorus in Olympus is almost identical with that of the *Iliad*. The chorus or circle is composed of female deities alone, Venus, the Graces, Diana, Hebe, and the Hours; Apollo acts as musician; while Mars and Mercury figure as chief dancers. In the Delian hyporchem of later times, as described by Lucian³, the chorus as in the *Shield* consists of youths and maidens; while certain of the more accomplished artists are said to perform "the hyporchem;" a term here denoting, as both the spirit of the text and the native commentators imply, the functions of the chief dancers or gesticulators in Homer's description. From the general tenor of these accounts it also results, that the office of the latter class of performers consisted, in great part at least, of the dramatic action described by Plutarch as entering so largely into the composition of the hyporchem. Athenæus⁴ also characterises the hyporchematic dance as shadowing forth, by mimic gesticulations, the words of the song by which it was accompanied; and the choristers of the Delian festival, in the Delian hymn to Apollo⁵, are made to boast of their skill in imitating the voices and gestures of men.

¹ *iv.* 17. ² Hymn. Ap. Pyth. 16. sqq.
 conf. Athen. i. p. 15.

⁴ Loc. cit.

³ De Saltu, xiii. xvi.

⁵ 162.

The remote origin or "invention" of the hyporchem, like that of the pæan in its lyric form, is traced in the popular notices of the antients¹ to Crete; and this view is in so far supported by Homer, that he describes the sculptured chorus of the Shield as identical with that represented on another older work of art executed by Dædalus for the Cretan Ariadne.² Dædalus however, by reference to the foregoing illustrations of the hyporchem, may here safely be considered in his Panhellenic rather than his local capacity, as eponyme of the inventive genius of all Greece rather than of Crete alone. The other tradition of the "invention" of the hyporchem by the Cretan Thaletas³, must refer either to the early fabulous personality of that musician, or to the subsequent adaptation of the performance by the latter Cretan artist to the more refined lyric forms of accompaniment.

The chief recorded authors of hyporchematic odes during this period were Thaletas, and Xenodamus of Cithæra⁴; but no remains of their works have been preserved. The extant specimens of the immediately succeeding period emanate from its most celebrated poets, Simonides, Pindar, Pratinas, Bacchylides, with several of whom the hyporchem was a favourite style.

Although the dance was the fundamental, and probably an indispensable feature of the hyporchem in its earlier stages, there can be little doubt that its lyric element was afterwards separately cultivated. The hyporchems described in later times as com-

¹ Sosibius ap. Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127.

² II. XVIII.; conf. XVI. 617., Athen. ad loc. v. p. 181.

³ Schol. Pind. Pyth. *ibid.*

⁴ Plut. de Mus. IX.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. II. 127.

posed in honour of private individuals, could hardly be destined for orchestric exhibition. The citation, therefore, of Pindar by some authorities¹ as the "inventor" of the hyporchem, alludes probably, to his having been considered the first author of hyporchematic odes in the purely poetical or literary sense of the term.

PROSODIUM. PARTHENIA. DAPHNEPHORICA.

4. The prosodion was the hymn sung by the Prosodium. choristers in their procession to the altar or sanctuary. Although this order of composition must have been connected with the service of every deity of whose rites processional movements formed a part, its early culture and chief popularity were concentrated around the worship of Apollo. The prosodion, accordingly, is occasionally classed under the general head of Pæan, by the special title of Prosodiac, or Processional, pæan. Like the kindred order of sacred odes, the nome and pæan proper, it was composed in the earlier epochs of its cultivation in hexameter measure. Such apparently was the style of the celebrated Delian prosodium of Eumelus, the earliest composition with which the name Prosodium is connected.² Afterwards, when the lyric school of art acquired the ascendant, and the dance became popular even in these graver processional solemnities³, lyric numbers were exclusively preferred. The prosodia of Pindar, the oldest of which any considerable remains have been preserved, are chiefly in the same grave Dorian measure as the greater part of

¹ Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 308. Sylb.

² Procl. Chrest. p. 382.; conf. supra, Vol. II. p. 452. sq.; Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. p. 586.

³ Xenoph. Anab. v. ix., vi. i.

his epinician odes. This measure, accordingly, is described as the proper rhythm of the prosodion.¹ The accompaniment of the flute, as usual in festive movements, was preferred to that of the harp, customary in the stationary choral rites.²

Parthenia.

To the head of prosodia belongs in part the order of composition entitled Parthenia³, or "virginal songs." This title however comprises two different kinds of ode: first, processional or sacrificial songs, sung as their name denotes by virgins, in honour of certain deities; secondly, songs in honour of those same youthful members of the female sex.⁴ The parthenia of the first class may therefore be characterised as sacred; those of the second as profane, or secular.

The sacred parthenia were substantially hymns, pæans, or prosodia, as the object or occasion might require. Their distinctive feature, as compared with other compositions of the same class, seems to have been little more than what it were natural to expect would be imparted to them by the genius of the performers. That feature is described, accordingly, as a blending of feminine grace and tenderness with devotional solemnity.⁵ Hence may be explained the great popularity of this style of composition with most of the leading melic poets, from Alcman downwards.⁶ Among the religious ceremonies in which these parthenia were introduced, the

Daphne-
phorica.

¹ Plut. de Mus. xviii.

² Didym. ap. Etym. M. v. *ῥυμος*; Procl. Chrest. p. 382. Gaisf.

³ Athen. xiv. p. 631.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 920.; Suid. v. *παρθενία*; Procl. Chrestom. p. 380. Gaisf.

⁵ Dion. Hal. de adm. vi dic. Demosth. ed. Reisk. vol. iii. p. 1073.; conf. Plut. de Mus. xvii.

⁶ Plut. de Mus. xvii.

only one of which a distinct account¹ has been transmitted is the Daphnephorica, or feast of the Laurel branches, celebrated at Thebes in honour of Apollo Ismenius. In this festivity a chorus of young maidens, headed by a high priest of equally tender age, selected annually for the office from one of the first families in the city, marched or danced in procession, bearing laurel branches for the decoration of a mystical statue, or cippus, of the god. The rite was traced back in Theban tradition to the remotest period of mythical antiquity; and Hercules is said to have taken his annual turn of office as juvenile leader of the train. The parthenia sung on this, and probably on the same or similar laurel processions at Athens and elsewhere, were distinguished by the title of Daphnephorica², common to the ceremony itself. Under this title were ranged, as a separate head, a portion of the three books into which the parthenia of Pindar were divided.³ Parthenia were also performed in honour of Diana from the days of Homer downwards⁴, and the sacred parthenia of Sparta seem to have been limited to the worship of that goddess.⁵

The other class of parthenia, performed not by, but in honour of, the virgins, though not properly connected with religious ceremonial, was also originally destined for public festive occasions. It was this distinction which, together with a superior purity and dignity of style and sentiment, constituted them a different order of composition from the ordinary erotica or love-songs. So marked a tribute

¹ Procl. Chrestom. p. 385. sq. Gaisf.; Pausan. ix. x. 4.

² Procl. loc. cit.

³ Suid. v. Πάρ; conf. Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. p. 590.

⁴ Il. xvi. 180. sqq.

⁵ Paus. iii. x. 8., iv. xvi. 5.

of respect and homage to the female part of the community, may seem but little in unison with the general tenor of the social relations between the sexes in Greece, relations partaking but slightly of the spirit of romantic gallantry prevalent in the earlier stages of modern poetical literature. The anomaly explains itself by the consideration that this order of parthenia was apparently not only of Spartan origin, but limited solely or chiefly to Spartan poets and festivals. It affords, consequently, a marked and interesting illustration of the difference between the social position enjoyed by the female citizens of this republic, and that allotted to them in other parts of Greece. The Spartan dames and damsels, together with their share in the gymnastic as well as festive ceremonial of the state, claimed and enjoyed a corresponding share of the dignity and privileges elsewhere appropriated to the men.¹ This community of public duty and privilege, with their own enthusiastic patriotism, and the jealous superintendence exercised by them over that of their admirers and male relatives, amply entitled them to a public expression of that amount of tender homage, which even in countries where romantic love is least in the ascendant, fair woman cannot fail to command.

The earliest recorded author of parthenia is Alcman, with whom this branch of composition in both its varieties was an especial favourite.² The extant specimens of his collection are chiefly of the secular kind, of which they also appear to be the only relics. The parthenia of Bacchylides, Simonides, and Pindar, with the latter of whom this was a favourite style of

¹ Plut. vit. Lycurg.; conf. Welck. Præf. ad Alcman. p. 10.

² Welck. loc. cit.

composition, belong exclusively to the sacred class. No entire ode of either description has been preserved. The parthenia of Pindar are appealed to by the antient critics¹ as samples of his power of infusing grace and tenderness into the severe dignity of the Dorian Muse; which characteristic is confirmed by their existing remains.

DITHYRAMB. LYRIC TRAGEDY.

5. This celebrated branch of composition, as the parent of the Attic tragedy, assumes a still greater degree of importance and interest, than would even otherwise justly attach to it on account of its great popularity and extensive influence on the style and taste of every period of Greek poetical literature.

Dithyramb
in its ear-
liest form.

The dithyramb in its earliest form was the hymn of Bacchus², as the pæan was the hymn of Apollo. The more joyous, even wild and fantastic attributes of the former deity, were supported by a corresponding license in his poetical and musical rites. The dithyramb consequently was, in every stage of its cultivation, the type of the turbulent and enthusiastic element of Greek sacred music. The existing notices of this order of composition are of comparatively recent date; nor is there any allusion by Homer, Hesiod, or other primitive authorities, to the festive rites of Bacchus as popular in their day. That the dithyramb however, in its simpler melic form of Dionysiac hymn or pæan, was already a cultivated branch of lyric art in the age of Archilochus appears from a still extant distich of that poet³, in which he

¹ Dion. Hal. de adm. vi dic. Demosth. Reisk. p. 1073.

² Plat. de Legg. p. 700.

³ Frg. 72. Bergk.; conf. Athen. xiv. p. 628.

mentions it by name as the "beautiful song of Dionysus," and prides himself on his skill in its execution. These verses are in a lively vein of trochaic tetrameter, the same measure which Aristotle¹ describes as originally proper to the dithyramb: they may hence be presumed to have been themselves the exordium of a dithyrambic ode or chorus.

Dithyramb
of Arion.

In the generation subsequent to Archilochus, a more extended and artificial character was imparted to this branch of lyric performance by Arion, the celebrated Lesbian musician², whose personal adventures form so interesting an episode in the romance of Greek literary history.³ From the era of this minstrel date, accordingly, the subsequent high vogue and popularity of the dithyramb, and the powerful influence which it exercised on the combined arts of poetry and music in Greece. It is this new epoch in its history, which the respectable body of antient authorities headed by Pindar and Herodotus must be understood to have in view, who quote Arion, in the face of the above passage of Archilochus, as "inventor" of the dithyramb. These notices, therefore, may be added to the many examples which the history of this period supplies of confusion between the terms inventor and improver.⁴

¹ Poetic. iv. (Gräff.); conf. Rhet. iii. i. p. 139. Tauchn.

² Herodot. i. xxiii.; Pind. Ol. xiii. 25.; Aristot. ap. Procl. Chrest. p. 382. Gaisf.; Hellanic. et Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403.; Dio. Chrys. or. xxxvii. init.; Suid. v. 'Aplwv.

³ See Ch. iv.

⁴ How little confidence can be placed in the letter of such statements is clear from the fact of the same Pindar, by whom this invention is in one passage ascribed to Corinth, traces it in another to Thebes, and in a third to Naxos. (Schol. ad ol. xiii. 25.) All three passages, it is evident, must be taken in a merely figurative sense. In the first Thebes is preferred, as the birthplace of Dionysus; in the second Naxos, as the favourite seat of his worship; in the third Corinth, as mother of the more artificial arrangement of his festive rite.

6. The changes, however, effected by Arion in the primitive form of the dithyramb were such as in some degree to constitute it, in his hands, an altogether new rite in honour of Dionysus. These changes consisted in a combination of two previously distinct orders of Bacchic festivity, each probably, in its separate capacity, of very antient date. The one was the old simple dithyramb, or Dionysiac pæan, sung by Archilochus and the companions of his revelries. Upon this purely musical or poetical element, was engrafted another kind of entertainment of a more lively mimetic or dramatic character. This was a grotesque dance, the performers in which, disguised as Satyrs or Silenes, enlivened the human portion of the solemnity with gestures and ejaculations, in imitation of those actions or adventures of the god which supplied the common subject of celebration. The ceremony as thus compounded was under the direction of an exarchon¹, who, reserving certain more important functions for himself, superintended the proper execution of the whole performance.² The Satyr-dance, and other more fantastic ingredients of the festival, belonged to a class of rustic mimes, or rude dramatic entertainments, connected from a remote period, especially among the Dorian tribes³, with the popular rites of Bacchus. The origin of these mimes was carried by tradition as far back as the youth of the god himself, who is reported

Doric
mimes.

¹ Aristot. Poet. iv. Gräff.; Aristid. Orat. tom. i. p. 228. ed Jebb.

² Simonides, fr. 148. Bergk., alludes to the chorus of his dithyramb as fifty in number. But it seems doubtful if the practice of his age can afford a fair criterion for that of Arion. Conf. Pollux, iv. 110.

³ Aristot. Poet. iii. ed. Gräff.; Athen. xiv. p. 630. sq.; Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. vii. p. 1491. Reisk.; Procl. Chrestom. p. 383.; Müller, Dor. vol. ii. p. 343. sqq.; Grysar de Dor. Comæd. p. 18. sqq.; conf. Welck. Nachtr. zur Æsch. Tril. p. 222. sqq.

to have been attended on his Indian expedition by a troop of followers skilled in their performance.¹ Among the Lacedæmonians they were called Dimalea (frightful), and the chief actors Mimeli or Dicelistæ² (mimics or mountebanks). Part of the ceremony, as practised among the same Lacedæmonians, seems to have consisted in the burlesque representation of roguish or humorous points of character, by equally burlesque personifications of the individuals or classes chiefly distinguished in real life by the peculiarities satirised.³ These entertainments were common, under other varieties of name, in the neighbouring Dorian states. Such were the Phallophoria of Sicyon, where the actors, instead of Dicelistæ, were called Autocabdali⁴; elsewhere they bore the name of Iambi.⁵ A similar form of mimic drollery practised in the neighbouring Megara was imported by Susarion, a citizen of that town, into the Attic demus of Icaria, a principal seat of the Attic Dionysiaca: and was ultimately matured, under the auspices of Attic genius, into the regular Comedy, as was the more elegant dithyramb, under the same Attic influence, into the nobler Tragic drama. Phlius, another Dorian city of Northern Peloponnesus, advanced a like claim to priority of invention in regard to the remaining department of the Attic drama, the "Satyr," as an emanation from her own favourite branch of Dionysiac mummary, a dance of Satyrs, similar to the Dimalea of Lacedæmon. This earlier developement of a

¹ Diod. Sic. iv. 5.; conf. Athen. xiv. 631.

² Sosib. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 621.; Pollux, iv. 104.; Suid. v. *Σωρίστας*, Hesych. v. *δευκελιστοί*; Plut. Lac. Apophth. LVII., vit. Agesil. xxi.; conf. Plut. de Legg. p. 815 c.

³ Athen. xiv. 621.; Pollux, iv. 104, 105.

⁴ Athen. xiv. p. 621.; Suid. v. *φαλλοφόροι*.

⁵ Athen. xiv. p. 622.

taste for dramatic representation among the Dorians may be traced in part to a peculiarity of their national manners already noticed, their fondness for the dance as an ingredient of almost every kind of popular festivity: for dancing, among all imaginative races, is inseparable from some species of mimic representation, especially in the ruder more grotesque styles of performance, such as were most congenial to Dorian popular taste.

7. Arion is described as "the first who introduced the Dionysiac Satyrs reciting verses."¹ Before his time, therefore, their choric exercises may have been limited chiefly to dancing with gesticulation, interspersed with humorous sallies² not necessarily couched in metrical form. In his arrangement these sallies assumed a more distinctly dramatic form of response or dialogue.³ It may also be presumed, that the original rudeness of the Satyric choristers, both as to equipment and action, was partially softened down on their selection by a poet of so fine a taste as Arion for the rehearsal of lyric compositions, which with all their turbulent license were distinguished for elegance and refinement. The more properly poetical functions of the ceremony belonged to the exarchon or ballet-master. Those functions comprised, besides the general direction of the chorus, the recital, with appropriate proœmium⁴ and epode⁵,

Poetical and metrical properties of Arion's dithyramb.

¹ Suid. v. 'Αρίων.

² αἰσχρολογία.

Aristot. Poet. iv. (Gräf.)

³ Diog. Laert. III. i. 34. Tauchn.

⁴ Aristot. Rhetor. III. xiv. p. 169. Tauchn. Conf. p. 171. where the proœmium is curiously described, in figurative illustration of a different matter, as the essential distinction between the dithyramb of Arion and the ruder Doric mimes above alluded to: τοῦτων δὲ ἕνεκα προοιμίου δεῖται, ἢ κάμου χάριν· ὥς αὐτοκάδδαλα φαίνεται εἴαν μὴ ἔχῃ.

⁵ Aristid. Rh. vol. 1. p. 228. ed Oxon. 1730.

of some popular adventure of the god. This graver part of the solemnity was accompanied or relieved by the mimic action of the inferior performers, shadowing forth the vicissitudes of the tale, or chiming in, from time to time, with their own more humorous share of lyric recitation. From all this it would appear that the essential value of the combined entertainment consisted, not so much in the excellence of the poetical composition, as in the musical accompaniment and dramatic spirit of the execution. Much may still have been extemporaneous, at least in the more properly mimic element. Hence there is no notice of a complete choral dithyramb of this earlier class having been transmitted to posterity as a finished written performance. The part undertaken by the exarchon was probably the only portion of the whole marked by any high degree of poetical artifice. It may be presumed therefore that the "proœmia" of Arion¹, the only works of that poet which, with the exception of some popular songs or sonnets, appear to have survived his own time, were specimens of the more strictly poetical ingredient of his dithyramb.

It is easy to imagine the general effect of such an exhibition as singularly striking and animated. In the centre or foreground an enthusiastic poet, warmed by his subject, and probably by the inspiring gifts of the god of his celebration, at the head of an accomplished choir, and surrounded by an audience highly susceptible, to say the least, of the same Bacchic influences, chants the praises, and records the mythical exploits, of the most brilliantly fantastic of Greek deities, with all the power and harmony of Æolo-Doric genius, all the liveliness of extemporane-

¹ Suid. γ. 'Αρίων.

ous effect, all the charm of musical accompaniment ; while around or among the more dignified actors, the grotesque participators in the divine exploits season with mimic terrors and lively ejaculations the more equable tenor of the solemnity.

Aristotle¹ describes the dithyramb of Arion as antistrophic, and as distinguished by this peculiarity from the later form of dithyramb introduced by Lasus of Hermione, and of which an unlimited variety of melic arrangement, or rather of elegant license and disorder, formed one of the chief characteristics. The antistrophic arrangement is further described by the same critic as having been necessary, in this earlier stage of the ceremonial, to secure order in the performances of a band consisting in great part of a less scientific class of choristers. It may hence be assumed, that the Satyric choir was divided, as usual in the more refined dramatic practice of later times, into two or more bands or subdivisions, who responded by their movements and voices to each other ; the proœmia and epodes, the graver more stationary parts of the solemnity, being reserved for the exarchon. The claims therefore of Arion to the honour of inventing or perfecting the antistrophic order of composition, may be considered as equal if not prior to those of Stesichorus. The precedence usually awarded to the latter poet may be due partly to his having imparted a greater degree of regularity to his choric arrangements, partly to his having applied them to a graver more dignified order of choral performance.²

¹ Problem. XIX. 15. ; conf. Dion. Hal. de Compos. Verb. XIX. ; Plut. de Mus. XII.

² See *supra*, p. 61.

Arion, the inventor of this celebrated entertainment, and the most distinguished musician of his age, was, like most of the other more illustrious melic poets or musical composers of this period, a native of the isle of Lesbos. This new and brilliant phasis therefore, of the Lyric Muse, so important, not only in its immediate influence but in its remote effects, was another creation of that Æolian genius to which Hellas had already been indebted for so many other steps in the progress of her poetical culture. By a singular fatality also, here as in other previous cases, the fruits of that genius were elicited upon Dorian soil and under Dorian auspices. Arion was the state musician of Periander of Corinth, under whose patronage his invention was matured and carried into effect. Corinth was at this period the wealthiest and most flourishing city of Greece, a leading member of the Dorian confederacy, and one which prided herself on blending with the sterner features of the old national character, taste and talent for those elegant pursuits in which it was the boast of the sister Hellenic races to excel. To foster these dispositions was a principal object of her present ruler Periander; a munificent patron of art and literature, from motives not merely of taste but of policy, as the means of softening and subduing the minds of the citizens to a more ready submission to his sway: and few such means could be better adapted to his object than the establishment of this proverbially attractive and licentious species of public amusement. The Doric dialect was preferred by Arion to his native Æolic for his dithyramb, partly, it may be presumed, as a natural compliment to the Dorian seat of the invention, partly

in consideration of the greater prevalence of Dorian materials in the framing of the rite; and the same dialect maintained its ground in all the subsequent stages or phases of dithyrambic composition. For the musical accompaniment however the lighter Phrygian harmony was preferred.¹ Arion being himself chiefly celebrated as a citharædus, or lute-player, it may be presumed that the procœmia, and other more regular parts of the performance which devolved on himself or his fellow-exarchons, were accompanied by the lyre or lute²; the auletic class of instruments, usually preferred in all Bacchic rites, being reserved for the more turbulent orchestric or mimic portion of the solemnity.³

8. The etymology of the term Dithyramb is involved in an obscurity which no effort of scholarship⁴ has hitherto succeeded in clearing up. Another name familiarly applied to the invention of Arion is that of Cyclian⁵ or Circular chorus. This title is evidently derived from some peculiarity in the arrangement of the ceremony, the precise nature of which is not ascertained. It was one, however, of so marked a character as to have obtained prominence in the mythical history of the Lesbian poet, whose father, in compliment to the talent of the son, bears the name of Cycleus.⁶ The interpretation therefore of the term generally preferred by modern critics, which assumes it to denote the mere processional move-

Its other
titles.

Cyclian
chorus.

¹ Aristot. Polit. viii. vii.; Procl. Chrest. p. 383. Gaisf.

² So Athenæus, v. p. 180.

³ Pollux, iv. 81.

⁴ Conf. Welck. Nachtr. zur Trilog. p. 191.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Gr. Dichtk. vol. ii. p. 479.

⁵ Hellanic. et Dicæarch. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1404.; Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 25.; Suid. v. Ἀρίων; conf. Procl. Chrest. p. 382.; Auctt. ap. Bentl. Opusc. p. 319. sqq.

⁶ Suid. v. Ἀρίων; conf. infra, Ch. iv. § 8.

ments round the altar during the sacrifice to the god, is far from satisfactory; such movements being a ceremony common to the ordinary sacrificial rites of every deity where choric performances were admitted.¹ It must, therefore, obviously have been in some more specific sense that the definition Circular was appropriated to the dithyrambic chorus. It may have indicated either, as one authority seems to imply², some peculiar kind of wheeling or circuitous movement by the choristers, or some similar peculiarity in the mode in which their parts were arranged and distributed.

Tragedia,
or Goat-
song.

A third title, of still higher celebrity in subsequent ages, by which these Corinthian Dionysiaca were designated, is that of Tragedia, or song of the goat. This name, like that of Dithyramb, was neither first suggested by, nor at this early period limited to, the invention of Arion, but was common to most of the other solely or chiefly Dorian solemnities, above noticed, in honour of the same deity.³ It was generally derived from the goat (Tragos), awarded as prize to the victor among the rival poets or musicians who, according to popular custom, competed on such occasions in celebrating the god.⁴ Other commentators interpret it as alluding to the sacrifice of the goat⁵, the favourite victim at the altar of Bacchus. A third class of authorities would have it to be, in a more direct sense, the song of the Satyrs themselves, or

¹ Conf. Suid. v. κύκλια.

² Pollux, iv. 104. ἐπὶ τροχῷ ἀρχοῦμενοι.

³ Herodot. v. 67.; Aristot. Rhet. iii. 1.; Aristoph. ap. Athen. xii. p. 551., conf. xiv. p. 630.; Suid. vv. Θέσπις, et οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον; Boeckh, Staatsh. der Ath. vol. ii. p. 362. sqq.; Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. p. 765.; Welck. Nachtr. zur Tril. p. 239. sqq.

⁴ Dioscor. in Anthol. Pal. vii. ep. 410.; Auctt. ap. Bentl. Opusc. p. 315. sq.; Diomed. Putsch. p. 484.

⁵ Ap. Welck. Æsch. Tril. p. 240.; Bentl. loc. cit.

goat-like choristers who officiated.¹ The name occurs frequently in connexion with the tragic choruses of Sicyon, at all periods a distinguished seat of Bacchic festivity both musical and mimic. Among these Sicyonian rites the most remarkable is that familiarly known as the "Tragœdia of Epigenes,"² which, though advancing extravagant claims to mythical antiquity, was probably but a variety of the dithyramb of Arion. It is apparently the same "tragic chorus" mentioned by Herodotus³ as having been diverted by the Sicyonians, at a very remote period, from the celebration of Dionysus to that of their national hero Adrastus, but restored again by Clisthenes (595 B.C.) to its proper subject. This text of Herodotus is the only passage of the antients where allusion occurs to a "tragic," in the now familiar use of the term, or in other words a mournful, ingredient as entering into the composition of the primitive Dorian mimes. It has hence been appealed to by several modern authors⁴ who, by a misconception it is apprehended of the original spirit of those entertainments, have assumed the term Tragœdia and its cognates, as applied by the antient critics to the dithyramb of Arion, to indicate even that solemnity to have been of a mournful or pathetic character. It were in itself a fallacious inference, that because the choric mimes of Sicyon, when transferred by a capricious populace from the rites of Bacchus to those of Adrastus (a hero whose whole career was a series of afflicting incidents), had assumed a mournful charac-

¹ Etym. M. v. τραγῳδία.

² Suid. γγ. Θέσπις et οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον; Apostol. γ. οὐδ. π. τ. Διόνυσον; conf. Gaisf. Parœm. Gr. p. 153. 356.

³ v. lxvii.

⁴ Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 290.; conf. Smith's Diet. of Ant. art. Tragœdia.

ter, they must in their original Dionysiac form have been marked by similarly doleful features. Bacchus was indeed himself a sufferer as well as an actor in some of his numerous adventures; which circumstance may possibly have suggested an occasional admixture of mimic distress, though probably in grotesque or burlesque form, in the compositions where those adventures were celebrated. But every thing leads to the belief that the proper characteristic of the Bacchic dithyramb, especially as remodelled by Arion, was, like that of the god and his worshippers, an exuberance of jovial excitement. The terms Tragedy and Tragic were therefore, in the spirit of their early application to these histrionic goat-songs, nearly synonymous with drama and dramatic; and are, in fact, pointedly described by the antient critics as common in this sense to both tragedy and comedy.¹ When the same dramatic forms were transferred from Bacchus to the adventures of human heroes whose destinies were marked by incidents of a really pathetic character, and were dramatised exclusively by human actors, the tone of the performance naturally adapted itself to that of the subject. The term Tragic thus gradually acquired its now classical import, as distinguished from Comic, which by a parallel train of association was appropriated to the humorous branches of the same art.

Transition
from the
dithyramb
to Attic
tragedy.

9. It were foreign to the present subject, to analyse in detail the successive stages of transition by which the dithyrambic tragedy was transformed into the regular drama of the Athenian theatre. The

¹ Aristot. ap. Ulrichi, *Gesch. der Griech. Dichtk.* vol. II. p. 584. It is not easy, certainly, to imagine any thing really pathetic in the performances of a chorus of Satyrs and Silenes.

following concise, and doubtless authentic epitome of those stages by Aristotle¹, with a very few illustrative remarks, will here suffice.

“Tragedy derives its origin from the exarchon of the dithyrambic chorus; Comedy from the leader of the phallic chorus. The former branch of poetical art, after many changes, assumed its present character. Æschylus added a second actor to the single performer of old, transferring the more important functions of the solemnity from the chorus to the dialogue. Sophocles added a third actor with scenic decorations. The inferior class of subjects, with their Satyric mummeries, gave place to dignity and pomp; and, instead of the trochaic measure, formerly preferred as best adapted to the melic and orchestric spirit of the dithyramb, the iambus was substituted, as that which most nearly corresponds to the tone and cadence of familiar dialogue.”²

The earlier stages of alteration here indicated by Aristotle were, it may be presumed, first the introduction of other subjects besides the adventures of Bacchus, and, as a probable and necessary consequence, the substitution in the chorus of a different class of actors for the Satyrs. Traces of such innovations are already perceptible at Sicyon, in the transfer, as above mentioned, by Epigenes, of the honours of the tragic chorus from Bacchus to Adrastus.³ The first step in the transition from exarchon

¹ Poetic. iv. ; conf. nott. Gräf. ad loc. ; Diog. Laert. iii. i. 34. Tauchn.

² Conf. Rhetor. iii. i., Poetic. iv. ; Cic. Orat. ed. Tauchn. p. 399. sqq.

³ Herodot. v. lxxvii. ; Suid. v. Ἑπίγονος ; Suid. Phot. et Apostol. v. οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον ; Chamæl. ap. Apostol. ibid. ; Gaisf. Paræmiogr. Gr. p. 153. Bacchidas, an antient poet of uncertain date (ap. Athen. xrv. p. 629.), boasts of having instituted “a chorus of men” for the Sicyonians ; and Themistius on these grounds claims, in opposition to Ari-

to actor was the extension of the functions of the former from those of chief chorister to those of recitative poet, narrating the actions rather than singing the praises of the god or hero celebrated. Another step in advance would be to dramatise the main action by making the actor assume the person of the leading hero, and possibly, in succession, of one or more participators in his adventures; the histrionic effect being maintained by dialogue, from time to time, between the actor himself and the chorus. Such is the state to which the dithyrambic tragedy, when transferred to Attica, appears to have been brought by Thespis (535 B.C.), and in which it was delivered over by him to Æschylus and Phrynichus. In their hands the dramatic acquired that complete ascendant over the lyric element of the performance, which was maintained or extended in every subsequent stage of its progress.

Later Attic
dithyramb.

Not long after the extension given to the dramatic element of the Corinthian dithyramb in the Attic Dionysiaca, an important modification of its lyric element was effected (503 B.C.) by Lasus of Hermione¹, Pindar's master in the art of music. By Lasus, as by Thespis, a chorus of men was substituted for Arion's chorus of Satyrs; and the subjects of celebration were extended from the adventures of Bacchus to those of other mythological personages. Greater variety, with a higher degree of refinement, was also imparted to the melic style of the performance, both in respect to rhythm and melody: a

stotle, the first invention of "tragedy" for that people. (Orat. xxvii.; conf. Herm. ad Aristot. Poet. iii.) Others claim a similar precedence for them in respect to comedy. (Onestes ap. Brunck. Anal. vol. ii. p. 289.

¹ Suid. v. Ἀλσος; Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1403.; Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 308.; Plut. de Mus. xxix.; conf. Smith, Diction. of Biogr. Art. Lasus.

variety which in the subsequent vicissitudes of the "Attic dithyramb," as that of Lasus was familiarly called, degenerated into a license reprehended by the best native critics as a subversion of the fundamental principles of the pure Hellenic music.¹ The old Cyclian chorus of Arion appears, in the course of these vicissitudes, after the innovations of Thespis and Lasus, to have forfeited its separate existence, and to have been entirely merged in its more dignified or more elegant offspring. No trace at least appears of Satyric performance, in the strict sense of the term, in the cultivated dithyrambic chorus of the Attic, or of any subsequent period.

Even after the final transformation of the dithyrambic into the Attic "Tragedy," and the appropriation by the latter of the antient common title in familiar usage, certain dithyrambic varieties of lyric composition continued, at least in local practice, to bear the title of Tragic chorus, or even of Tragœdia in the pristine Dionysiac sense. The tragic choruses or tragic dramas of Pindar, Simonides, and other contemporary poets of the early Attic period, though sometimes classed by antient bibliographers under a separate head, were evidently mere varieties of the Attic dithyramb.² Similar doubtless in great part, were the tragic choruses which continued to be performed in the Orchomenian festivity of the Charitesia up to a late period of the Roman empire.³

Lyric
tragedy.

¹ Plut. de Mus. xxx. sqq.; Dion. Hal. de Comp. v. xix.; Aristoph. et Callim. ap. Suid. v. κέκλιαι τε χοροί.

² Suid. vv. Πίνδ. et Σιμωνίδης; Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1402.; Aristoph. ap. Athen. xii. p. 551.; conf. Welck. Nachtr. zur Trilog. p. 243. sqq. Boeckh (Frag. Pind. p. 555. sqq.) has however, without sufficient reason it is apprehended, ranged them under the head of Hyporchems.

³ Boeckh, Staatshaush. Ath. vol. ii. p. 362.; conf. Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. i. p. 765. sqq.; Welck. op. sup. cit.

There may thus be distinguished three stages or epochs of the cultivated dithyrambic ode or chorus : first, the primitive song of Bacchus, or Dionysiac Pæan ; secondly, the Satyric dithyramb of Arion ; thirdly, the Dithyramb of Lasus, also called the Attic Dithyramb, under its numerous modifications or corruptions, any further remarks on which belong to a future stage of this history.

LYRIC COMEDY.

Lyric
comedy.

10. A small share of attention must still be devoted to that other inferior order of Dionysiac ritual which, while scarcely ever assuming the rank of a cultivated style of lyric art, possesses importance as standing to the classical comedy of Attica in the same relation as the dithyramb of Arion to her tragedy. Certain varieties of this branch of entertainment have already been noticed as embodied by Arion in the mimic department of his ceremonial. The one which seems to have enjoyed the most general popularity as a public and authorised rite was that entitled Phallica, to which accordingly Aristotle traces the origin of the regular comedy, as he does that of tragedy to the Cyclian chorus of Arion. The Phallica was but an inferior style of dithyrambic tragœdia or goat-song, in the pristine sense of the term, with mimic dance and Satyric chorus. The Dorians advanced an equal claim to priority of invention in regard to this as to the higher department of dramatic art, and apparently on equally valid grounds. Besides the general argument based on their partiality for mimic representation, appeal was made by them to the popular etymology of the term Comœdia, " song of the village

or Comœ.” Such diversions, it was urged¹, were limited in their origin to the rustic population. Hence, as Comœ was the proper Doric term for village or rural district among the Dorians (Demus being that used in Attica), the phrase Comœdia, and by consequence the thing it signified, must, it was argued, be assigned a Doric origin. It seems however very doubtful whether the god Comus, presiding as he certainly did over an extensive range of popular festivity, may not have a stronger claim on the first portion of the word, than any of the localities where the comœdia was celebrated. A better argument on the Dorian side is the fact that Susarion², author of the first decided step towards the regular Attic comedy, was a native of the Dorian town of Megara, settled at Icaria in Attica. Megara was from an early period distinguished for a species of low comedy, or farce, the taste for which was imported by Susarian into the Attic demus above mentioned, itself a principal seat of the Athenian Dionysiaca, where he obtained for himself and for his mimes a permanent domicile. As he preceded Thespis by about forty years, the origin of the cultivated comedy of Athens must be held to have anticipated that of her tragedy. Both having been produced in Icaria, it were unreasonable to doubt the influence of the one upon the other, or, consequently, that the improvement of the Megarian comœdia by Susarion gave the initiative to that of the Corinthian tragœdia by Thespis.

To Pratinas, another Dorian musician of the age of Æschylus and Sophocles, belongs the credit of

“Satyr,”
or Satyric
drama.

¹ Ap. Aristot. Poet. III. (Gräf.)

² Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 308.; Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 748.; conf. Bentr. Opusc. p. 260. sqq.; Müll. Dor. vol. II. p. 350. sq.

having not long after introduced into Attica from his native city Phlius¹, also celebrated for its mimes, the remaining variety of the Athenian drama, under its previous local title of "Satyr," and at first with no substantial alteration of its originally grotesque character. For the refinement which entitled it to a place by the side of the regular tragedy and comedy on the Attic stage, it appears to have been indebted partly to Pratinas himself, partly, like the sister branches of Dorian art, to the great masters of the Attic drama.²

THRENUS. EPICEDIMUM. SONG OF LINUS.

Threnus.
Epicedia.

11. The term Threnus denotes, in its origin, any species of lamentation, more properly the dirge or lament for the death of kinsmen or dear friends. In later usage the title became nearly equivalent to the more familiar one of Elegy. When sung over the corpse at its laying out or entombment, the threnus acquired the distinctive name of Epicedium, or funeral song.³ The only two occasions on which the threnus is mentioned by Homer were of the latter description. The dirge chanted in the Iliad over the body of Hector is a most impressive solemnity. After a prelude by the bards or professional musicians, the near relatives, standing round the bier, offer in succession their tribute of sorrow for the fate, and eulogy of the virtues of the departed hero; while the attendant female mourners respond at intervals by their groans and tears.

¹ Suid. v. *πέρ.*; Pausan. ii. xiii. 5.; Dioscorid. in Anthol. Pal. vii. ep. 37. 707.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 369.

² Dioscorid. locc. sup. cit.

Procl. Chrest. p. 385. Gaisf.; Etym. M. v. *θρήνος*; Tryph. ap. Ammon. v. *ἐπικήδειον*.

There are few branches of lyric composition with stronger claims to early cultivation than the Threnus. Grief for the loss of the objects which chiefly render life valuable, must be in all ages a fertile source of poetical inspiration. The origin of the threnus, accordingly, is traced back to the remote fabulous ages of Greek art. It is there identified in mythical legend with the name and fate of a primitive hero or demigod called Linus.¹ This mysterious personage appears in two capacities. In the one he is the emblem of that vanity and uncertainty of mundane existence from which the threnus derives its subjects of celebration; he is the type more especially of the ephemeral tenure of health, youth, or beauty, liable to be suddenly blighted or cut off by disease, decay, or death. Hence he is figured in the most elegant, if not the earliest version of the fable, as a beautiful boy, or youth under age, prematurely slain by the weapon of some invidious deity, usually Apollo the Destroyer, whose afflictive dispensations are figured as chiefly directed against such victims. It was natural that the personification of a branch of art should himself become a minstrel; and, in this second character Linus is slain by Phœbus, from jealousy of his musical skill.² Hence again a third signification of the term, as denoting a popular song celebrating the youthful bard, and which became the type or eponyme of this whole threnetic order of poetical composition. Several remnants of this plaintive Linus-song have been preserved.³

Song of
Linus.

¹ Plut. de Mus. iii. ; conf. Welck. üb. den Linos, Kl. Schrift. vol. i. p. 8. sqq.

² Paus. ix. xxix. 3. ; Philoch. ap. Eust. ad Il. xviii. 570. p. 1163.

³ Ap. Bergk, Poett. lyrr. Gr. p. 878. sq. ; conf. infra, § 19.

It is remarkable that the "Song of Linus" was from an early period closely associated with agricultural life, as the popular chant of the wine-gathering and harvest-home. These however are proverbially distinguished in all countries as jovial, rather than mournful solemnities. Accordingly, in Homer's description of the vintage festivity in the "Shield," the Song of Linus is alluded to, if not as itself a jocund song, as the accompaniment at least of a jocund ceremony.¹ The apparent anomaly finds its explanation in the figurative mythology of agricultural life among the Greeks and other nations of the Mediterranean; where the declining year, and consequent transition of the terrestrial fruits from maturity to decay, were brought into close and appropriate connexion with the corresponding vicissitudes of human existence. Hence the intimate union between the rites of Ceres and those of Pluto, between the mystical theology of the world above and that of the world below. The Song of Linus, the Genius of ephemeral existence formed therefore a significant ceremony in those rustic festivities, which in every country are among the most antient, as being the most vitally associated with the existence of civilised society.² Hesiod seems, indeed, to describe the Lament of Linus as habitually sung at the opening and close of all banquets or festive rejoicings; possibly as a "memento mori," or warning against undue elation or

¹ Il. XVIII. 570.

² Hence some authors interpret the death of Linus by the hand of Apollo as indicating the victory of the more elegant and rational taste for music and lyric song, preferred in the ceremonial of that god, over the more melancholy or impassioned, but ruder and often gloomy and barbarous, style of the Bacchic, Orphic, and other rites of the class to which the Song of Linus belonged. Müller, Dor. i. p. 346. sqq.

exuberance of joyous feeling.¹ It was natural that the character both of the hero and of his song, in their more immediate connexion with rural life, should undergo some variation. Among the Argives accordingly, Linus was not a professional minstrel but a gentle shepherd boy, whose office it was to guard and nurse the tender lambs, and who was himself torn to pieces by wolves or raging dogs.²

The prevalence of substantially the same legend and rite in numerous other parts of the antient world, offers a striking example of a correspondence of religious ceremonial, spontaneously arising from a similar association of ideas, among different nations where no trace can be detected of a direct influence exercised by one upon the other. In almost every country on the shores of the Mediterranean, Greek speculative mythologers discovered a fable, a hero, and a song, which according to the popular practice they identified, and certainly with more than usual plausibility, with their own national song and hero Linus.³

The Threnus of Homer's bards, like other cultivated branches of composition in those early days, was probably in dactylic measure. With the advance of lyric art a greater variety of metrical forms was admitted. The reputed author of the extension was the Phrygian Olympus, who first introduced into Greece a taste for wind instruments, the style of music best adapted to mournful or pathetic subjects. Several of the more remarkable compositions ascribed

¹ Frg. ccciv. Marcksch.

² Conon, xix.; conf. Pausan. ii. xix. 7.

³ Such are the Atys and Lityrses of the Phrygians, the Bormus of the Mariandynæ, the Hylas of the Mysians, the Adonis and Thammuz of the Semitic races, and the Maneros of the Egyptians. Müll. Dor. i. p. 347; Welck. üb. den Linos, Kl. Schrift. vol. i. p. 9. sqq.

to him belonged to the sacred class of Threni. Such was the Lament, or Dirge¹, of the snake Pytho slain by Apollo, also called a nome. The nomes of this author are all indeed described as of a mournful tendency. That such was the case with his celebrated Epitymbian nomes² is indicated by their name, literally, Tomb-songs. It would appear however that these nomes were purely musical, or in other words instrumental, rather than vocal or poetical performances. Nor does the Threnus appear to have been a very popular branch of composition with the lyric poets of this early period. But few works are cited under that title prior to the age of Simonides, of whose Threni, as of those of his younger contemporary Pindar, several fine remains have been preserved³, partly relating to mythical subjects partly in honour of human personages.

CONVIVIAL POETRY (SYMPOSIACA). PARCENIA. SCOLIA.

Convivial
poetry.

12. In the earlier stages of Greek literature, almost every branch of poetical composition might be classed under the head of Convivial. The banquet formed part even of the most solemn religious offices; and for this portion of the sacred ritual lyric performances seem chiefly to have been reserved. In the Iliad, after the propitiatory sacrifice to Apollo, the Greeks spend the day in carousing and singing pæans in honour of the deity; and throughout the poet's narrative, the sacred hymn or the epic song, recording the praises of the gods or the actions of heroes, is indispensable to the full enjoyment of convivial festivity. Like the pæan of Apollo, the

¹ Plut. de Mus. xv.

² Pollux, iv. 78.

³ Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. p. 619.; Bergk, Fragm. Simon. p. 759.

dithyramb of Bacchus was, from the earliest period, habitually sung at the table, as appears from a passage of Archilochus containing the most antient extant allusion to a dithyrambic ode. The encomia or epinicia were also performed, by preference, at the feast in honour of the distinguished personage to whom they were dedicated. But in the subsequent refinements of lyric art these various orders of composition, as destined for more dignified occasions, or connected with a more definite range of subject, were ranked each under its own proper title. The term Convivial poetry, in the more limited sense, embraced but the lighter more fugitive style of composition, the object of which was to enliven the banquet in its purely social character.

In the mode of providing for this enjoyment, the same variety and ingenuity are observable as in every other department of cultivated Greek art. Convivial songs were classed by the antients under three¹ heads: first, those sung in chorus by the whole company; secondly, those sung by each guest in succession: thirdly, such as were also sung in succession, but under certain peculiarities of arrangement, and with a limitation in ordinary cases to the more gifted members of the company.

Varieties of
convivial
song.

The songs of the first class appear to have been chiefly those inaugural odes familiarly called pæans², sung as grace or procœmium to the whole entertainment, and usually addressed to Apollo, sometimes to Jove, Bacchus, Hermes, or such other deity as the occasion suggested. The next more varied order of

Pæans.

Parœmia.

¹ Dicæarch. ap. Suid. Hesych. et Phot. v. σκολιόν; Plut. Symposiac. i. i. 5.; Artemon, ap. Athen. xv. p. 694.

² See above, p. 67. note 3.

symposiac performance in which all took part, though not all simultaneously, very much resembles our old national custom of laying each guest under an obligation to "sing his song,"¹ whether his own composition or some popular ode of the day. On these occasions a lyre or myrtle branch², less frequently a drinking-cup³, was handed round as a temporary badge of office from guest to guest, each in his turn receiving it from his predecessor, and passing it on to his neighbour at the close of his own part. The lyre was destined probably for those alone who, together with a musical voice, possessed skill in the use of the instrument. When these qualifications, one or both, were wanting, the myrtle branch was preferred, as the antient proper symbol of the more simple styles of poetical recitation.⁴ The songs thus circulated bore no distinctive title but that of *Parœnia* (wine-songs), or *Symposiaca* (drinking-songs), common to all those of the convivial order.

*Scolia, or
Greek
musical
catches.*

13. The third more complicated and more celebrated species of *parœnia* were those called *Scolia*. The performance was here reserved for the more scientific and experienced musicians of the party.⁵

¹ Plat. Sympos. p. 214. sqq. Occasionally prose was substituted for poetry, each guest telling a story, or offering a short essay on some pleasant topic. Plat. loc. cit.

² Aristoph. Nub. 1358., Schol. ad loc.; Vesp. 1214—1220., Schol. ad loc.; Plut. Sympos. i. i. 5.; Hesych. vv. *μυρρίνης* et *τὴν ἐνδεξίαν*; Cic. Tusc. i. ii.

³ Athen. xi. p. 503.

⁴ Apostolius et Hesych. v. *ἔδεν πρὸς μύρρ.* In Aristoph. Nub. 1356. sqq. the lyre is offered to Phidippides, when it is proposed that he shall sing an ode of Simonides, a melic poet. The myrtle branch is substituted when it is proposed that he shall recite a passage of Æschylus or Euripides.

⁵ Artem. ap. Athen. xv. p. 694.; Dicæarch. ap. Phot. et Suid. v. *σκολίων*; conf. Hesych. v. *σκολ.*; Schol. ad Aristoph. Vesp. 1214. 1220.; Plut. Symp.

The chief of the qualified guests led off with a short stave or sonnet, whether an entire ode or a part of some longer composition, marked in either case by some lively spirit or point. He then handed the symbol of office to the person who it had been arranged should follow, or whom he thought fit to select as his successor, who passed it on in his turn to a third, and so forth; each being expected at once to carry on the strain, whether in the way of continuation or repartee, in the same or a closely congenial style of subject or measure. It may be presumed that, at least in the origin of the custom, these sallies were understood in courtesy to be, and frequently were, either impromptus, or pieces prepared by each performer for the occasion. But no such rule seems to have been enforced in practice, each guest being at liberty, if not ready with an appropriate contribution of his own, to select one from the stores of some favourite author. As numerous such forms, adapted to an equal variety of occasions, obtained popularity in the more advanced stages of convivial literature, the process of linking or "capping" the successive epigrams or stanzas on each other would be greatly facilitated: and where any number of them became more peculiarly connected in subject or measure with each other, as could hardly fail to result from the very spirit of the practice, their combination into a single longer ode or "canzone," consisting of a corresponding number of strophes or stanzas, as naturally followed. Such was, for example, the celebrated scolion, or series of scolia, addressed to Harmodius and Aristogiton. These

1. i.; Eustath. ad Od. vii. 125. p. 1574.; conf. De la Nauze, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. ix. p. 324. sqq.; Ilgen, Scolia sive Carm. Conviv. Græc.

four beautiful stanzas, while sufficiently connected in subject to form a continuous ode as published in the modern collections, are yet capable of being transposed, without any sacrifice of their bond of continuity, in such a manner as to imply, apart from other evidence, the originally independent integrity of each.

The precise nature of the connexion, in subject, style, or numbers, requisite to constitute any such series of poetical sallies a scolion or round of scolia, as distinct from the ordinary parœnia or wine-songs, is nowhere clearly defined. Nor probably were the regulations on the subject of a very definite nature. Much might depend on the previous understanding of the party. In the more rigid form of the entertainment a certain continuity both of subject and measure might be required. But as in a numerous company the series could hardly be prolonged to any considerable extent, consistently with a strict observance of any such rule, some relaxation of it would be necessary. The number of responses to which the correspondence was, in the first instance, required to extend might be limited, and when brought to a close give place to a new series. In some cases an entire change, both of subject and measure, might be allowable; in others, the abruptness of the transition might be softened by a continuance of the same measure with a change of subject, or by the introduction of a new measure, the subject remaining the same. A prolonged series of scolia, without some such opening for variety, could hardly fail to become monotonous. Another bond of connexion was supplied by innuendos or ambiguous allusions, satirical or complimentary, to the character

or circumstances of the individual performers.¹ In such cases the principle of contrast would often be preferable, in point of effect, to that of conformity. The scolion of the Crab and Snake², for example, cited by Athenæus, where the shell-fish counsels the reptile to mend its crooked gait, would, without reference to any previous train of subject, have formed a very happy repartee to a moral sentiment uttered by a predecessor not himself remarkable for acting up to his own precepts. Almost any phrase or allusion contained in a foregoing scolion might thus, under incidental circumstances, supply a catchword to the next. Such for instance was the obvious, probably hackneyed introduction, which the presentation of the myrtle branch of office afforded to the scolion of Harmodius :

ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φερέσω, . . .

"In a myrtle branch my sword I'll bear."

The above speculations, which naturally offer themselves in illustration of the nature of this entertainment, seem all more or less borne out by the only two passages of antiquity in which it is distinctly exemplified: the one in the latter part of the Wasps of Aristophanes³; the other in the concluding dialogue of the Deipnosophistæ of Athenæus.⁴ The former passage contains five or six scolia. The burlesque irregularity however, of the mode in which the game is here carried on, renders it the less easy to recognise

¹ Eustath. ad Od. vii. 125. p. 1574.

² Ilgen, Scol. ix. p. 36; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 874.

³ 1222. sqq.

⁴ xv. p. 694. sqq.; conf. Eustath. ad Od. 125. p. 1574.

either the metrical forms of the stanzas, or the exact nature of their interconnexion, further than that it is maintained in a great degree by humorous allusions to the action of the drama. In the banquet of Athenæus, where upwards of twenty *scolia* occur in successive order, it seems doubtful whether it be the compiler's intention to afford a complete representation of the old mode of carrying on the game, or merely to accumulate, in the way of specimen, some of the more favourite Attic sets of *scolia*. In either case the compilation pointedly illustrates the views above expressed as to the general spirit and method of the performance. Although no uninterrupted bond of continuity can be traced throughout the series, the connexion between contiguous members of it, extending often through five or six in succession, is sufficiently palpable.¹ The first five are invocations of popular Attic divinities, Pallas, Ceres, Proserpine, Apollo, Diana, Pan, and Pandrosus; and the fourth and fifth are further united, both by a punning connexion of the names of the deities celebrated, and by a common allusion to the glories of the Persian war.² The five form therefore in themselves a complete and well-rounded series, as regards their sense; and

¹ The numbers are here given as in the original text of Athenæus (ed. Tauchn. vol. iv. p. 153. sqq.). The whole set of *scolia* is to be found in the collections of Schneidewin (*Delect. Poes. Gr.* pt. iii. p. 456.) and of Bergk (*Poett. lyrr.* p. 871.); but the members of the series have, by those compilers, been transposed or intermingled with other fragmentary remains of similar character.

² Pan and Pandrosus were popular deities of victory among the Athenians, in immediate connexion with the events of that war. (Herod. vi. cv.; Simonid. ap. Bergk, *Poett. lyrr.* p. 785.; conf. Ilgen, p. 15. sqq. 22.) No. 4. seems to be a paraphrase of, or extract from, a strophe of Pindar. (Boeckh, *Fragm. Pind.* p. 592.; conf. Ilgen, op. cit. p. 12.)

in the first four the measure also corresponds. The alteration of the rhythm in the last seems also intentional, in order to constitute it, in the spirit of the game, a kind of epode to the series. Then follows a set of terse moral maxims, in four stanzas (6—9.). The favourite series of Harmodius and Aristogiton comes next. It consists of five stanzas (10—14.), inclusive again of a sort of epode in a different rhythm, forming both an appropriate commentary on the previous text, and a transition from the praises of the two patriots to those of another popular Attic hero, Ajax, celebrated with his father Telamon in stanzas 15. and 16. In these two stanzas another new and somewhat rare measure is introduced, and followed up with a change of subject in stanzas 17. and 18. No relation either as to measure or subject can be recognised between the next two stanzas, 19, 20., and the previous or subsequent portions of the series.¹ But in the ensuing five stanzas the interconnexion is renewed, and pointedly maintained in a succession of significant repartees or punning mutual allusions.² The two Cretan scolia

¹ Unless, indeed, we assume a punning alliteration between βάλῃ in 20. and βέλανον βαλανεύς in the following stanzas; as the text of Athenæus, p. 699 A. B., may seem to imply.

² These five scolia, 21—25., presenting a variety of metres and styles, grave and gay, coarse and elegant, are here subjoined, for the better illustration both of their own interconnexion and of the spirit of the game:

21. ἃ ὅς τὰν βέλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει τὸν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν,
κάγῃ παῖδα καλὴν τὴν μὲν ἔχω τὴν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν.

22. πόρνη καὶ βαλανεύς τῶντων ἔχουσ' ἐμπεδέως ἔθος·
ἐν ταύτῃ πυέλῃ τόν τ' ἀγαθὸν τόν τε κακὸν λοεῖν.

23. ἔχει δὴ Κήδωνι, δίδασκε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,
εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἶνοχοεῖν.

(26, 27.)¹, which close the series, while not apparently connected in any way with their predecessors, are intimately so with each other.

Their
poetical
character-
istics.

14. Among the varieties of measure and style admitted in these compositions, and which do not seem to have been subjected to any definite limitation, a general preference is given to the melic strophe. The properties by which the individual scolia are distinguished from other lyric stanzas or strophes of the same class are, an epigrammatic terseness of expression, compactness and vivacity of numbers, and, as a general rule, brevity; features all specially conducive, or even essential, to the spirit of the game. Among the preserved scolia are many of the more popular current in the best ages of Greece.

24. αἶ αἶ! Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον·
θλους ἔνδρας ἀπώλεσας, μάχεσθαι
ἀγαθοὺς τε, καὶ εὐπατρίδας,
οἱ τότ' ἔδειξαν ὅλων πατέρων ἔσαν.

25. ὅστις ἄνδρα φίλον μὴ προδίδωσιν, μεγάλην ἔχει
τιμὴν, ἔν τε βροτοῖς ἔν τε θεοῖσιν κατ' ἑμὸν νόον.

In the first two couplets, besides the play of words between *βάλανος* (*glans* and *glans penis*) and *βαλανεύς*, the satirical allusion to the second line of No. 21., by the introduction of the *πόρνη* in No. 22., is obvious. The *ἐν ταῦτ' ἑνέλφ*, &c., is an equally palpable taunt at the indelicate juxtaposition of the swinish and the amorous varieties of sensual appetite in the first couplet (*πέλος* signifies both trough and bath). Nos. 22. and 23. are connected by the alliteration between *τόν τ' ἀγαθόν* and *τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἄνδράσιν*; also by the antithesis between the pouring or mixing of the wine in the latter, and of the water in the former couplet. The same series of allusion is carried on, not only by the *ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς* of No. 24., but by the punning apostrophe to the war of the Lipsydrium, or "waterless;" which name, with its epithet *προδωσέταιρον*, may also hint at an unfair proportion of wine to water infused by the *οἶνοχόος* of No. 23. into the cup handed to the poet of No. 24., and to the consequent effect on the head of the latter. No. 25. winds up the set by a moral commentary, in somewhat more serious mood, on the same epithet *προδωσέταιρον* of No. 24.

¹ Incorrectly written as one in the editions of Athenæus.

Some of these are also, as may be supposed, among the most brilliant specimens which have been transmitted of Greek epigrammatic or didactic poetry, and are constantly quoted and commented as such by the leading critics and moralists of every period.¹ Even where the sense itself is not remarkable for point or spirit, the structure and rhythm are usually distinguished by a certain combination of emphasis with harmony, and by an alternate rapidity in the flow and abruptness in the termination of the rhythmical clauses, peculiar to these compositions, and singularly conducive to that mixture of elegance and pungency which it was clearly the object of their authors to impart to them. This joint precision and harmony of effect has been occasionally enhanced by the aid of rhyme. It was remarked in a previous chapter, that although rhyme, in the modern sense, was never distinctly recognised as an element of rhythmical harmony in classical poetry, yet the Greek ear was not insensible to the value of homophone terminations in contiguous verses or metrical systems. Of the employment of this expedient several of the extant scolia supply, whether intuitively or intentionally on the part of their authors, examples of a very marked description. As an illustration are subjoined two consecutive scolia, of mixed choriambic and dactylic measure, from the collection of Athenæus:

εἴθε λύραϊ καλῇ γενοί|μην ἐλεφαντίνῃ,
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φεροῖ|εν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.
εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοί|μην μέγα χρυσίον,
καί με καλῇ γυνὴ φοροί|η καθαρόν θεμένη νόον.

¹ Those more especially of Harmodius, Telamon, and that of Simonides to Hygea.

O that I were the sweet-toned lyre, of burnished ivory bright,
Which beautiful boys, in the festive quire, attune to the Dionysiac rite!
O that I were the golden vase, so pure, and of form so fair,
Which beautiful dames, at the festive games, in their arms to the sacred
altar bear!

The rhyming cadences are chiefly in the central cæsure of each verse. They extend however, whether in the mode of pure rhyme, alliteration, or repetition, for all these definitions are here perhaps applicable, not only to the endings, but indeed over every part of the text. They are, in fact, accumulated to an excess which might be considered licentious even in modern poetry. Here however, partly owing to the absence of that equable formality of recurrence which is the characteristic of modern rhyme, partly to the general liveliness and emphatic spirit of the rhythm, the result is certainly a great addition both to the poetical and the epigrammatic effect of the couplets.¹

The name Scolion, literally oblique or crooked, finds its natural interpretation, partly in the enigmatical obliquity or ambiguity of sentiment² in the succession of scolia, partly in the indirect or zigzag manner in which the song passed from one guest to another; the lyre or myrtle branch being transmitted at pleasure by the previous performer to whomsoever he might select, instead of following its

¹ The same characteristics are observable, in more or less marked forms, in other parts of the collection; as for example in the two scolia of Telamon, and several of those of Harmodius, where the neighbouring stanzas are often in words, as well as in spirit or allusion, a sort of echo or response to each other, with a tendency to alliteration similar to that above illustrated.

² Auctt. sup. citt. in p. 100. note 5. Hence Aristophanes (Acharn. 532.) satirises the legal enactments of Pericles as *ἄσπερ σκολιά γεγραμμένους*; viz. quaint, enigmatical, mystified.

regular course round the table, as customary in ordinary *parœnia*. The phrase is, in fact, in so far the converse of our own familiar expression of "the song going round."

Pindar's assignment of the invention of the *scolion* to Terpander¹, may perhaps be more deserving of a literal interpretation than most other similar notices. The refined and artificial nature of the entertainment renders it more probable that it should have been devised by some ingenious musical professor at a comparatively advanced stage of art, than spontaneously suggested by early national taste. The practice, while popular every where, seems to have been more especially so in Athens, as might have been expected, from the scope it offered for the display of wit and smart repartee, and for inculcating moral and political maxims in a lively and familiar form. In later times accordingly, it appears to have ranked as a peculiarly Attic entertainment. As such Athenæus characterises it when introducing his collection of *scolia*, the greater part of which are devoted to Attic subjects. The series of "Harmodius" is ascribed in whole or in part to Callistratus, an Athenian²; two others to

¹ The opinion of several modern commentators (Ulrici, *Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk.* vol. II. p. 382.; Bode, *Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk.* vol. II. pt. II. p. 457.; conf. Müll. *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 188.), that Terpander is here indicated merely as the originator of some peculiar style of melody called "*scolia*" or "*oblique*," appropriated to this entertainment, while founded on incidental passages of writers of no authority, and opposed to the view of the best ancient critics, is not in itself very probable, nor indeed very intelligible. It is difficult to understand how, consistently with the principles of Greek art or taste, any such single style of music could have been adapted to a rapid succession of fugitive compositions of from two to six verses each, offering as great a variety of measure as of subject, sentiment, and allusion, from the licentious pasquinade or burlesque epigram to the gravest maxims of morality or religion.

² Ilgen, p. 60.

Praxilla of Sicyon¹; a third to Simonides²; and the last two in the collection of Athenæus to Hybrias of Crete.³ Stesichorus⁴, Sappho, Alcæus⁵, and Anacreon are also cited among the authors of popular scolia.⁶

From what has been said, it appears that the name Scolion applied rather to the mode in which these pieces of poetry were introduced, than to any well defined peculiarity of their matter or style. Many therefore of the smart sententious sallies now extant in the lyric anthologies, or in the fragmentary remains of what are called the minor Greek poets, might have been, and very possibly were, occasionally adapted to this purpose. Without however some distinct evidence that they were so adapted, they cannot with propriety be ranked under the head of Scolia. This privilege must be reserved for such alone as are so quoted under the title by classical authorities. The whole number of this better authenticated class which has been transmitted amounts to from thirty to forty. In the modern collections however the list has been swelled to upwards of fifty, by culling passages here and there from the stores of the popular anthologies, upon no consistent principle of critical selection.⁷

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 528., Vesp. 1242.; conf. Athen. xv. p. 694.

² Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1358., Vesp. 1214. sqq.

³ Athen. xv. p. 696.; Eust. ad Od. vii. 125.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1214. sqq.

⁵ Aristot. Polit. iii. 10.

⁶ Aristoph. ap. Athen. xv. p. 693. sq.; conf. Bergk, Poët. lyr. p. 818.

sq.

⁷ Ilgen, Scolia; De la Nauze, Mém. Acad. Inscr. It does not appear on what ground the so-called scolia of Pindar have been comprehended by Athenæus and Suidas under this head of composition. They are odes of considerable length, arranged in antistrophic form, similar to that of his other choral compositions; nor is it easy to see how they could have been applied to the same purpose as the scolia above illustrated. They were, however, more or less of a convivial tendency; and it seems to have been customary, in later times, to

ENCOMIA. EPINICIA. COMUS.

15. The term Encomium denotes originally the ode sung at the Comus. This latter title, in the wider sense, comprehended every convivial meeting accompanied by dance, song, and Bacchanalian festivity; in its more dignified application it denoted a higher order of festive entertainment. Such were the public banquets held in honour of distinguished personages, of a warrior after a victory or successful campaign, of a magistrate on entering office; and in later habitual practice, of the conquerors in the Olympian, Pythian, and other great national games. In every variety of the comus a main part of the ceremony was performed in the open air; it being customary even for private bands of revellers, when flushed with the pleasures of the table, to sally forth with music, song, and dance, sometimes to the sound of the trumpet¹, into the streets and public thoroughfares.² The term thus became more peculiarly appropriated to this latter part of the entertainment, which in its turn assumed the character of a distinct ceremony. Such were the escort home, or serenade³ to a mistress, or after a banquet, to some favourite guest; such, in a nobler sense, the triumphal procession of the victorious hero or chief to the temple or the banqueting-hall;

Encomia.
Epinicia.
Comus.

comprehend in familiar usage all the more spirited or popular odes of such tendency under the general denomination of Scolia. These remarks also apply more or less to Aristotle's ode to Virtue, commonly called a pean, but which Athenæus also characterises as a scolion. Boeckh, *Fragm. Pind.* p. 555., conf. 607. sqq.; *Athen.* xv. p. 696.

¹ *Aristot. de Audib.* xlix.

² *Hesiod, Shield of Herc.* 281.; *Aristoph. Plut.* 1040., *Thesmophor.* 104.; *Plat. Sympos.* p. 212. 223.; *Xenoph. Sympos.* II. i.

³ *Hermesianax*, vv. 38. 47., ap. *Athen.* xiii. p. 598.; conf. *Ilgen, Scolia*, p. cccii. sqq.

such, by a still wider extension of the analogy, the deputation or mission which escorted the victor in the national games back to his native city.

The title *Encomium*, or song of the *comus*, is limited in its classical acceptation, as denoting an order of lyric poetry, solely or chiefly to the panegyric odes performed in the *comi* of a more dignified character.¹ It is hence defined by the antients as bearing the same relation to the praises of men as the hymn to those of the deity.² No work of this class dating prior to the age of Pindar has been preserved; but the style of composition could hardly fail to be cultivated from an early epoch, as one of the most obvious and natural applications of lyric art. The ode composed by Polymnestus for the Spartans in honour of Terpander, and that by Alcman in honour of Polymnestus, may be ranked under the head of *Encomia*. The leading poets of the immediately succeeding period left large collections of *encomia*, of which the most celebrated were those addressed to the victors in the national games. These are usually ranged under a separate head of *Epinicia*³, or triumphal *encomia*. No such distinction however seems to have been recognised by their authors. Pindar, in his frequent appeals to his own *epinician* odes, avails himself more frequently of the phrase *Encomia*, and other cognate derivatives of *comus*, than of their proper title.⁴ The simple term *Comus* is also used by him in a similar sense; the occasion on which the

¹ Hence τὰ ἐπινίκια κομμοδός in the Orchomenian inscriptions, ap. Boeckh, Staatsh. II. p. 364.; conf. Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. p. 764. sqq.

² Ammon. v. ὕμνος; Plato de Rep. p. 607 A.

³ Procl. Chrestom. p. 384. Gaisf.

⁴ Conf. Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. p. 555.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. p. 532. sqq.

encomium was performed for the performance itself. The same train of terminology was extended to the different parts of the composition. Procomium and Epicomium denote the prologue and epilogue, the exordium and winding up of the encomial hymn, or of the solemnity in which it was introduced.

The character of these odes depended in some degree on that of the festivity which they adorned. The crowning of the victors, the religious rites in honour of their triumph, the procession to or from the temple or the banqueting-hall, the banquet itself, were all so many *comi*, or occasions of *epinician* song. Each variety of celebration involved a corresponding variety of style, traces of which are observable in the collection of Pindar. The *encomia* however, composed in honour of individual victors could, it is obvious, rarely if ever be prepared for the actual occasions of their triumph. For the more immediate celebration of the achievement there existed certain standard odes¹, hymns or *pæans* it would appear rather than *encomia*; combining an address of gratitude to the presiding gods with praises of the victorious competitor. The *encomia* proper were usually, if not invariably, prepared subsequently, often long after, by the poet², and performed in the festivities instituted in honour of the achievement in the native locality of the conqueror. The anniversary of more distinguished successes seems also in some instances to have been kept by a revival of old, or the composition of new encomial odes, in honour of each recurring occasion. High prices were paid to the more popular lyric

¹ Pind. Ol. ix. init., conf. Schol. ad loc.; Liebel ad Archiloch. frg. 77.

² Ol. xi. init.; Pyth. ii. 125.; Nem. iii. 140. Schol. Pyth. ii. 6.

poets for their services. Pindar himself¹ frequently alludes to the venality of his muse ; which his commentators stigmatise by the harsh epithets of mercenary and avaricious.²

The epinician ode, judging from the extant collection of Pindar, the standard models of this style, was sometimes monostrophic, a single form of strophe being continued from beginning to end ; sometimes antistrophic, consisting of two strophes and an epode, recurring in the same order throughout. As a general rule the Dorian rhythm was preferred, although frequently varied, to suit the character of the subject, into the Æolian or Lydian. In his longer compositions, Pindar at times imparts to his text something of an epic character, by the introduction of mythical legends connected with the victor's birthplace or lineage, or with the scene of his triumph. The style of such encomia as were not of a strictly epinician character appears to have been similar. No entire poem has been transmitted under the title of Encomium ; but several odes included in Pindar's collection under the common head of Epinicia, belong properly speaking to the purely encomial order of composition.

EROTICA. GAMELIA, OR BRIDAL SONGS.

Erotica.

16. The universal prevalence and popularity of the class of poems which fall under the general head of Erotica, or love songs, render superfluous any detailed notice of their object or character. The most celebrated authors in this department during the present period are : Alcman, of the Dorian school ;

¹ Pyth. ii. 125., xi. 62. ; Isthm. ii. 10.

² Schol. ad Nem. vii. 25. ; Isthm. v. 2.

Sappho and Alcæus, of the Æolian or Lesbian; and Mimnermus, of the Ionian school. The erotic odes of the three former poets are almost exclusively of the purely melic order, and in monostrophic forms. Mimnermus composed solely or chiefly in elegiac measure. Such effusions, though called forth by human objects of adoration alone, occasionally in so far partake of a sacred character as to assume the form of addresses to the deities whose countenance and favour were invoked. Such for example is the most brilliant of all love songs, the Invocation of Venus by Sappho.

Gamelia, or bridal songs, are classed under two heads: first those called Hymenæa, sung at the marriage festival; secondly the Epithalamia, or bed-chamber songs, performed on the night of the ceremony, as a serenade or vigil, in front of the door or below the window of the newly wedded couple. The epithalamia are again subdivided into the Lulling song and the Waking song.¹ The former was sung during the early part of the night, the latter towards the hour of rising. The hymenæal chorus is described by Homer in the Shield of Achilles.² The bride is there led, amid the blaze of torches, the music of harps and flutes, and the frolicsome dance and song of youths and maidens, from her own chamber to that of her husband. The invocations or exclamations uttered during this more jovial portion of the ceremony, whether forming part of the processional ode, or thrown out at random by the crew

Hymenæa.
Epithalamia.

¹ Schol. ad Theocrit. Idyll. xviii.; conf. Ammon. de Differ. v. γαμήλιος; Procl. Chrest. p. 385. Gaisf.

² Il. xviii. 490. sqq.; conf. Hesiod, Scut. Herc. 273. sqq.

of attendants, seem, from extant examples, to have been not always of the most delicate description.¹

These songs, as may be supposed, formed from a very early period a popular branch of lyric composition, whether in honour of hero or heroine, living or dead, real or imaginary. The earliest-mentioned example is Hesiod's Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis. Alcman² also availed himself of this, among other modes of honouring the sex which formed the favourite subject of his muse; and Sappho left an entire book of hymenæa³, several of which, as will be seen hereafter, seem to have partaken of the dramatic character. In the metre of these compositions no definite rule is observable. Hesiod, it need scarcely be remarked, uses the hexameter. Sappho occasionally employs the same measure, in addition to her own favourite combinations of more purely melic rhythm. The hexameter is also preferred by Theocritus. The invocations, "O Hymen! O Hymenæus!" addressed to the patron deity of the rite, were habitually introduced as a sort of burden or epode, in all these varieties of metrical arrangement.⁴

MILITARY MUSIC. EMBATERIA.

Military
music.

17. Two kinds of military music may be distinguished: the first comprising every species of ode or song adapted, on ordinary festive occasions, to inspire or maintain warlike enthusiasm; the second may be defined as war music in the narrower sense, marches, charges, (embateria, enoplia). In Homer

¹ Boeckh, *Explic. Pind. Pyth.* III. p. 257.

² Welck. *Præf. ad Fragm.* p. 3.

³ Sapph. *frag.* xxxvi. sqq. Gaisf.

⁴ Allusion occurs in later times to a "dithyrambic hymenæum," or hymenæal dithyrambus. *Athen.* XIV. p. 637.

mention is made of the first kind alone. The celebration of the exploits and heroes of the olden time is described as a favourite recreation of his warriors. The triumphal pæan is also sung by the army in chorus, on their march back to the camp after a victory. But nowhere does the poet allude to the advance or conflict of troops as directed by any other species of sound than the shout of war; and even that, among his own countrymen, was restrained until the combat had actually begun. Their advance is characterised as terrible from its very silence.

From the earliest epoch however, at which trace exists of any scientific cultivation of the lyric art, there is sufficient proof that neither of the above departments of martial poetry was overlooked.

To the first of the two belong the elegiac odes of Callinus, which claim to be the earliest extant productions of the Lyric Muse. The elegies of Tyrtaeus, a younger contemporary of Callinus, were also for the most part of the martial order. They were sung, consistently with Spartan usage, at the meals of the soldiers, after the ordinary convivial pæan, sometimes in chorus, sometimes by single performers in competition, the victor receiving as his prize from the polemarch an extra ration of butcher meat.¹ They were also chanted in chorus before the tent door of the king or commander in chief.² War songs.

The military music of the second kind was little cultivated, even in historical times, except among the Spartans. Their pæan embaterius, a hymn invoking the god of war or other patron deities, commenced immediately after the order to advance, and continued Embateria, or marches.

¹ Philoch. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 630.

² Lycurg. Orat. contr. Leocr. xxviii.

during the charge and assault. The air was called the Castorean Melody¹, after the Tyndarid Castor, one of the popular martial demigods of Sparta, and was accompanied by wind instruments disposed in different parts of the line. Its character was impressive rather than wild or turbulent; the object being, in unison with the genius of Spartan warfare, to inspire steady determination rather than furious ardour for the attack. The measure preferred was the anapæstic, as the most natural march time, and peculiarly expressive in its cadence of stern energetic resolution.

The custom of attacking in regular march step to the sound of music, is frequently noticed by the ancients as a peculiarity of Spartan discipline²; nor is there any allusion to the same practice in any other Greek state, with the partial exception of the kindred Dorian republics of Crete.³ Battle pæans were also sung by the troops of Athens, and of other members of the confederacy, before the charge, or during its progress⁴: the performance, however, of these odes does not seem to have been combined with an instrumental accompaniment, nor, consequently, to have stood in similar close connexion with the discipline or movements of the line. In Attic warfare the instrumental music, if any, seems to have been limited

¹ Plut. in Lycurg. xxii., de Mus. xxvi.; Pind. Isth. l. 21.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. ii. 127. sqq.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 333. sqq.; Boeckh, de Metr. Pind. p. 276.

² Thucyd. v. lxx.; Polyb. iv. xx.; Athen. xiv. p. 626. 630 r.; Plut. de Mus. xxvi.; Lucian. de Salt. x.; Cic. Tusc. ii. 15.; Dio. Chrys. Orat. xxxii. vol. ii. p. 379. Reisk.; Valer. Max. ii. vi. 2.

³ Heracl. Polit. iii.; Athen. xii. 517 A., xiv. 627.; Plut. de Mus. xxvi.

⁴ Thucyd. i. l., iv. xliii., vii. xliv.; Xenoph. Hist. Hell. ii. iv. 17. Anab. i. viii. 12. alibi.

to the alarum or signal sounds of the trumpet.¹ The term Pæan is also common to another briefer war song or shout, uttered in the midst of the engagement, for the purpose of rallying the troops when disordered or stimulating the pursuit when victorious. The pæans of this class among the Dorian states were so much the same, as to render it, when Dorian troops were opposed to each other, difficult to distinguish between friend and foe.²

POPULAR SONGS.

18. It still remains to notice that extensive class of miscellaneous lyric poems, for which our native vocabulary affords no better title than the somewhat indefinite one of "popular songs."³ These compositions⁴, though hardly falling, like those above illustrated, within the limits of cultivated lyric art, cannot with propriety be overlooked in any attempt to form a just estimate of the spirit or variety of Greek poetical genius. The distinction, indeed, between "popular song" and the more regular productions of the Lyric Muse is in no age or country very accurately marked; and least of all perhaps in a country like Greece, where almost every exercise of human ingenuity, especially in the walks of imagi-

Popular
songs.
Definition
of.

¹ Xenoph. Hist. Hell. v. ii. 11.; Athen. xiv. p. 626.; Polyb. iv. xx.; Homer, Batrachomyom. 201.

² Thucyd. vii. xlv.

³ Better expressed, certainly, by the German term Volkslieder.

⁴ A notice of their numerous varieties of form or subject will be found in Ilgen, Scolia, p. xiv. sqq.; conf. Athen. xiv. p. 618. sqq. Attention will here be devoted solely to the more interesting among the few of which either specimens or detailed descriptions have been transmitted. Collections of these specimens will be found in Bergk's Poett. lyrr. p. 878., and Schneidewin's Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. iii. p. 461. Both collections, however, include several passages not properly falling within the definition of popular song.

native art or literature, was so closely identified with the sympathies of the whole population, that it could hardly fail to become an object of artificial culture as well as of subtle definition and commentary. The following appear to be the requisites, more or less indispensable, to entitle a poem to the character of "popular song." First, the subject should be of a strictly popular nature, should be intimately associated with the interests and feelings of the whole, or of some considerable portion of the mass of the people, especially of the lower orders. Secondly, the song itself should be the spontaneous fruit of popular genius. It should be, if not necessarily anonymous, the production, at least, of some comparatively simple untaught minstrel, composing under the influence of an immediate personal association of his own habits and sympathies with the subject celebrated. Ascertained compositions by accomplished professional poets artistically adapting their talents to the manufacture of verses suited to the vulgar taste, even where such compositions prove so thoroughly congenial to that taste as to pass into poetical proverbs or commonplaces, cannot with propriety be ranged, as they occasionally have been by modern critics, under the head of popular songs; otherwise, much of the poetry of almost every distinguished lyric master of this period would require to be ranged under that head. The distinction here drawn may be illustrated by the case of the celebrated "Mitylenæan Mill Song," still in whole or in part preserved. This was the ditty by which the Lesbian women were wont to enliven their labours at the mill, during or subsequent to the crisis in the annals of their native republic (590

B.C.) which resulted in the supreme power being conferred on Pittacus by his fellow-citizens; or, as the faction opposed to him represented the case, in his tyrannical usurpation of that power: ¹

ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει·
καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει
μεγάλας Μιτυλᾶνας βασιλεύων.

Grind, mill, grind!
For king Pittacus to his royal mind
This Mitylenæan state will grind.

There is, perhaps, no remnant of Greek lyric poetry which can claim with better right than these few verses, on internal grounds at least, the character of "popular" song. If however, as some commentators ² have very groundlessly surmised, the passage formed part of an ode composed by the poet Alcæus, the political opponent of Pittacus, for the use of the mill-grinders of his own faction, the case would be different. The fragment would then possess no better claim to a popular character than many other emanations from the satirical genius of the same poet, of Archilochus, and of other leading lyric satirists, which obtained permanent vogue and currency in the mouths of those members or masses of the community to whose tastes or habits they happened to be congenial.

Consistently with the above limitation, the number of extant specimens of Greek lyric poetry which can properly claim attention under the present head of subject is not very large. It is, however, probable that a considerable portion of that number date from this more primitive age of the national minstrelsy.

¹ Plut. Conv. Sept. S. xiv.

² Ap. Welcker, Sappho, Kleine Schr. vol. i. p. 117.

That such is the case is established, in regard to many of the fragments, by their own internal evidence. It is also certain, as a general rule, not only that the popular Muse is more prolific in early times than in epochs of more advanced civilisation, but that such of her productions as emanate from the former periods are more apt than those of later origin to obtain a permanent hold on the national mind.

Extant
specimens.

19. Two classes of "popular" songs, possessing claims to remote antiquity, have been partially illustrated in the foregoing pages. The one comprises the Linus songs, under their several varieties; whether as joyous accompaniments of the vintage procession and harvest-home, or as rustic laments over the declining year and the ephemeral duration of human life and happiness. The other class is that of Mendicant songs, or, as we shall here prefer designating them by a more gracious, though not perhaps more expressive phrase, of "Charity songs." Two specimens of this style of composition have already been noticed: the Iresione, or Lay of the Wool-chaplet; and the Epicichlides, or Lay of the Fieldfares.¹ Although both these poems passed current under the title of Homeric, and although the former, which alone has survived, is in not inelegant hexameter style, both may be considered, in respect to their origin and tendency, as better entitled to rank under the head of popular ballad than of polite literature. This remark may perhaps be extended to the Caminus, or Potter's Oven, also above illustrated as part of the Homeric collection. Another variety of Charity song was the Chelidonisma, or Lay of the Swallow. This was a congratulatory address sung by the

¹ Book II. Ch. xix. § 15. 17.

mendicant minstrels in front of the doors of their wealthy patrons, on the arrival of spring, or first appearance of the swallow; the Epicichlides being, it would appear, similarly connected with the autumn season, or season of the chase. The following are the opening lines of a characteristic Rhodian specimen of the *Chelidonisma* preserved by Athenæus:¹

ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδών,
καλὰς ᾠρας ἄγουσα,
καλοὺς ἐνιαυτούς·
ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκά,
ἐπὶ νῶτα μέλαινα.
παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει
ἐκ πίονος οἴκου·
οἴνου τε δέπαστρον,
τυροῦ τε κάνιστρον,
καὶ πύργα χελιδών,
καὶ τὸν λεκιθίταν,
οὐκ ἀπωθεῖται. . . κ.τ.λ.

The swallow is here, the swallow is here,
She comes to proclaim the reviving year;
With her jet-black hood, and her milk-white breast,
She is come, she is come, at our behest,
The harbinger of the beautiful spring,
To claim your generous offering.
Let your bountiful door its wealth outpour,
What is little to you is to us great store;
A bunch of dry figs, and a savoury cruse
Of pulse pottage the swallow will not refuse;
With a basket of cheese and a barley cake,
And a cup of red wine our thirst to slake. . . &c.

These periodical effusions of mendicant minstrelsy

¹ VIII. p. 360.; Bergk, p. 882. A similar "Lay of the Swallow" (*χελιδόνα*) is still sung by the modern Greeks, at the same season and with the same object. Fauriel, *Chants popul. de la Grèce*, vol. i. préf. p. xxviii. vol. ii. p. 256.

possess also this claim to the more honourable title of Charity songs, that the perambulatory visits with which they were connected appear, from several classical notices, to have really assumed a certain form and privilege of charitable institution, or rude "poor-law," somewhat analogous to the "misericordia" of the modern Italian towns. They are described at least as having been sanctioned by legislative authority, under the title of *Agermus*, or *Collection*, in seasons of scarcity; especially by Cleobulus "tyrant" of Lindus, a distinguished statesman of this period and one of the Seven Sages.¹

To the plaintive order of pastoral ditty, of which the song of Linus was the most distinguished representative, may be numbered the "Lament of Calycë."² This primitive lay was worked up, as we shall see in the sequel, into a pathetic love romance, by the distinguished lyric poet Stesichorus. It was however in its origin merely a pastoral dirge or wail, symbolising, under the figure of the hopeless love and premature death of the nymph Calycë, or "Flower-bud," the evanescence of female youth, beauty, and happiness; just as the Linus song symbolised, by the calamitous adventures of its hero, the equally ephemeral duration of the same blessings in the male sex. The analogy between the two lays has, accordingly, been pointed out and illustrated by the ingenious and elegant Athenæus, to whom we are indebted for so rich and valuable a fund of notices concerning all these more delicate details of Greek

¹ Theogn. ap. Athen. viii. p. 360. Similar to the *Chelidonisma* was the Colophonian *Agermus* called *Coronisma*, or the Crow-song; of which, however, no "popular" specimen has been preserved. Athen. viii. p. 359.; Eustath. ad Od. p. 1914.

² Aristoxenus ap. Athen. xiv. p. 619.

manners and literature. From the same Athenæus we learn that, as the lament of Linus was habitually sung by the male order of rustic mourners, the celebration of the woes of Calycë was similarly appropriated to the melancholy muse of female minstrels.

Peculiar also to the minstrelsy of the fair sex was another pastoral lament¹, entitled Harpalyce², or the "Maid of twilight." This luckless nymph also, like Calycë, pines and dies of grief, when deserted or despised by the youth of her affections. Her fate is a plain figure of the "dying" or "parting hour of day," which has supplied material for passages of great excellence to illustrious modern poets.³

A third beautiful variety of poetical form, in which the same melancholy association of ideas was embodied, was the Lay of Eriphanis, or the "Maiden of morning dawn." This ill-fated heroine was also victim of an unrequited love, the object of which was a beautiful hunter youth named Menalcas. She, however, in the varied spirit of the allegory, is not described as dying, but "in her disconsolate state, she roams over the mountains and through the forest glades in the track of her beloved, wailing her sad destiny in notes so touching, that not only the human

¹ Athen. loc. cit. ; Aristox. ap. eund.

² From ἁρπάλω (ἁρπῶ) and λυκῆ ; conf. ἀμφιλυκῆ.

³ Especially that exquisitely beautiful one of Dante :

"Era già l' ora che volge 'l desio
 Ai naviganti, e 'ntenerisce il cuore,
 Lo dì ch' han detto ai dolci amici, addio :
 E che lo nuovo peregrin d' amore
 Punge, se ode squilla di lontano,
 Che paia il giorno pianger che si muore."

The last two verses have been paraphrased by Gray, but with an effect far inferior to that of the original, in his celebrated line,

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

hearts most callous to the pangs of love melt with sympathy for her grief, but even the most ferocious wild beasts compassionate her lot.”¹ The burden of her favourite lay was :

μακρὰ δρῦες ! ὦ Μέναικα !

Tall grow the forest trees ! Oh Menalcas !

The sentiment of romantic musing melancholy, which runs through the whole of this more plaintive order of rustic song, is one which naturally arises in the contemplative mind among scenes of mountain solitude or retired pastoral life, such as those in which Greece so greatly abounds. It is a sentiment not very easy to define, either in its sources or influence. But it is one, the charm of which no mind susceptible of the finer sympathies of our nature can fail in any age to feel and appreciate ; a charm which must, therefore, have exercised a proportionally more powerful sway on the minds of so imaginative a race as the primitive Greeks.

Another more cheerful order of rustic lay was that called Anthema, or “ the Flower song,” chanted, it would appear, on the approach of spring, and of which the following couplet is extant, apparently a responsive chorus or burden : ²

1. ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα, ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ
σέλινα ;

2. ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα, ταδὶ τὰ ἴα, ταδὶ τὰ καλὰ σέλινα.

Where are my roses, where are my violets, where is my beautiful
parsley ?

Thy roses are here, thy violets are here, and here is thy beautiful
parsley !

¹ Clearch. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 619.

² Athen. xiv. p. 629.

Several lively specimens of nursery rhyme, or juvenile poetical pastime, have also been preserved. One of these is interesting from the apparent identity of character between the entertainment of which it formed part, and many of those common in the juvenile circles of the present day; showing that, even in this department of literature, there is nothing new under the sun. The game is played by young maidens, and the scene is the sea-shore. One of the party called Chelonē, or the Tortoise, sits down on the beach; the others, dancing round her, address her and she replies: ¹

Χορ. χελὶ χελώνη, τί ποεῖς ² ἐν τῷ μέσῳ;
Χελ. ἔρια μαρύομαι καὶ κρόκην Μιλησίαν.
Χορ. ὁ δ' ἔκγονός σου τί ποῶν ² ἀπώλετο;
Χελ. λευκᾶν ἀφ' ἵππων εἰς θάλασσαν ἄλατο.

Chor. Lady Tortoise, in the middle,
 What's the work you're busy in?
Tort. A stock of wool fresh from Miletus
 I have got to card and spin.
Chor. And your son, good Lady Tortoise,
 How by his sad death came he?
Tort. From the back of our white horses ³
 Off he leapt into the sea.

Some of the longer lyric fragments claiming a place in the existing "popular" collection, belonged to the ruder more turbulent order of Iobacchic or

¹ Pollux, ix. 125.; Eustath. ad Od. p. 1914. Another similar game called χύτρα, or the Pipkin (Poll. ix. 113.), was played by boys, of whose address and response the following smart iambic monometers formed part:

τίς τήν χύτραν;
 ἐγὼ Μίδας . . .

This pastime seems to have resembled the modern game of Hot cockles.

² Conf. Maitt. Dial. Ling. Gr. p. 8 A. 230 D.

³ The white waves, or breakers.

Phallic entertainments above illustrated; and though highly characteristic as specimens of their kind, are of little real poetical interest. In more agreeable style is the burden of the Spartan Trichoria¹, the festival jointly celebrated by the three generations of Spartan citizens, old men, youths, and boys:

Γέροντ. ἄμες ποτ' ἤμεσ ἀλκιμοι νεανίαι.

Νεαν. ἄμες δέ γ' εἰμές · αἱ δὲ λῆς πεῖραν λαβέ.

Παῖδες. ἄμες δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα πολλῶ κάρρῳνες.

Old men. Brave youths we were in days gone by!

Young m. Brave youths we are; if ye doubt, ye may try!

Boys. Braver youths far than ye, in our day we shall be.

Another short but valuable remnant of popular Spartan poetry is quoted by Lucian², as the burden common to the songs by which some of the livelier Lacedæmonian dances were accompanied:

ἰ
πόρρω παῖδες, πόδα μετάβατε, καὶ κωμάξατε βέλτιον!

ἰ
Forward boys and merrily foot it, and dance it better and better still!

The rhythm of this line, offering a spirited combination of trochaic and dactylic forms, corresponds, it may be remarked, in all essential respects with that of the modern Neapolitan tarantella. As Tarentum was one of the most distinguished of Spartan colonies, and as music and song are perhaps the departments of national custom in which antient taste and habit are apt to remain most inveterate, it is no very far-fetched inference, that we have in the Tarantella a genuine representative of some of the popular Lacedæmonian dances.

¹ Plut. Lyc. xxi.

² De Salt. x.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. p. 880.

CHAP. III.

BIOGRAPHY OF LYRIC POETS. CALLINUS. ARCHILOCHUS.
SIMONIDES. TYRTÆUS.

1. LEADING LYRIC POETS OF THIS PERIOD, AS CLASSED IN THE ALEXANDRIAN CANON.—2. CALLINUS. HIS AGE AS COMPARED WITH THAT OF ARCHILOCHUS.—3. CHARACTER WORKS AND TIMES OF CALLINUS.—4. ARCHILOCHUS.—5. HIS BIRTH LIFE AND CHARACTER.—6. DISAPPOINTED LOVE AND REVENGE.—7. PROMISCUOUS IMPARTIALITY OF HIS SATIRE. HIS DEATH.—8. HIS GENIUS AND THAT OF HOMER IN THEIR PARALLEL AND THEIR CONTRAST.—9. REDEEMING FEATURES OF HIS MORAL CHARACTER. PERSONAL INDIVIDUALITY OF HIS POETRY.—10. ORIGINALITY AND FERTILITY OF HIS INVENTIVE GENIUS. DETAILS OF STYLE AND IMAGERY. EPITHETS. DIALECT.—11. METRICAL ELEMENTS OF HIS COMPOSITION. CLASSIFICATION OF HIS WORKS.—12. HIS GENIUS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS REMAINS.—13. REMARKS ON THE LOSS OF HIS POEMS.—14. SIMONIDES OF AMORGOS.—15. HIS POEM "ON WOMEN." ORIGIN OF GREEK POETICAL SATIRE AGAINST THE FEMALE SEX. HESIOD. PANDORA.—16. STYLE OF THE POEM "ON WOMEN." OTHER WORKS OF SIMONIDES.—17. TYRTÆUS. HIS POPULAR BIOGRAPHY.—18. ITS AUTHENTICITY.—19. HIS AGE, CHARACTER, WORKS.

1. THE branches of composition comprehended in the foregoing general view of Greek lyric poetry may be ranked under three principal heads of Elegiac, Iambic, and Lyric proper, or Melic. This subdivision, if not specifically laid down, is indirectly sanctioned by the antient grammarians, in their appropriation of one or other of the above titles to individual authors, on the ground of their preference respectively of the style to which such title belongs. The Alexandrian list or canon¹ of standard melic poets for the flourishing age of art comprises but nine: Alcman, Stesichorus, Alcæus, Sappho, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides (of Ceos), Bacchylides, Pindar. The works of these authors are limited accordingly to melic composition,

Leading lyric poets of this period, as classed in the Alexandrian canon.

¹ Quint. x. i. 61.; Anthol. Pal. ix. epigr. 184. 571.; Schol. Pind. Boeckh, Præf. p. 7, 8.

either exclusively, or with rare exception in favour of the elegy or iambic trimeter. Archilochus on the other hand, although in the more general sense of the term the greatest of Greek lyric poets, and so characterised by antient grammarians¹, was classed, along with Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, as an iambographer.² Callinus, Tyrtaeus, and Mimnermus rank as elegiac authors.³ Even this extended classification does not comprehend several of the most illustrious names in the annals of lyric art; those for example of Terpander, Thaletas, Arion, who, though distinguished as poets, being still more celebrated as musical composers, were ranked as musicians, or as the antient critics express it, as harp-players or flute-players, according as their taste or talent happened to lie in the department of wind or string-instruments. To these, with other less celebrated artists of the same order, a distinct share of attention has already been devoted. Arion alone, in consideration of his special celebrity as a poet, will claim a separate notice in the biographical department of our subject. Another technical distinction might be, and has by some authors on the lyric history of this period been, founded on the peculiar cultivation of certain styles in certain regions or by certain races; of the elegy for example and iambus by Ionian poets, Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, Solon; of the lighter melic style by the Æolians, Alcæus, Sappho, and their school; and of the more complicated choric orders of composition in the Dorian states, by Alcman, Arion, and Stesichorus. These various subdistinctions

¹ Ap. Liebel, Archil. Fragm. p. 3.

² Procl. Chrest. Gaisf. p. 380.; Lucian. Pseudol. II.

³ Conf. Procl. p. 379.

however, while just and well-founded in themselves, and hence carefully kept in view in the foregoing general history of lyric art, are of too technical a nature, and too little definite in their application to individual cases, to form an appropriate rule of biographical arrangement. The more convenient method will be to comprise the whole remaining authors of this period, elegiac, iambic, and melic, under the common head of Lyric, and treat their lives and works in chronological order. It happens also that this chronological succession supplies in itself, spontaneously, about as near an approximation to a generic arrangement as were desirable, or perhaps even practicable, had the latter method been purposely preferred.¹

CALLINUS. 700 B.C.

2. Among these earlier votaries of the Greek Lyric Muse, the palm of antiquity has usually been awarded to Callinus of Ephesus.² The only author on whose

Callinus
and his age,
as com-
pared with
that of Ar-
chilochus.

¹ The authors whose lives form the subject of the present chapter, Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, and Tyrtæus, were all cultivators of the Ionian (either the elegiac or iambic) styles of lyric art. Alcman, Arion, Stesichorus, and the other poets comprised in Ch. iv., also rank together, both in the order of their time and of their more properly melic or choral styles. The same holds good of Alcæus, Sappho, Erinna, in Ch. v. Mimnermus, while dated, though doubtfully, by extant authorities, somewhat earlier than the leaders of the Lesbian school, has, in consideration partly of his personal connexion with Solon, partly of his own elegiac style, been included in the chapter (vi.) devoted to the Attic legislator and his seven fellow-sages, with whom the annals of this period close. In the date attached to each name, where a single number occurs, it indicates the probable acme or flourishing period of the poet's life. The double number indicates the period of time over which the existing more authentic notices of him extend.

² Bach, Callini Carmina, Lips. 1831.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. p. 1.; Bergk, Poett. lyr. Gr. p. 303. (first ed.); Gaisf. Poett. minn. vol. ix. ed. Lips. p. 224. The remains are quoted according to the arrangement of Bach.

behalf a counter-claim has with any plausibility been advanced is Archilochus. The balance of opinion in favour of the Ephesian poet, rests chiefly on a comparison of certain allusions in their respective works to the events of contemporary history.¹ During the latter part of the eighth and commencement of the seventh century B.C., Asia Minor was invaded by Scythian hordes, called Cimmerians and Treereans, from the northern shores of the Euxine. These barbarians, after occupying Sardis the Lydian capital, destroyed the city of Magnesia on the Mæander, the metropolis of a flourishing Ionian state, and rival in power to Ephesus. Archilochus², in a still extant passage, commiserates this calamity of the Magnesians. Callinus³ is also cited as acquainted with the destruction of their city; but it seems he had in another place mentioned it as still in prosperous condition.⁴ Hence it was argued that Callinus, as having been acquainted with the earlier, while Archilochus alludes but to the latter state of the unfortunate community, was the older poet of the two. The fallacy of this reasoning is sufficiently apparent. That either poet should have mentioned the concerns of this particular city must be considered as in itself but an accidental circumstance; nor, certainly, were such notices likely to be as frequent with Archilochus of Paros as with Callinus of Ephesus. Any extraordinary disaster befalling a distinguished Hellenic city, such as its total destruction by invading barbarians, might very naturally supply matter of allusion even to popular poets of a distant part of the confederacy. But

¹ Strab. xiv. p. 647.; Clem. Alex. Str. p. 333.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. 712 B. C.; Bach, Callin. p. 6.

² Lieb. frg. 29.; conf. nott. ad loc.

³ Ap. Athen. xii. p. 525. c.

⁴ Strab. et Clem. sup. cit.

it is far less likely that the ordinary condition or prospects of Magnesiā should have been celebrated by a poet of Paros or Thasos, than by one of Ephesus, the immediate neighbour and rival of the same Magnesia. But in fact, the terms in which Archilochus mentions the calamity of Magnesia as an event of recent occurrence, plainly though indirectly imply that he had also known the city in its previous flourishing condition. All, therefore, that can be gathered from the above data is that the two poets were contemporaneous with the destruction of Magnesia.

Their common epoch still remains doubtful, owing to the uncertain chronology of that event and of others connected with it. The inroads of those Scythian tribes into Asia Minor are described as occurring at various intervals, from before the Olympic era (776 B.C.) down to the age of Halyattes father of Crœsus (617 B.C.); and the dates of their principal ravages are but imperfectly defined.¹ It is fortunate therefore that we possess, in respect to Archilochus, a more solid basis of calculation, in the part taken by him in the colonisation of Thasos

¹ See Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. I. ad an. 712 B.C., 678 B.C., 635 B.C., 617 B.C. The leading chronological pivots are here the reigns of the kings of Lydia, as given by Herodotus (ap. Clint. locc. cit.).

Gyges succeeds Candaules	-	-	716 B.C.
and reigns	-	-	38
Ardys succeeds	-	-	678
and reigns	-	-	49
Sadyattes succeeds	-	-	629
and reigns	-	-	12
Halyattes succeeds	-	-	617

The destruction of Magnesia, in the only specific notice extant on the subject (Plin. xxxv. viii. (xxix.), conf. vii. xxxviii. (xxxix.)) is placed in the reign of Candaules; but the passage is of an apocryphal character.

from his native island of Paros. The lowest date assigned to this event is 708 B.C.¹ Assuming him to have been then a youth of twenty, his birth would fall about 728 B.C., during the reign of Candaules king of Lydia, who was murdered by Gyges in 716 B.C.² Herodotus³ accordingly, describes Archilochus as contemporary with the death of Candaules. These data tend to confirm the otherwise not very trustworthy notice of Pliny⁴, which places the destruction of Magnesia by the Treereans in the reign of Candaules. If therefore the epoch or acme of Archilochus be fixed about or soon after 700 B.C., Callinus may upon the same grounds be considered as coeval with, or at the most as an elder contemporary of, the Parian poet. This precedence we have, in so far at least as regards the order of biographical arrangement, here been contented to award him, in deference however rather to the popular opinion than to the weight of the evidence on which it rests.⁵

Character,
works, and
times of
Callinus.

3. That Callinus was a native of Ephesus is unanimously agreed, but of his birth, parentage, or history, no details have been transmitted. His claims to the honour of "inventor" of the elegy have been examined in another place.⁶ He is, at least, justly entitled to compete with Archilochus for the credit of having been the first poet of ascertained date by whom the elegiac order of composition was cultivated. His remains, which are exclusively in elegiac measure, comprise from twenty to thirty lines of appeal to the martial or political feelings of his coun-

¹ Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. ; Lieb. Fragm. Archil. p. 5. sqq.

² Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 170.

³ i. xii. ; conf. Lieb. op. cit. p. 8. and frg. 2. ⁴ xxxv. viii. (xxix.)

⁵ Of a somewhat apocryphal recognition by Aristotle of the superior antiquity of Callinus, see Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 139. sq.

⁶ Supra, p. 16. sqq., 20. sq.

trymen. They bespeak a man of a proud spirit and ardent patriotism, flourishing at a period when such qualities were less in the ascendant among his Ephesian fellow-citizens than in his own bosom, or than was required by the political emergencies of the times. Deeply affected by the dangers with which his native republic was threatened in the advance of the barbaric invaders, to whose arms several neighbouring states had already fallen victims, he reproaches the Ephesians, in a still extant ode¹, with their sluggish apathy to the war which raged around them, draws a lively picture of the impending calamities, and exhorts them to buckle on their armour, and prepare for a valiant defence of their altars and homes. The scanty remnants of these patriotic addresses afford a no less favourable opinion of his poetical taste than of his personal character. Their style is concise and energetic, in good keeping with the tone of earnest remonstrance and spirited martial exhortation by which they are animated. If however we may judge from the rarity of the extant appeals to his text, and from the absence of laudatory comments on the passages cited, Callinus would not appear to have enjoyed any high reputation among the antients on the ground of his purely poetical attributes. He is quoted rather for the antiquity of his historical testimony, and as the accredited inventor of the elegy, than from any inherent excellence in the passages adduced. These passages still possess a deep interest, from the light which they reflect, in their combination with other supplementary notices by Archilochus and later authorities, on the political state of the Ionian Greeks at this epoch. The martial spirit

¹ Frg. i.

κ 4

which animated their ancestors of the heroic age, now appears relaxed, but not extinguished, by the influence of wealth and civilisation. "How long," exclaims their poetical monitor, "while dangers thicken around you, will ye repose thoughtless and unconcerned in the lap of social enjoyment, equally free from alarm at the advance of the foe, and from shame for your backwardness to face him in the field!"¹

μήχρ' ἰς τεῦ κατὰκ' ἔσθ' ἄλκιμον ἔξετε θυμόν,
 ὦ νέοι; οὐδ' αἰδεῖσθ' ἀμφιπερικτίονας,
 ὧδε λίην μεθιέντες; ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ δοκεῖτε
 ἦσθαι· ἀτὰρ πόλεμος γαῖαν ἅπασαν ἔχει. . . .

The actual approach of hostile aggression sufficed, however, to awaken their patriotic energies, as evinced by their subsequent successful resistance to the barbarian invader, and by his ultimate expulsion from the states of the Hellenic confederacy. That the military genius of the race, though apt to slumber, was far from extinct, appears also from the extant notices of the relations between the colonies themselves, and of the fierce wars waged with each other, as well as against their Lydian neighbours: wars involving the destruction of some of the fairest and most flourishing Greek cities of Asia.

The only work of Callinus cited under a specific title is an address to Jupiter², propitiating his favour towards the "Smyrnæans." By this term as the interpreters inform us, with what reason may be a question, the poet characterises his own fellow-citizens; Ephesus having, it is said, formerly been called Smyrna. His compositions seem to have been replete with allusions to interesting points of native history and

¹ Frg. 1.

² Bach ad frg. iv.; Strab. ap. eund.

tradition. He traced certain early settlements in the Troad to Crete¹, and recorded the adventures of some of the Greek heroes who remained in Asia after the destruction of Troy, especially the wanderings and death of Calchas², and the subsequent establishment of the followers of that prophet in the interior of the peninsula. He is also cited by Pausanias, in a passage of somewhat uncertain reading, as having ascribed the Cyclic Thebais to Homer.³ The internal evidence even of the few preserved remains of his odes shows him to have been intimately acquainted with Homer's genuine works. Several of his pithiest moral or political reflexions are, in fact, little more than transcripts or paraphrases of corresponding passages of the Iliad or Odyssey.⁴

The martial sentiments, images, and tone of expression, in the bulkiest of the few extant passages of this poet, find so near a counterpart in the far more copious remains of his younger contemporary Tyrtæus, as to afford colour at least to the suspicion of a distinguished modern critic⁵, that this text may be an extract from Tyrtæus, erroneously ascribed

¹ Frg. vi.

² Frg. vii.

³ Pausan. ix. ix. 3. Of the probability that the author here alluded to was the antient Callinus, see Welck. Ep. C. p. 198. sqq.; conf. Marcksch. Fragm. Hesiod. p. 149.

⁴ Frg. i. 12. 20., conf. II. vi. 488. sq., Od. xi. 556.; frg. iv., conf. II. i. 40.

⁵ Thiersch, Act. Philol. Monac. vol. iii. p. 576. Thiersch's proposal however, it must be observed, comes with but a bad grace from a critic who elsewhere (op. cit. p. 642. sqq.), on account of imputed discrepancies of style or allusion, pronounces the whole collection which passed current under the name "Tyrtæus" (as the same critic and the school to which he belongs have also pronounced the works of Homer, Hesiod, and in fact every Greek poet of this period) to be a mere cento of fragments by many different authors. To talk, under these circumstances, of assigning to "Tyrtæus" by preferable right, on grounds of internal evidence, any particular passage usually imputed to Callinus, seems altogether nugatory.

to Callinus, either by the original compiler of the antient Florilegium¹ where alone the fragment is preserved, or by his transcribers. In the absence however of all documentary evidence in favour of this conjecture, the safer alternative must be, to assume that Tyrætæus has borrowed from or imitated his Ephesian predecessor. In subjects indeed of this nature, marked coincidences could hardly fail spontaneously to arise in the works of different poets; and there is reason to believe, from this and other examples, that in the elegiac, as in the old epic or heroic school, many popular images or phrases had passed into a sort of commonplace, or public property, among the successive professors of the martial or political school of elegiac composition.

ARCHILOCHUS. 728—660 B. C.

Archilochus.

4. The life, works, and character of Archilochus² supply one of the most remarkable chapters in the history not only of Grecian literature, but of human nature. To no poet of classical antiquity, with the single exception of Homer, has so high a celebrity been so unanimously or enthusiastically awarded. In the familiar allusions of the leading native critics

¹ Stob. Fl. LI. xix. Bernhardt (Grundr. der Hell. Lit. vol. II. p. 330.), without subscribing to Thiersch's views, leans to the opinion previously hazarded by Valckenaer, that the whole of this passage of "Callinus" is the forgery of a later period. He adduces, among other equally pointless arguments in favour of this view, the occurrence of the phrase *δᾶτος καὶ μέγας*, in the antithetical sense of "great and small;" of which he says there is no example in any author prior to Theocritus. He has overlooked both Homer and Hesiod. Od. x. 94. alibi; Hes. Opp. et D. 641.

² Liebel, Archilochi Reliquiæ; Gaisf. Poett. minn. vol. iii. ed. Lips. p. 85.; Bergk, Poet. lyr. p. 467.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. pt. ii. p. 171. The fragments are here quoted according to the arrangement of Liebel, unless where another collection is specified.

to the standard classical authors, Homer and Archilochus are set apart¹ as a duumvirate of poets, to be compared with whom the world never saw, and never again will see, a third; as constituting, each in his proper sphere, a distinct standard of excellence, far removed above the reach of competition in any other quarter; and tested by which standard the beauties of all others are as the insipidity of water compared with the flavour of wine.² In their antient busts accordingly, the effigies of the two poets appear combined in the form of Janus or double Hermes, as the joint eponymi or Dioscuri of Greek poetical literature³; and in the same spirit of common veneration, their natal feast was celebrated on the same day and with joint honours.⁴

The great Alexandrian critic Aristophanes⁵ considered the compositions of Archilochus so near perfection, that when consulted which was the best, his answer was simply, "the longest." Longinus⁶ speaks with rapture of the torrent of his divine inspiration, constraining us to admire even the blemishes which it bore along with it in its impetuous course. Among the Romans he was equally esteemed. Respectable critics of both nations have gone the length of assigning him perhaps even a superiority of natural genius to the poet of the Iliad, inferior as he may have shown himself in his mode of exercising his powers. In an epigram⁷ ascribed to the emperor Hadrian, it is said to have been by the special favour of the

¹ Velleius Patere. i. 5.; Dio Chrysost. Orat. xxxiii. vol. ii. p. 5. sq. Reisk.; Longin. de Subl. xxxiii. 5.; Cic. Orator, i.

² Antipater in Epigr. ap. Lieb. p. xiii.; Anthol. Pal. xi. 20.

³ Visconti, Iconogr. Gr. vol. i. p. 62.; Mus. P. Clem. vol. vi. pl. 20.

⁴ Antip. in Anth. Pal. xi. 20.; conf. Diog. Laert. vit. Heraclid. 87.

⁵ Ap. Cic. Ep. ad Att. xvi. xi.

⁶ De Subl. loc. sup. cit.

⁷ Ap. Lieb. p. xiv.; Anth. Pal. vii. 674.

Muses to Homer, that the efforts of Archilochus were confined to the less noble branches of poetical art. Plato¹ pronounces him the wisest of poets. By other philosophical critics² he is designated the breath and soul, Homer the voice, of Wisdom. Archilochus is also styled the most beautiful of poets³, with reference more immediately to the high polish of his style. The parallel between his celebrity and that of his great epic predecessor extends to the mythical details of their history. The Delphic oracle foretold⁴ to the father of Archilochus that a son would be born to him "immortal among men in the glory of his song." The author of his death was denounced⁵ in the same sanctuary, as guilty of sacrilege in destroying the favourite servant of Apollo. Hence he is further described as surpassing even Homer in the lustre of his destiny, in having been not only at his birth, but in his death, an object of engrossing interest to the gods themselves.⁶ His works remained, like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, a common fountain head of poetical excellence, whence the greatest of his successors were not ashamed largely to draw, interweaving whole verses and passages with their own text.⁷ His poems also supplied, after those of Homer, the favourite subject of commentary to the greatest critics.⁸ His celebrity is further attested by numerous epigrams, commenting on the excellence of his genius, and the more striking features of his character and history.⁹

¹ De Republ. p. 365 c. ² Philostr. vit. Soph. p. 620. ed. Lips. 1709.

³ Synes. Encom. Calv. p. 75. ed Petav.

⁴ Euseb. Præp. Ev. ed. 1668, p. 227.; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀρχίλοχος.

⁵ Heraclid. Polit. viii.; Plut. De Ser. Num. Vind. p. 560.; Dio Chrys. vol. ii. p. 5. Reisk.; Aristid. Oratt. vol. ii. p. 296. ed. Jebb.

⁶ Dio Chrys. loc. sup. cit.

⁷ Conf. Lieb. p. 21. sqq.

⁸ Aristarchus, Apollonius Rhod., Heraclides Ponticus, Aristophanes, ap. Lieb. p. 23.

⁹ Ap. Lieb. p. xi. sqq.

On comparing however this proud array of testimonials with the data on which they are founded, one cannot fail to be struck on first view by the contrast, and feels at a loss to discover any sufficient title to so brilliant an award of renown. Scanty as are the preserved remains of Archilochus, they yet suffice, with the aid of collateral notices, to afford a fair criterion of the general character of his muse. No trace can be discerned of any composition approaching to what is commonly considered the higher standard of poetical art; none distinguished by vastness of design or grandeur of execution; no deep tone of tragic pathos; no lofty strain of martial or patriotic enthusiasm. The property to which attention is chiefly directed by his commentators, as the primary basis of his fame, is the skill with which he employed his favourite iambic measure, in what was held to be its original destination, mordacious satire and scurrilous pasquinade. His most celebrated productions are admitted to have been inspired and pervaded by a fierce spirit of revenge; a passion hateful in itself at best, and in his case devoid of claim to even such amount of dignity as it may occasionally derive from the causes which call it forth. With Archilochus, vindictive wrath originated in ungenerous or discreditable motives, was directed against unprotected objects, and exhibited in unmanly or brutal excess. How then, it may be asked, could even the most unlimited command of the secondary resources of his art have obtained him, in preference to Æschylus, Pindar, or Sophocles, a seat on the highest pinnacle of Parnassus by the side of Homer? In order to arrive at any effectual solution of the apparent enigma involved in this question, it will be proper to have distinctly before us the leading facts of the

poet's history, which possess the peculiar attraction of being, with scarcely an exception, either transmitted by himself or confirmed by his incidental allusions. The chronological details of his biography have been disposed of¹ in treating of Callinus, and need not here be recapitulated.

His birth,
life, and
character.

5. The celebrated painter Polygnotus of Thasos, in a picture representing the descent of Ulysses to Hades, painted on a wall of the great saloon of the Delphic sanctuary, introduced, among the passengers in the bark of Charon, Tellis of Paros and his sister Cleobœa, the great-grandfather and great-grand-aunt of Archilochus.² Cleobœa was portrayed as a young virgin with a sacred chest on her lap, allusive to the rites of Ceres, reported to have been first introduced by her from Paros into Thasos, in which latter island Archilochus settled as a colonist and afterwards resided. This would imply, either that Polygnotus believed in the settlement of a Parian colony in Thasos, under the auspices of the ancestors of Archilochus, prior to that led hither by the poet himself; or that Cleobœa, as a matron of distinguished family, had been selected in her latter days as the instrument of importing the worship of Ceres into the new settlement of her great-grand-nephew. How either she or her brother Tellis came to be allotted by Polygnotus a place in the bark of Charon in the days of Ulysses, is not so easily explained.

The poet's father's name was Telesicles³; his mother, as he has himself been at pains to record, was a slave named Enipo⁴; an origin typical of the

¹ Supra, p. 131. sq.; conf. infra, p. 149. note 6.

² Paus. x. xxviii.

³ Euseb. Præp. Ev. ed. 1688, p. 227. 256.

⁴ Ælian. Var. Hist. x. xiii.

combination of noble and degrading attributes in his character. At an early age he was selected as leader of the colony which, in obedience to the Delphic decree¹, the Parians (708 B.C.) established in Thasos. No distinct notice has been transmitted of the circumstances which obtained him this honour; whether a previous family connexion with the island, the early prophecy as to his future greatness, his own precocious indication of genius, or the fact also recorded in tradition, that to his penetration the Parians were indebted for the knowledge of the exact spot destined for the new settlement in the enigmatic response of the Pythoness. His own inducements to the undertaking, poverty and discontent in his native island², were of no auspicious nature. A fragment of his parting address to the land of his fathers has been preserved, and is in very characteristic style,

ἄα Πάρον,
καὶ σῦκα κείνα καὶ θαλάσσιον βίον.

Away with Paros!

Her figs and fishy life.

Nor does his new residence Thasos seem to have been much more to his taste. Some of his bitterest strokes of satire are directed against the inhospitable soil of that island, eulogised by more impartial authorities for its fertility and wealth.³ By Archilochus it is taunted as "thrice wretched, the sink of all "Hellenic ills"⁴, the source of calamities from which "no tear could be spared even for the sad fate of the "Magnesians"⁵;" and its woody heights are sarcas-

¹ Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 226. 256.; Steph. B. v. Ὀδύσσεος.

² Ælian. V. H. x. xiii.; Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 226.; conf. Lieb. p. 14.

³ Plut. de Exil. p. 604 c.; Theocrit. Epigr. viii.; conf. Lieb. p. 78.

⁴ Frgg. 52. 92.

⁵ Frg. 28.

tically compared "to the backbone of an ass."¹ That the unprosperous course of his worldly affairs was owing, not so much to any real harshness of destiny, as to his own contempt for the means of bettering his lot, is vouched for, besides his own indirect testimony, by both Pindar² and Ovid.³ Nor were his poetical talents calculated to provide relief to his distressed circumstances. Literary genius, even in those days, when favourably exercised, was indeed a source of gain. The talents of the epic bard in primitive times secured him hospitality and presents; and, in the Parian poet's own age we find Terpander, Alcman, and other lyric professors, entertained at public expense as state musicians. But neither the personal character of Archilochus, nor the nature of his productions, were calculated, permanently at least, to obtain him a like advantage. That the responsibility of defeating any such prospect as may have opened up lay at his own door, in so far as regards Lacedæmon, at that period the great mart for poetical commodities, will be seen in the sequel.

Disappointed
love and
revenge.

6. To his other sources of bitterness of spirit were added those of disappointed love. He had been promised by a Parian citizen named Lycambes the hand of his daughter Neobule; a maiden, as we learn from some of the poet's own allusions, of great personal attractions, and for whom he seems to have entertained an ardent affection. The match, however, was broken off, in the first instance it would seem by authority of the father, but with the goodwill also, it is implied, of the bride herself. How far in this, the most celebrated adventure either of his personal or poetical history, Archilochus may have been himself

¹ Frg. 29.

² Pyth. II. 98. sqq.; conf. Schol. ad loc.

³ Ibis, 523.

in fault, how far he may have been the victim of wanton ill-treatment on the part of others, does not distinctly appear. In his own version of the story he naturally represents himself as the aggrieved party, and in a still remaining passage broadly denounces Lycambes as a perjured man.¹ But the tone of the poet's temper and character renders it more than probable that he was himself alone or chiefly to blame. The unmanly spirit of revenge with which he persecuted the previous object of his love, is in itself a virtual justification of her father in breaking off her engagement to such a man. The step, however, whether justifiable or not, was pregnant with fatal consequences to the whole family, comprising two other daughters of Lycambes. All became the objects of the poet's unrelenting hatred and calumnious satire. His cruelest attacks were directed, with characteristic baseness, against Neobule and her sisters, as the most susceptible victims. The unfortunate damsels, Neobule more especially, were accused of the most abandoned profligacy, and held up to public scorn in lampoons teeming with the most offensive details of their imputed enormities.² The success of his vindictive efforts was complete. Both Lycambes and Neobule, or, in the more popular accounts, all three daughters, were driven to self-destruction, as the only refuge from the virulence of his persecution.³ So dire an extreme of catastrophe justifies the suspicion of exaggeration, if not of actual fiction, in the details of the story; although it is not

¹ Frg. 89.; conf. Lieb. *ibid.*

² Frg. 5. 145. 149. *alibi*; Epigr. ap. Lieb. p. xii. sqq.; Gaisf. ad frg. xxvi.

³ Epigr. v. ap. Lieb.; in Epigr. vii. only two; conf. Eustath. ad Od. p. 1684.; Lieb. p. 16.

impossible, as antient commentators have remarked, that the example of a single member of a united and affectionate family might, in such a case, prove contagious among the remainder.¹ The story supplies at least a strong attestation by the public with whom it found credit, to the overwhelming power of the poet's satire. The adventure, with the names of those concerned, passed in after ages into proverb; and while a clever slanderer was called an Archilochus, the Lycambides became typical of all victims of calumnious persecution.²

By some however of the poet's modern apologists, this fatal sensitiveness on the part of the unfortunate damsels has been adduced as proof that his imputations against their character were not altogether groundless. A certain foundation of fact, it is urged, is indispensable to the success of all satire; nor could sheer calumny have driven those against whom it was directed to so desperate a refuge from its assaults. That this rule, however, were a dangerous one is evinced by the case of other victims of slander, whose unsullied innocence is better ascertained than that of the Lycambides. The character of Socrates would require, according to this doctrine, to be judged by the Clouds of Aristophanes. The rule might perhaps be reversed; and it might with better reason be maintained, that young women capable of but a small portion of the crimes with which the Lycambides were charged by Archilochus, could hardly have been so sensitive to his attacks as to commit self-destruction in order to escape from them. The

¹ So the Schol. to Horat. Ep. vi. ap. Lieb. p. 16.

² Plat. ap. Athen. xi. p. 505 D.; Cio. ad Attic. ii. xx.; Suid. v. 'Αρχίλ.; Eustath. p. 1664.; conf. Lieb. p. 40.

antients certainly took the more charitable view of the case. Nowhere is there a hint of their having admitted any other ground for the poet's malevolence than the failure of his betrothed to fulfil her engagement; while her entire innocence, and that of her sisters, of the more odious crimes imputed to them, is frequently, warmly, and eloquently asserted.¹ Strange too, as the unhappy maidens are made to remark in the words placed in their mouths by one of their apologists², that Archilochus should either have sought the hand of so abandoned a female, or should have found difficulty in obtaining at a cheaper rate those favours which he accuses her of bestowing freely upon slaves and scavengers. No less strange, if indeed the term can properly apply to any trait of such a character, that in holding up Neobule to scorn and contumely, the satirist should have been blind to the disgrace reflected on Archilochus, by the fact which he was at such pains to proclaim to the world, that his offers of honourable connexion had been spurned even by the most abandoned of her sex.

7. But the sting of the poet's satire was not confined to his enemies. He himself boasts of his impartiality in sparing neither friend nor foe. Accordingly one Pericles, whom in his more placid mood he addresses in the confidential tone of a favourite companion, is elsewhere denounced as a low glutton and parasite.³ Another, named Charilaüs, is treated in a somewhat similar manner.⁴ It must also be allowed, that if he had no mercy on others he was but little

Promiscuous impartiality of his satire.

¹ See, especially, the beautiful epigram of Dioscorides in Anthol. Palat. vii. 351.; and ap. Lieb. p. xii.

² Epigr. Dioscor. sup. cit.

³ Frg. 1. 55. 126.; conf. Athen. i. § xiv.; Aristid. vol. ii. p. 293.

⁴ Frg. 54.; conf. Aristid. loc. cit.

indulgent towards himself. All or most of his extant or recorded allusions to his own history are discreditable to his character. He boasts both of the volubility and the venom of his tongue, pluming himself, as one of his noblest talents, on that member's power and readiness to revenge his injuries. This disposition he illustrates by the burlesque, but to those familiar with the habits of the animal, happy comparison of himself to the wood-cricket, which, "noisy by nature" even when unprovoked, screams the more shrilly "when twitted by the wing."¹ He even reproached himself, in the same reckless spirit of candour, with vices little less disgraceful than those laid to the charge of Neobule. "Archilochus," says one² of the many antient moralists for whose speculations his eccentricities supplied material, "was but a sorry witness in his own cause; for had he not himself informed us, we might never perhaps have known of his being the son of a slave; of his adulteries, and his other filthy habits; of his overbearing violence, and his practice of promiscuously slandering both friend and foe; of the hatred borne to him by his fellow-citizens, or of his having cast away his shield in the hurry of his flight from the field of battle." The passage last alluded to is still extant³, in which he records with great unconcern, or even self-satisfaction, how in a combat with a Thracian enemy he had "left his buckler among the bushes; but that it was no matter, the fortunate finder might rejoice in his prize, for life was better than a shield, and another as good would easily be found." For this act, so proverbially discreditable to a Hellenic warrior, or rather perhaps for his shameless avowal of it, the

¹ Frg. 125.² Critias ap. Ælian. V. H. x. xiii.³ Frg. 58.

Spartans are said to have forbid him their territory.¹

This chapter of his satirical autobiography may, however, fairly be taken rather as proof of his contempt for public opinion, than of any actual deficiency of military conduct. The loss of a shield was at the worst but an ordinary, often a necessary, consequence of flight, and the bravest warrior may at times be reduced to trust to his legs for his safety.² Few, however, will be found sufficiently callous to the point of honour to boast of such an exploit. The best proof how common the occurrence was, is to be found in the fact that the two most illustrious successors and imitators of Archilochus, Alcæus³ and Horace⁴, of whom the former was certainly far from deficient in martial prowess, were not only guilty of the same act, but carried their emulation of their Parian prototype the length of also emblazoning their shame in their verse. Had all subsequent warriors been witty and popular poetical satirists, the number of such confessions might have been greatly augmented. It seems at least certain that Archilochus was extensively engaged in military adventures. He calls himself in a still extant couplet⁵ a servant of Mars as well as of the Muses; and the tenor of several other passages bespeaks a martial spirit. The circumstance of his having died in battle must go far to make amends for any previous self-imputed poltroonery; and the additional circumstance that this fate should have befallen him, if the extant notices can be trusted, when nearly seventy years of age⁶,

¹ Plut. Instit. Lacon. p. 239.

² So Plato, de Legg. p. 943 B.

³ Bergk, Alc. frg. 32.; Herodot. v. xcvi.

⁴ Carm. ii. vii. 10.

⁵ Frg. 59.; conf. 57. alibi.

⁶ Conf. Lieb. p. 11. sq. 43.; Auctt. ibid.

seems in itself conclusive argument of his military prowess. He fell in a combat between the Parians and the Naxians, by the hand of one Callondas, surnamed Corax or the Raven. From the circumstance of his having been on this occasion engaged in the Parian service, it has been inferred, but with no sufficient reason, that he had quitted Thasos in disgust, and resettled in his native island. It was quite natural that in any war of importance, colonial warriors should appear as allies of the parent state. The author of his death, if the tale may be trusted, having occasion to visit Delphi, was ordered off the sacred precinct by the Pythoness, as an unclean thing, stained with the blood of the favourite minister of the Muses, and was obliged to expiate his crime by necromantic rites at the Tartarian cave of Cape Tænarus.¹ It is time however to revert from the character of Archilochus as a man to his claims to celebrity as a poet.

His genius
and that of
Homer, in
their paral-
lel and
their con-
trast.

8. The fact that the concurrent voice of antient criticism should have ranked Homer and Archilochus conjointly as the standard representatives of Greek poetical genius, while involving an apparent enigma, supplies at the same time the best data for its solution, by affording the clearest insight into the sources of so high, and on first view so little warranted an estimate of the merits of the Parian satirist.

The features common to both poets are originality of conception, deep knowledge of human nature and character, and a consequent power of identifying themselves with the passions, the prejudices, or the

¹ Heraclid. Polit. viii. ; Plut. De Ser. Num. Vind. p. 560. ; Suid. v. 'Αρχιλ.; Dio Chrys. vol. ii. p. 5. Reisk. ; conf. alios ap. Lieb. p. 44. sq.

sensibilities of their public; a vivid apprehension of the varied features of irrational nature, animate or material; with taste and facility in the adaptation of those features to the illustrative element of their text. The analogy between the two may be summed up as consisting in the fulness with which each combined the intellectual with the mechanical resources of his art, and the consequent near approach of each to absolute perfection in the different branches of composition which the opposite bent of their genius led them respectively to prefer.

In estimating the special characteristics by which each was distinguished, Homer's enlarged faculty of poetical combination, being inherent in his character of epic poet as distinct from that of Archilochus as lyric poet, can hardly be taken into account. But apart from this, Homer ranks obviously far above the Parian, in the essentially superior order and quality of his muse; in the pure and elevated tone of his moral sentiment; in the genial philanthropy which glows in every page of his two great works, through all their vicissitudes of subject and treatment; and in his fine sense of the pathetic in all its modifications, from the "soul-devouring" resentment of the insulted warrior to the tender sorrows of the heart-broken female. The moral charm of his poetry also consists mainly in adorning what is generous and amiable in conduct and character. Vice and crime are admitted into Homer's groups only in so far as required to enhance, by the force of contrast, the beauty of his more pleasing portraits.

In Archilochus these more amiable attributes were replaced by a sterner, gloomier, but no less penetrating view of life and action. His power of ethic

portraiture lay chiefly in giving breadth and prominence to the darker shades and fouler features of human character. These he embodied with a reality of form, a power of dramatic effect, and a pungent vein of irony, singularly adapted, when combined with all the secondary graces of poetical style, to arrest the sympathies of a Hellenic public. Homer's satire (for he too deals freely in it at times) is playful and innocent, exempt from morbid gloom or misanthropy; that of Archilochus was poisoned with deadly malice, keen, bitter, and withering. The perversity of his genius which led him to employ his satirical talents so largely in the indulgence of his own vindictive passions, also tended, there can be no doubt, greatly to increase the interest and popularity of the moral and ethic ingredients of his compositions, by the more vivid reality of effect imparted to them. The doctrines he inculcates, whether in lashing vice or commending virtue, seemed thus identified with his own inmost thoughts and feelings, instead of being delivered in the usual dry didactic forms of abstract precept. Another remarkable feature in the wayward mass of eccentricities which make up the genius or the dæmon of his extraordinary character, was the clear appreciation of the really great and excellent which gleams through his own base preference of the vicious and grovelling. Both the testimony of the antients and the remains of his works supply abundant proof that, if neither a practiser of virtue himself nor a genuine admirer of its beauty, no one better understood it, or possessed a more vigorous power of inculcating it in theory. His slanderous imputations thus came forth doubly armed, by the plausibility with which his

thorough experience of vice enabled him to dress them up, and by the apparent zeal for the cause of virtue by which they were animated.

The high esteem in which the philosophical element of his poetry was held by the ancients is evinced by the title of "wisest of poets," conferred on him by Plato, the wisest of Greek philosophers. The rule of judgement by reference to which this distinction was awarded is very distinctly laid down in a passage of Dio Chrysostom¹, which also contrasts, in a lively manner, the merits of Homer and of Archilochus in this particular: "How greatly superior even bitter vituperation, and the naked exposure of the mysteries of vice and iniquity, are to those discourses which tend rather to the praise and admiration of excellence, may be elucidated by the instance of the two poets who, among all that the world has ever produced, stand alone, far above the reach of rivalry or comparison, Homer and Archilochus. It was the habit of the former to eulogise everything, even animals and plants, earth and water, arms and horses. There is scarcely an object which he can be said to have passed over without some kind of commendatory notice, unless indeed Thersites be excepted, and even he is admitted to be a 'keen orator.' Archilochus took the opposite course, of vituperating all things and all men wherever opportunity occurred, and first of all himself; convinced that this was a far better sort of discipline for human nature. Hence alone of all men, both in his birth and his death, he has been honoured by the gods themselves with special testimonials to his excellence."

¹ Vol. ii. p. 5. Reisk.

The parallel between the two poets may be further extended to the advance, real or apparent, of the social as well as poetical genius of each beyond that of his age. In Homer, this peculiarity is chiefly observable in the intellectual element of his poetry, in his high standard of moral sentiment, his always lurking, often declared, contempt for the extravagance of the popular superstition, and his clear conception of many varieties of human character, the originals of which in those days might otherwise hardly have been supposed to exist. In Archilochus, the same feature displays itself in the expanded map of every-day life which he suddenly opens up. We are transplanted at once, in his page, from the courts and camps of patriarchal kings to the busy thoroughfares of an Ionian republic, and immersed in the familiar details of local or domestic interest proper to a complicated state of civilisation.

Redeeming
traits of his
moral cha-
racter.

9. The antient critics however, amid all their admiration for the great properties of Archilochus, were neither blind nor indulgent to his defects. The base purposes to which he too often prostituted his powers, and the scurrility which disfigured their exercise, are freely admitted and severely stigmatised.¹ That these considerations should in no instance have interfered with the unanimity of the verdict in favour of his transcendant poetical excellence, affords perhaps the most powerful evidence of the substantial justice of that verdict. Even the victims of his persecution are made, in the popular epigrams² allusive to their fate, to acknowledge the beauty, as well as terror, of the weapons with which

¹ Auctt. ap. Lieb. p. 38. sqq.

² Epigr. II. ap. Lieb. p. xii.

they were hunted down. It has also been remarked by his biographers¹ as another singular feature of his singularly compounded character, that his satire, however recklessly indulged within the range of his own social interests, was never wantonly turned against the great and excellent characters of his day, never against the objects of national worship, nor, if we may trust his own assurance², against the dead. This testimonial to the piety of his character is fully borne out by his extant remains. While his allusions to the gods in their more familiar capacity, however lively or jocund, are free from levity or disrespect, several of his solemn invocations of the Deity in the higher sense, are equal or superior in simple sublimity to any other compositions of the kind by Pagan poets. This is a characteristic which, in any parallel between his genius and that of Homer, would greatly tend to secure him the award of superior wisdom from Plato and his followers, whose chief cause of serious complaint against the epic bard was the levity with which he treats the national deities. The suspicions which may attach to the sincerity of the Parian poet's moral doctrines can scarcely apply to his religious sentiments. The combination of morbid but sincere religious feeling with depraved habits of life is a familiar feature of human superstition in every age. The same malignant sonnet which ruined the fair fame of an innocent female might invoke, with all the fervour of pious enthu-

¹ Aristid. vol. II. p. 293. Another redeeming feature, which will be duly appreciated by the modern censor in striking the balance of good and evil in his character, is the absence from his page of any allusion to those unnatural vices afterwards so prevalent among his countrymen.

² Frg. 41.

siasm, the aid of a patron divinity in giving effect to the blow ; just as the Calabrian brigand stabs his victim with the one hand, while devoutly grasping a crucifix, or the image of his patron saint in the other.

Personal
individuality of his
poetry.

There can be little doubt that one chief hold of Archilochus on the minds of his countrymen was the singularly distinct manner in which the eccentricity of his own character was reflected in his writings. This has already been pointed out as a source of interest peculiar to lyric poetry ; and it is one nowhere perhaps so strikingly exemplified as in the works of Archilochus. If Homer represent the ideality or "objectivity" of the early Greek Muse, Archilochus may claim to represent her reality or "subjectivity." In Homer the man is completely absorbed in the poet ; in Archilochus the poet exists but in the man. His whole existence, in action or suffering, even those thoughts or deeds which other men most studiously conceal, were emblazoned by himself on his page. The naked truth of the portrait makes amends for its want of poetical dignity. Even Homer or Shakspeare could hardly have ventured to present his public, in a fictitious character, with so strange a compound of ethic anomalies, such a blending of capacity for virtue with preference for vice, of the highest range of intellectual power with the lowest standard of moral principle ; such a brilliant exemplification, in fine, of the adage, "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*," as was embodied in the character of Archilochus. The attempt, if made, would probably have been censured as far-fetched or unnatural. Here the portrait appears in as broad colours of reality as that of Nestor or Falstaff.

Modern commentators would discover another source of this poet's great popularity in the peculiarly national genius of his muse, and in the vital reality with which he shadows forth, in his own life and habits, the characteristic defects and vices of his Ionian fellow-countrymen. To this view however few critical readers, it is believed, will be ready to subscribe. The poetical genius of Archilochus is, no doubt, in its variety, taste, and precision essentially Greek. But his personal character cannot, in its eccentricities, be considered as in any respect typical of that of his race. The more prominent characteristics of Hellenism, especially of Ionian Hellenism, are a buoyant gaiety of temper ; a constitutional indifference to the evils of life, combined with energy in struggling against them ; a large stock of personal vanity, and a consequent ambition to turn every talent, good or bad, to the best account in the estimation of the public. All or most of these features are reversed in the case of Archilochus, giving place to gloomy discontent, morbid apathy, and reckless disregard of public opinion. Were the point fairly open to such subtle speculations, the source of ethic interest in his character might, perhaps, better be sought in the contrast between its properly Hellenic side and that which reflects the servile, possibly Asiatic blood of his mother.

The complete identity between the personal and the poetical character and feelings of Archilochus, or rather the absorption of the latter in the former, is curiously illustrated by the neglect or indifference displayed by him towards subjects of history or fable not immediately connected with his own times or sphere of interests. In the several hundred extant

passages or citations of his text, scarcely three or four allusions to such subjects can be detected, among the multitude to matters of local or present importance. In one place¹ he refers, although it would appear in a purely illustrative or incidental mode, to the punishment of Tantalus. The version of this legend followed by him corresponded with that of the Cyclic Nosti, in adding a superincumbent rock to the other burthens or hardships inflicted on the famishing voluptuary. The remainder of his mythological notices were all comprised, probably, in his epinician ode to Hercules. They described the hero's combat with Achelous, first represented by Archilochus as a bull, and the punishment inflicted on the centaur Nessus.²

Originality
and fertility
of his in-
ventive
genius.

10. In originality and fertility of inventive genius, as displayed in the characteristic forms of composition or style proper to his own branch of art, Archilochus may also venture to compete with his great epic rival. Hitherto the national poetry, in so far as deemed worthy of culture or preservation, had been limited to the simplest and most primitive poetical forms; to the heroic minstrelsy in the proper sense, with the comparatively tame, though pleasing, didactic epos of Hesiod. The patriotic appeals of Callinus, admitting their prior date, form no real exception; as little the occasional attempts at the comic or satirical, as represented by the Margites, if indeed here also a genuine priority be conceded. Such was hitherto the hold of the more dignified Muse on the public taste, that even the burlesque only ventured to prefer a claim to popularity under mock-heroic disguise. One comprehensive style or school of poetry

¹ Frg. 46.

² Frgg. 134, 135.

could thus alone be said to exist in Greece up to the close of the eighth century B.C., a style of a fundamentally serious character, and now in a state of decay. Suddenly there arises a new Homer, of an inferior but in his own sphere equally brilliant order of genius, who carries at once to perfection a department of poetry, the vital principle of which is its identity with the social and domestic interests of a more advanced and complex state of civilisation. All the elementary styles or orders of popular lyric composition appear to start forth at once from the genius of Archilochus, like Pallas from the head of Jove, in the full vigour of youth. Although the antient critics dwell chiefly on his satirical pieces, yet, judging both from the unqualified praise bestowed by them on his collective works, and from extant specimens, there can be no doubt that he excelled in the plaintive elegy, the playful epigram, the exciting war-song, the religious hymn, even the amorous sonnet, little less than in the biting pasquinade or scurrilous lampoon. Specimens of all are found in his preserved remains; and the fact that the bulkier passages in the collection are limited solely or chiefly to subjects of a more agreeable tenor, implies, that such of his entire poems as were devoted to subjects of the same class formed, with more discriminating critics, his chief title to admiration. His treatment of this variety of matter seems, in each individual requisite of numbers, expression, or ideal embellishment, to have approached, as nearly as can be expected from any effort of human genius, to absolute perfection. Quintilian¹, in describing his emphatic diction and vigorous periods, "teeming with blood

¹ Inst. Or. x. i. 60.

Details of
style and
imagery.
Epithets.
Dialect.

and nerve," adds: "So unexceptionable was his whole composition, that whatever deficiencies might be detected were to be attributed less to his own fault than to that of his materials." Even the scandal of his licentious sallies was masked by the elegant forms which they assumed. His language however, like his subject, seldom departs widely from the range of ordinary life, being marked by that "medium genus dicendi," so justly appreciated and praised by the antients; that native ease and simplicity of expression, which most effectually bring home every object or idea to the apprehension. His figures are of the didactic or parabolic rather than the purely ornamental class; couched in the form of metaphor rather than direct comparison. Of similes, in the technical sense, the existing passages of his works offer no example. While less copious in his use of the conventional or commonplace class of epithets than the poets of the old epic school, he does not disdain their aid; and some of these combinations are so plainly modelled after Homer, both in the phrases employed and in the mode of their application, as to prove that the varied fertility of his own genius was guided by a habitual deference to that of his great predecessor.¹ His dialect is substantially the same as Homer's, with fewer antiquated forms, and otherwise slightly modified, to suit the more familiar tenor of his own composition.

Metrical
element of

11. The inventive powers of Archilochus are no less preeminent in the mere mechanical, than in the

¹ Such are, in frg. 55., πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης; 56., θοῆς νηός, οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, κόιλων κάδων; 33. χθονὶ μελαίνῃ; 31. ἡχήμεντα κύματα; 62. πολίτης ἄλός, &c. K. O. Müller, therefore (Hist. Gr. Lit. p. 139.), has greatly misconceived this as well as some other characteristics of the style of Archilochus.

higher ethic or poetical attributes of his art. Without giving him the credit which he enjoys in the popular accounts, as inventor of all the spirited forms¹ of metrical arrangement which first appeared in his page, it results in some degree from the similar variety of styles of composition first brought by him into vogue, that he was the originator of many of those forms, and that all were indebted to him for much of their early cultivation and subsequent popularity. Clear examples remain in his works of the iambic, trochaic, elegiac, dactylic, and anapaestic metres. The others ascribed to him by his commentators, but of which few if any distinct specimens have been preserved, are the choriambic² and Ionic. Besides the single verses of various length and cadence into which the five first-mentioned simpler metres are arranged, they are occasionally combined into those epodes or short strophes also said to be his invention, and in which he greatly delighted. To these strophes may also be numbered the verses commonly entitled Asynartete (disjointed), which though forming in all essential respects a distich or couplet³, it has been customary, for what precise reason does not appear, to write in one continuous line. His claims to an absolute priority of invention in regard to either the elegiac or iambic measures have already been shown to be but slender. He was however, there can be little doubt, the first to develop the full power of the iambic trimeter, the most excellent and popular variety of the latter. Nor is there any ground for questioning his having originated, or first

his composition.

¹ See Lieb. p. 24. sqq. et Auctt. ap. eund.

² But conf. frgg. 98. 100. 102.

³ Hephæst. p. 83. Gaisf.; conf. Lieb. p. 138.

brought into classical use, many of the more properly lyric modifications of the iambic, trochaic, and other metres, and their combination into those concise stanzas or epodes which are first found exemplified in his poems.

In the arrangement of his iambic or trochaic dipodia Archilochus avails himself, though less freely than the Attic poets, of the familiar expedients of solution¹ and common syllable for imparting variety to those metres. In his elegiac measure he is less scrupulous than other contemporary poets, Callinus or Tyrtaeus, in the mechanical adaptation of the pauses of the metrical to those of the poetical text. In passages of a more energetic or excited tenor he even takes pleasure in disturbing this rigid law of propriety, as if to suit the genius of the text to that of the subject.

Although Archilochus can scarcely rank as a professional musician, his inventions even in that branch of art form part of his claims to celebrity as an original genius. The most prominent of these inventions was that called *Paracatalogē*, a term of some obscurity. According to its most probable interpretation, it would seem to indicate a prolongation, sometimes of the rhythm and musical accompaniment of a lyric text beyond the natural limits of the written words; at other times an excess of the words beyond the rhythm; in each case, with the object of adding to the pathos or impressive effect of the performance.² He is also said to have first introduced

¹ K. O. Müller's statement, that he "did not admit resolutions of the long syllables" (*Hist. Gr. Lit.* p. 136.), is contradicted by almost every iambic or trochaic passage of any length in the collection.

² *Plut. de M.* xxviii.; *Aristot. Probl.* xix. vi.; *Phillis ap. Athen.* xiv. p. 636.

a more accurate rule of distinction as to what styles of iambic composition should be sung to a set air or form of melic accompaniment, what merely recited to the chords of the lyre in the style of the old epic minstrelsy.¹

In the preserved passages of his works there is no trace of any fixed rule for the allotment of certain metres to the treatment of certain subjects.² Considering how commonly the satirical tendency of his muse is coupled by the antient critics with his preference for the iambic verse, his imputed invention of which is even described by Horace and Ovid as a device for sharpening the point of his satire, symptoms of some such observance might have been expected in regard at least to his satirical compositions. No definite line however can here be drawn, although, upon the whole, a preference may be discovered for the iambic in the satirical, for the trochaic or elegiac in the graver passages. The poet himself, in an extant passage, alludes to iambic composition as the amusement of his festive hours.³ Any very strict rule of distinction would, indeed, have been incompatible with the free treatment of every variety of subject by such a genius as Archilochus. While the emphatic point of the iambic cadence might at times be adapted to a more serious style, the rapid flow of the trochaic might often be most favourable to the outpourings of virulent invective. This observation is, in fact, borne

Classification
of his
works.

¹ Plut. de M. xxviii.

² The whole number of preserved verses amounts to upwards of two hundred : of these about forty-five may be numbered to the pure iambic order, sixty to the trochaic, forty-five to the elegiac, and fifty to the epodes. The most complete collection is that of Bergk.

³ Frg. ap. Matrangæ, Anecd. Vatic. vol. i. p. 216.

out in regard to each measure, both by antient authority and extant examples.¹

The remains of the trochaic and elegiac order comprise not only the graver, but the bulkier specimens of the muse of Archilochus. The trochaic passages are, upon the whole, the most vigorously conceived and expressively worded. Those in elegiac measure are, as usual with its earlier cultivators, chiefly of a mournful, partly also of a martial character. Few are marked by the satirical tone which predominates in the iambics. All the existing specimens of a properly scurrilous or indecent tenor are in the latter measure. The epodes are also for the most part of a sarcastic turn; where however the metre of these stanzas has a more flowing cadence, they seem to have been occasionally preferred, like the Sapphics of the Æolian school, for softer amorous strains, comprising, as they do, the greater part of the few passages of this more delicate nature. No notice has been transmitted of any classification of the works of Archilochus with reference to subject or style, or even of any subdivision of them into books, by the grammarians of later times. The orders of composition incidentally mentioned as cultivated by him are, elegies, epigrams, "Iobacchi;" and, more vaguely, with reference to measure rather than subject, iambics, trochaics, epodes.² The only poems cited under specific titles are, an epinician ode or pæan to Hercules, a hymn to Ceres, and a poem entitled the Shipwreck. The ode to Hercules was still performed at Olympia in Pindar's time³, as the standard common hymn in honour of the successful athlete, on his

¹ Hermog. de Form. Or. ii. p. 383. ed. Laur.; conf. frg. 48. sqq.

² Lieb. p. 45.

³ Pind. Ol. ix. 1., conf. Schol. ad loc.; Gaisf. frg. lx.; Lieb. p. 182. sqq.

being crowned victor. It was distinguished by a burden or epode, still in part extant, imitating in a very happy manner the sound of the harp, and which enjoyed an extraordinary vogue and popularity in later times. The hymn to Ceres obtained the prize in the Parian festival of that goddess¹, in honour of which victory Archilochus is said to have composed his triumphal pæan to Hercules. The Shipwreck² was an elegy on the death of a favourite brother-in-law, several fine passages of which have been preserved.

12. Any attempt to trace the nicer characteristics of the muse of Archilochus in his extant remains must be a comparatively thankless undertaking; yet those remains afford, in their very imperfection, a species of internal evidence of the excellence of his genius. In the case of no other author whose entire works have perished do such detached citations convey a more distinct apprehension of the general tone, or even of the graces of detail, by which the integral text was distinguished. That Archilochus had deeply studied the works and imbibed the spirit of Homer, is evident from the number of passages in which traces of imitation, or even of plagiarism, from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* can be detected; although the pirated texts³ are so happily accommodated to his own verse as to acquire all the effect of genuine novelty. No less conclusive is the evidence of the extent to which he has, in his turn, been studied and copied by his successors, from the days of his own younger contemporary Thaletas⁴ down to the latest posterity.⁵

His genius
illustrated
by his re-
mains.

¹ Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1762.

² Longin. x. 7.; conf. Lieb. frgg. 55. 60. sqq.; Tzetzes, Allegor. Homer. ap. Matranga, Anecd. Vatic. vol. i. p. 216.

³ Conf. Lieb. frgg. 28. 32. 38. 41, 42.

⁴ Plut. de Mus. x.

⁵ Sappho, Anacreon, Æschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theognis,

A large, perhaps the larger portion of his remains consists of texts which had suggested themselves to the critics who quote them, as the originals of passages commented by them in the works of subsequent authors. Another remarkable feature of these fragments is the number of occasions on which, or of authors by whom, in still extant passages of their works, many of them have been cited, several by not less than ten or twelve. Not a few, it is evident, had passed into proverbs, or become inveterate as poetical commonplaces, the best and surest test of wide-spread influence in any author.

Among the passages deserving of special comment, attention may be directed to the seven lines of trochaic tetrameter containing an address to his own soul or heart, and finely illustrating both the higher attributes of his style and the spirit of his morbid philosophy:¹

Θυμὲ, θύμ', ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε,
 ἄνεχε· δυσμενέων δ' ἀλέξευ προσβαλὼν ἐναντίον
 στέρνον· ἐν δοκοῖσιν ἐχθρῶν πλησίον κατασταθεὶς
 ἀσφαλέως· καὶ μήτε νικῶν ἀμφάδην ἀγάλλεο·
 μηδὲ νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκῳ καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο.
 ἀλλὰ χαρτοῖσιν τε χαῖρε, καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα
 μὴ λήην· γίγνωσκε δ' ὅλος ῥυθμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.

My soul, my soul, by cares past all relief
 Distracted sore, bear up! with manly breast,
 And dauntless mien, each fresh assault of grief
 Encountering. By hostile weapons pressed,
 Stand firm. Let no unlooked for triumph move
 To empty exultation; no defeat
 Cast down. But still let moderation prove
 Of life's uncertain cup the bitter and the sweet.

Cratinus, alii ap. Lieb. frgg. 2, 3, 4. 32. 48, 49. 58. 63. 69. 73.; Gaisf. frgg. xviii. xxvi. lix. lxiii.

¹ Frg. 32.

A keen sensibility to the ills of life is here combined with a haughty spirit of endurance, and a determination, as eloquently enforced as it was little observed, to preserve an equable frame of mind in every change of destiny, for good or for evil. The language, while rich and flowing, is yet marked by a terseness and a tone of gloomy severity in good keeping with the sentiment. The student of Homer will at once recognise the parallel, for there is here no trace of plagiarism, between the appeal of Archilochus to his own soul in the opening lines, and the similar series of images in the 20th Book of the Odyssey.¹ This species of self-dialogue would seem, from other passages², to have been a no less favourite mode with Archilochus of giving vent to his own excited feelings than with Homer of dramatising those of his heroes. The mingled spirit of stern endurance, philosophic resignation, and morbid despair, which dictated these lines, gives place, on other occasions, to a more reckless tone, and to a resolution to drown sorrow in sensual enjoyments. "These," he says, "will at least not aggravate the pressure of an affliction beyond the aid of tears to mitigate."³

In the following text, quoted by Aristotle, he repudiates the vice of envy, and asserts his own independence of spirit in a very animated strain:⁴

οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρήσου μέλει·
οὐδ' εἶλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίωμα
θεῶν ἔργα· μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρῶ τυραννίδος·
ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν. . . .

What's Gyges or his gold to me!
His royal state or rich array?

¹ xx. 17.² Conf. frg. 103.; Aristot. ap. Lieb. ad loc.³ Frg. 60. Lieb.⁴ Frg. 2.

From envy's taint my breast is free,
 I covet no proud tyrant's sway.
 I envy not the gods in heaven !
 The gods to me my lot have given.
 That lot, for good or ill, I'll bear,
 And for no other man's I care. . . .

In another passage he has borrowed, nearly to the letter, one of Homer's most spirited moral reflections on the vanity of human wisdom or foresight, and the entire dependance of man on the Divine will, adapting it by an easy and elegant transposition of terms to his own favourite style of measure.¹ His sense of the power, wisdom, and providence of the Deity is finely displayed in various other fragments, especially in that noble address to Jupiter, where it is difficult to decide whether the simple grandeur of the conception or the force and beauty of the expression are most to be admired :²

ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
 σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὀρέῃς,
 λεωργὰ καὶ θέμιστα· σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
 ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει.

Jove, father Jove, o'er heaven and earth who reign'st,
 In power divine, supreme, alone ;
 To thee each dark unrighteous deed of man,
 Each wayward mood of fowl or brute is known.

His tact in apprehending and describing character is displayed in his summary of the qualifications he requires or prefers in a military commander ; a passage³ worthy of the best pages of Aristophanes, or it might rather, perhaps, be said that Aristophanes offers similar passages worthy of Archilochus ; for there can be no doubt that the Attic satirist not only borrowed many of his humorous conceits from the

¹ Fragg. 38. 47. ; conf. Bergk ad frg. 65.

² Frg. xvii. Gaisf. ; conf. xv.

³ Frg. 34.

text of his Parian predecessor, but was largely indebted to it in the formation of his general style. Of the properly satirical vein of composition, which formed in the popular estimation the chief groundwork of the Parian poet's fame, the preserved specimens, though in considerable number and replete with point and spirit, are for the most part so short and fragmentary, as to supply comparatively slender criteria for estimating his full powers in that department. They suffice, at least, to show the copiousness and power of the Greek scandalous vocabulary of the day, and the boldness and skill with which Archilochus turned it to his purpose. Judging from the stock of specimens transmitted in his remains, his collection of such phraseology must, in its integrity, have rivalled even that of Aristophanes. If not superior in number, it certainly appears to have surpassed that of the Attic satirist in originality, point, and elegance, if indeed such a term be here admissible. His opprobrious facts or images are more rarely than those of Aristophanes exhibited in their naked and literal grossness, but are shrouded for the most part under some figurative disguise, in a manner often displaying, no less distinctly than the chaster sallies of his sarcastic Muse, the fertility and ingenuity of his imaginative faculty. Several of his more agreeable pasquinades appear to have belonged to that primitive species of allegory already employed by Hesiod, and which afterwards formed a separate branch of didactic literature, under the title of *Æsopic fable*. The following fragment of a satirical ode against a certain Cerycides, is a characteristic though meagre specimen, both of his mode of working up his humorous apologies, and of his epodic measure :¹

¹ Frg. 68.

ἐρέω τιν' ὑμῖν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη,
 ἀχθυμένη σκυτάλη.¹
 πίθηκος ἦει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς
 μοῦνος ἀν' ἐσχατιήν.
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλῇ συνήντετο,
 πυκνὸν ἔχουσα νόον. . . .

A tale I have to tell thee, O Cerycides,
 Unwelcome though it be.
 An ape once took a thought to live more at his ease,
 Remote, from visits free,
 Of neighbour beasts. It soon however so fell out,
 That on his solitude,
 A fox that used to roam the country round about,
 Untimely did intrude. . . .

In another of these apologies, afterwards embodied in the Æsopic collection, the poet figures himself, in his dealings with Lycambes, as a fox who contracted alliance with an eagle, by whom he is betrayed, but whose treachery in the end involves his own ruin and that of his offspring.² His elegant comparison of himself, in his capacity of open-mouthed satirist, to a wood-cricket³ has already been noticed. Elsewhere he likens the self-defensive terrors of his sarcastic Muse to a hedgehog, whose "one great resource" (ἐν μέγα), rolling itself up in its bristles, "is worth all the devices of more nimble "and powerful animals."⁴ Some of his amorous effusions combine the terse simplicity of his ordinary style with an impassioned brilliancy of sentiment and expression. Even here, where it were least to be expected, he has furnished models of imitation to the most distinguished professional votaries of the amatory branch of art. Several of the most admired

¹ On the σκυτάλη see *infra*, Ch. vii. § 15.

² Frg. 67.; Fab. Æsop. i.

³ Frg. 125.; Lucian. ap. Lieb. ad loc.

⁴ Frg. 74.; *conf.* 48. 123. p. 228.

images of Sappho are copied or paraphrased from still extant passages of Archilochus.¹ Of his less gloomy tone of plaintive composition some fine examples also remain, derived apparently from his poem on the Shipwreck. The remains of his convivial songs are equally distinguished by the proper characteristics of such compositions, ease, elegance, and vivacity.

Among the noblest of his images derived from inanimate nature, is his illustration of the impending calamities of some ill-fated city by a heavy mass of thunder clouds overhanging a ridge of mountains, while a storm sweeps across the surface of the neighbouring sea.² That Archilochus was extensively engaged in nautical as well as military adventure is evinced by the number of preserved passages descriptive of each, all excellent in their kind, and several of them rivalling the best parallel texts of the Iliad or Odyssey.

13. Of all the disasters to which the collective body of Greek poetical literature has been exposed in its passage to posterity by the ravages of time or barbarism, the loss of the entire works of Archilochus is the most to be deplored. A familiarity with poems entitling their author, alone among so many noble competitors, to rank, by the unanimous judgment of his native critics, on the same level with Homer, would in any case be essential to a right appreciation of the extent or power of Greek genius. But the peculiarity of the circumstances under which, in this particular case, the honour has been awarded, in spite it may be said rather than by favour, of so many of the qualifications usually con-

Remarks on
the loss of
his entire
works.

¹ Frgg. 69. 83. Lieb.; xxiv. xxvi. Gaisf. et nott. ad loc.

² Frg. 36. Lieb.

sidered indispensable to the attainment of so high a distinction, renders the loss the more obvious and the more irreparable.

It may hardly be allowable, considering that the same fate is common to so many other distinguished poets of this period, Sappho, Alcæus, Stesichorus, to search for more special causes of the calamity in the individual instance of Archilochus. There can however be little doubt, that in his case the same eccentricity which constituted one of the most valuable attributes of his genius, and his chief title to superiority of rank over so many illustrious rivals, also formed a main source of the ruin in which the fruits of that genius have been involved. In the early ages of Christianity, during the controversies carried on between the promoters of the new faith and the adherents of the antient Paganism, the life, character, and writings of Archilochus supplied the former with some of their most formidable weapons of polemical attack. Passages are still extant in the works of the early fathers¹, commenting in a very lively and effective, sometimes almost Archilochian vein of satire, on "the purity and dignity of a religion and a race of deities, by the most exalted of whose divine organs, one of the most reckless unblushing reprobates that ever existed was pronounced a superhuman being and the favoured servant of the gods, merely because he possessed in a high degree the faculty of amusing the worshippers of those gods by an ingenious turn for scurrility, at the expense of the lives and happiness of his fellow-citizens. The destroyer of such a servant of such gods," it is added, "was justly excommunicated by

¹ Origen *adv. Cels.* iii. p. 125. ed. Cantab. 1677; Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* v. xxxiii. p. 228.

their ministers as a profane and sacrilegious person!" Such was the success of these taunts, as to provoke the Emperor Julian¹, in a like spirit of zeal as defender of the antient faith, to proscribe the works of the Parian poet, in so far as to interdict their perusal to all persons aspiring to the sacerdotal office, or otherwise pretending to piety or sanctity of life and character. In the early days of monkish zeal and barbarism, the law of proscription which attached to the works of profane poets generally, was equally sure under the above circumstances to be enforced, by the Christian censorship of the day, with special rigour against Archilochus. That a single copy of poems exposed to this two-edged weapon of persecution should have survived, was hardly to be expected.²

SIMONIDES OF AMORGOS. 693 B.C.

14. Simonides of Amorgos³, commonly called the Iambographer, who shares with Archilochus the honour of "inventing" the iambic trimeter⁴, has pretensions to remote antiquity little inferior, if not

Simonides
of Amorgos.

¹ P. 300. ed. Lips. 1696.

² Alcyonius, an Italian writer of the fifteenth century, states, on the authority of Demetrius Chalcondylas, that the later Byzantine emperors, in the fervour of their religious zeal, had caused to be destroyed the poems of Alcman, Alcæus, Sappho, Erinna, Mimnermus, Anacreon, Menander, and of other licentious Greek authors. As no mention occurs of Archilochus, it may be presumed that his works had been already disposed of. (De Exilio, ed. Lips. 1707, p. 69.)

³ Conf. Welcker, Simonidis Iambi, Rhein. Mus. 1835, p. 353.; Bergk, Poett. lyr. p. 500.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. sect. II. p. 196., Gaisford, Poett. minn. ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 209. The passages are quoted according to the arrangement of Bergk, unless where another collection is specified.

⁴ Suid. v. Σιμωνιδης. Anon. ap. Welck. op. cit. p. 354.

equal, to those of the Parian poet.¹ His joint claim therefore as inventor may perhaps be conceded, to the extent of his having selected that measure contemporaneously as the organ of his satirical humour, and having thus contributed to its establishment as a cultivated branch of composition. He occupies, accordingly, the next place to Archilochus in the Alexandrian canon of iambic poets.² The particulars of his life and character also present, whether from accident or the caprice of popular tradition, in some leading points a near analogy to the history of Archilochus. Like Archilochus, Simonides was the leader of a colony from his native island of Samos to the smaller one of Amorgos³, from which he derives his title, and where he is said to have founded three cities, one of which called Minoa he selected as his residence. Like Archilochus, he was of a bitterly sarcastic disposition, which also found vent in iambic pasquinades. Like Archilochus, he is said to have had a favourite butt for his invectives, one Orodæcides⁴, who thus stood to his satirical muse in the same relation as Lycambes to that of the Parian poet. As, however, neither the cause nor the circumstances of the quarrel between the parties have here been recorded, nor any of the pieces in which Simonides endeavoured to uphold his side of the question have been preserved, the affair itself offers comparatively small matter of interest to the student of Greek literary history.

The father of Simonides is stated, on no very high authority, to have been named Crineus.⁵ Besides his

¹ Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 333. ; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 177. sqq.

² Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 380.

³ Steph. Byz. v. Ἀμοργός ; Suid. v. Σιμίλας.

⁴ Lucian. Pseudol. ii.

⁵ Suid. v. Σιμωνίδης.

gentilic title of Amorgian, the son also familiarly bears that of the Iambographer¹, as well with reference to his style of composition, as in contradistinction to the later more elegant and more popular Cean poet of the same name. The latter again, in addition to his surname of Cean derived from his native island, bears the distinctive title of Melic poet. It might seem, on first view, more reasonable to interpret this distinction as relating merely to the prevailing character of the works of the two authors, than as implying, in the literal sense, that the poems of the elder Simonides were exclusively composed in iambic measure, those of his younger namesake in the elegiac or the properly melic forms of lyric verse. The literal interpretation is however strongly borne out by the fact, that while numerous passages in iambic trimeter, besides his acknowledged poem "On Women," are quoted under the name of Simonides the Iambographer, in no instance is any iambic text² possessing a fair claim to genuine character distinctly ascribed to his successor. The few iambic verses which pass indefinitely under the common name are also, with rare exception, so plainly marked by the

¹ Strab. x. p. 487.; Steph. Byz. loc. sup. cit.; Procl. Chrest. p. 380. Gaisf.; conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 367.

² The only three iambic fragments usually comprised among the remains of Simonides of Ceos, and which, from internal evidence, could not have emanated from his more antient namesake of Amorgos, must on the same ground be discarded from either collection, as equally incompatible with the age of the Cean poet. Neither Scopas the sculptor, celebrated in frg. LXXVII. Gaisf. (186. Bergk), nor Dionysius the Colophonian painter, in frg. LXXX. Gaisf., nor the Colossus of Rhodes, frg. LXXXV. Gaisf. (187. Bergk), could have been known to Simonides of Ceos. All three passages may, perhaps, be assigned to some one of the younger Simonidæ mentioned by Suidas. (Conf. Gaisf. Poett. minn. vol. III. ed. Lips. p. 157. note.) The collections of the two poets have been confounded in the older editions; the distinction has, however, been accurately drawn by the more recent editors, Welcker, Schneidewin, and Bergk.

proper characteristics of the Iambographer, as on grounds of internal evidence to leave no doubt of their being his composition. That his works were exclusively limited to iambics is also probable.¹ While much the greater part of the numerous elegiac or melic fragments which pass under the common title are distinctly ascribed by name to his successor, there is not one similarly allotted to himself; nor, among those not so definitely claimed for the Cean Simonides, are there any which, as collated with the ascertained productions of the Iambographer could, on internal evidence, be properly ascribed to the latter poet. Upon the whole therefore, in any distribution of the doubtful passages, the safest general rule must be to allot all the iambic passages extant under the common title Simonides to the poet of Amorgos, all those of an elegiac or purely melic character to his more celebrated namesake.

With the above limitation, the preserved works of this author are; a satirical poem or part of a poem, of considerable length, "On Women;" another shorter one, containing moral reflexions on the Vanity of Human Life; and a number of detached passages or fragments, for the most part also of a sarcastic or epigrammatic character.

His poem
on Women.

15. The poem on Women² comprises a hundred and twenty lines. Its satire, as the name implies,

¹ In the list of Suidas two books of elegies are ascribed to him. To this testimony however, unsupported by other better authorities, but little weight can attach. Suidas has here probably, as in other parallel cases, confounded the two authors with each other and with Simmias of Rhodes. Similar doubts attach to the "Samian Archæology" mentioned by Suidas; and to the trochaic tetrameters alluded to by the anonymous grammarian cited in p. 173. But conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 357. sqq. Two books of iambics are mentioned by Athenæus, ii. p. 57 D.; conf. Bekk. Anecd. Gr. vol. i. p. 105.

² Frg. 6.

is of a general rather than a personal tendency. It describes the various characters of women, as they appeared to the jaundiced eye of the author, under ten heads, each of which is illustrated by the corresponding properties of certain animals or other objects, from which the different kinds of female, or rather of wife, are respectively figured to have derived their origin. These allegorical representatives of female attribute and character are, according to the descriptive order adopted by the satirist: 1. the Hog; 2. the Fox; 3. the Dog; 4. Mud, or Clay; 5. Sea water; 6. the Ass; 7. the Weasel; 8. the Blood-mare; 9. the Ape; 10. the Bee.

The first is dirty, grovelling, and sluttish: the second cunning, versatile, and clever, for good or for evil: the third an incorrigible scold, blustering, quarrelsome, and at the same time prying and suspicious: the fourth sluggish, apathetic, and gluttonous: the fifth wayward and capricious, by turns pleasant and sulky, placid and choleric; charming when in good, insufferable when in bad humour: the sixth excellent at household work when forced to apply, but lazy, obstinate, and incontinent: the seventh sullen, morose, and thievish, repulsive in person and manners: the eighth the lady of fashion, despising housewifery, devoted to dress, the bath, and perfumes; a beautiful ornament of a royal or wealthy establishment, but ruinous to the husband of more humble rank. The ninth is hideous in person, sly, mischievous, and malicious. The tenth alone possesses all the qualifications of a good wife, and is the greatest blessing the gods can bestow on their favourites among mortals. The poem closes with a sort of epilogue, or general summary, characterising the

female sex as, upon the whole, the chief bane of man's existence, and the married state as the most wretched of human lots.

Origin of
Greek
poetical
satire
against the
female sex.
Hesiod.
Pandora.

This work possesses various strong claims on the attention of the student of early Greek literature. It is the only entire specimen of the style of didactic allegory to which it belongs. It is also the first distinct expression of that spirit of satire against the female sex, which forms so characteristic a feature of the popular Greek poetry, from the earliest to the latest period. The allegorical mode in which the same spirit is expressed in the Hesiodic fable of Pandora, the first woman, and authoress of evil to the human race, connects itself very plainly, in the figurative cosmogony of Greece, with the Mosaic tradition of the Fall of man. Pandora is Eve. The vice and misery contained in her box, and which she scatters through the world, are described accordingly by Hesiod as the judgements of Jupiter on the human race, for having conspired with Prometheus against his divine authority. Prometheus, Forethought or Foreknowledge, is the same genius of presumptuous human self-sufficiency figured in the Mosaic system by the Serpent and the Tree of Knowledge.

The legend of Pandora, like others common to the two standard poems of Hesiod, appears in a far more genial form in the *Works* than in the *Theogony*.¹ In the former poem Pandora, as distributrix of the contents of Jove's mystical box, appears as the foolish or even reckless agent, but not as the wilful cause, of ruin to her descendants. Nor has the poet, in the zeal of his satire, lost sight of the sounder

¹ *Works*, 47. sqq.; *Theog.* 565. sqq.

maxim inculcated by him in other portions of his text, that "although a bad wife is the worst of evils, a good wife is the best of blessings:"¹ and, among the numerous vices of his mythical type of female levity, she is at least endowed with the virtue of industry, so precious in the eyes of Hesiod.

In the Theogony, the more genial playful spirit of the allegory disappears. Pandora, deprived of her box, is there represented in her own proper person as the genius of all mischief, and as the mother of an equally reprobate race of daughters, who perpetuate unmitigated sin and misery among the sons of men. That Simonides had "Hesiod" in view in working up his own poem, appears both from the general tone of his allegory, and from his paraphrase, or almost transcript, of standard passages of the Bæotian poems.² He has conformed to the Works in the spirit of impartiality with which he has blended a certain ingredient of good with the predominant vices of his decad of heroines. He has followed the Theogony in the spirit of malignant exaggeration with which he has enlarged on their defects.

These three poems, especially those of the elder Hesiod and Simonides, have given the tone to all the Greek poetical pasquinades of the same class; and their more characteristic passages have been freely pirated and paraphrased by subsequent authors.

Another curious recognition of the title of the Greek fair sex to the honour of standard popular butt of the satirical muse of their ungallant lords, is to be found in the only extant fragment of Susarion, the founder of Grecian comedy. The passage sounds

¹ Works, 700.

² Frg. VII., conf. Works, 700. sq.; frg. v., conf. Theog. 612.

almost like an inaugural announcement of the spirit that was to animate the whole family of literature of which the author was the father.

ἀκούετε, λεῶ' Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε,
υἱὸς Φιλίνου, Μεγαρόθεν, Τριποδίσκιος·
κακὸν γυναῖκες !¹

Hear, O ye people, these are the words of Susarion
Of Tripodiscus, Philinus's son, the Megarian :
Woman's a curse !

Style of
the poem
on Women.

16. The composition and style of the poem of Simonides, if judged by their proper standard, possess great merit, but have scarcely perhaps been appreciated as they deserve. The antient critics indeed, although but few appeals are extant to the contents of the work, have shown at least their sense of the author's talent, by classing him in this department of art by the side of Archilochus, its greatest master. The existence of an abridged paraphrase of the poem by Phocylides² is also sufficient evidence of the esteem in which it was held. Among the moderns, on the other hand, it has generally been treated with greater neglect, or judged with less favour, than it deserves. Its satire is indeed not only bitter, but gross even to scurrility ; and both plan and execution are remarkable for quaint eccentricity rather than elegance. But the characters are ingeniously conceived and cleverly drawn ; and the illustrations, though at times grotesque and coarse, evince fertility of inventive talent, and are, in the author's conception of his subject, spirited and apposite. The language,

¹ Meinek. *Fragm. Comm. Græcc.* vol. II. p. 3. See also Herodotus, v. 83., for the same fundamental element of satire as pervading the Dorian or early Greek comedy.

² Phocyl. frg. 3. Bergk.

in addition to that primitive simplicity which always possesses its own peculiar charm, is terse and concise, and occasionally, where the style rises above its usual homely level, becomes even elegant. Among the best passages is the comparison of the fickle and wayward female to the sea.¹ The few lines of simile illustrative of the different phases of that element are worthy of Sophocles or Homer. The description of the fine lady², and that of the sterling good and faithful spouse³, also possess great merit; and the latter of the two shows that Simonides, like Archilochus, could appreciate virtue as well as satirise vice. The former passage is subjoined, as a specimen of the author's style :

τὴν δ' ἵππος ἄβρῃ χαιτέσσ' ἐγείνατο,
ἣ δούλι' ἔργα καὶ δύνῃ περιτρέπει,
κ' οὐτ' ἂν μύλης ψαύσειεν, οὔτε κόσκινον
ἄρειεν, οὔτε κόπρον ἐξ οἴκου βάλοι·
οὔτε πρὸς ἵπνον, ἀσβόλην ἀλευμένη,
ἴζοιτ'· ἀνάγκη δ' ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον.
λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρης ἅπο ρύπον
δῖς, ἄλλοτε τρὶς, καὶ μύροις ἀλειφεται.
αἰὲ δὲ χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην φορεῖ
βαθεῖαν ἀνθέμοισιν ἐσκιασμένην.
καλὸν μὲν οὖν θέημα τοιαύτη γυνή
ἄλλοισι· τῷ δ' ἔχοντι γίγνεται κακόν,
ἣν μή τις ἢ τύραννος ἢ σκηπτοῦχος ᾗ,
ὅστις τοιούτοις θυμὸν ἀγλαΐζεται.

Next in the lot a gallant dame we see,
Sprung from a mare of noble pedigree.
No servile work her spirit proud can brook;
Her hands were never taught to bake or cook;
The vapour of the oven makes her ill;
She scorns to empty slops or turn the mill.

¹ 27. sqq.² 57. sqq.³ 83. sqq.

No household washings her fair skin deface,
 Her own ablutions are her chief solace.
 Three baths a day, with balms and perfumes rare,
 Refresh her tender limbs; her long rich hair
 Each time she combs, and decks with blooming flowers.
 No spouse more fit than she the idle hours
 Of wealthy lords or kings to recreate,
 And grace the splendour of their courtly state.
 For men of humbler sort no better guide,
 Heaven in its wrath to ruin can provide.

The epilogue from v. 93. downwards, although the style and general character bespeak the composition of the same author, appears, in its present connexion with the remainder of the text, rather as an excrescence than as an integral part of the poem. It does little more than exaggerate, with some tasteless repetitions, the former train of philippic against the sex: and that most inappropriately, immediately after the passage admitting and enumerating the excellences by which their defects were counterbalanced. If to these considerations be added the fact, that the whole text is given, in the compilation of Stobæus¹, merely as one among numerous fragments of, or extracts from, a variety of poems satirising the character and habits of the female sex, the suspicion naturally arises that the compiler or his transcribers may have confounded into one two distinct extracts from the same author.

Other
 works of
 Simonides.

The tone of the other bulkier remnant of the muse of Simonides², in twenty-four lines, partakes more of morbid melancholy than of sarcasm. The text of the whole discourse is to be found in vv. 136, 137, of the XVIIIth book of the Odyssey, paraphrased in vv. 3-5. of the author's own poem, which is a commentary on

¹ Stobæi Flor. LXXIII.

² Frg. 1. Bergk.

the evils of human life, addressed to a young friend. The poet expatiates on the weakness and helplessness of man, on the vanity of his wisdom or power, and on his dependance on the arbitrary will of the gods, in a tone of gloomy discontent rather than pious resignation. The fairest hopes, or most brilliant prospects, are described as but so many snares to entrap deluded mortals into disaster or disappointment. The whole sums up with the usual moral of such a tale: to beware of being unduly elated by prosperity, or cast down by adversity, and to study rather to preserve a stoical indifference to the concerns of life. This composition is marked by the same homely simplicity, and the same terseness of style, as the satire on women.¹

The remaining fragments, of which, with the exception of one of three lines, none exceed a single distich, present the same peculiarities of manner and language as the two longer pieces. Here and there traces of Æsopic allegory are observable. The dialect of Simonides, while in its general tone the purest poetical Ionic of his age, presents not a few original and characteristic forms both of idiom and expression, proper, it may be presumed, to the Samian variety of his native tongue.² His versification, like his general style, is more remarkable for simplicity and vigour than for musical cadence. Like Æschylus, he takes pleasure in lines consisting of a few long words³, as a means of imparting earnestness of effect. The iambic trimeter appears in his text in the simplest forms, rarely admitting

¹ In v. 23. of this passage, the correction of *κακῶν* into *καλῶν* seems obviously to be required.

² Conf. Welck. p. 370. sq.

³ Fragg. vi. 40. 66. 118.

even that legitimate amount of encroachment on the elementary principle of the measure, authorised by its other standard cultivators. He is extremely sparing in his solution of the long syllable¹, and seldom if ever allows the short syllable before mute and liquid. The extant verses offer but a single exception² to this latter rule, which even Homer does not hesitate freely to transgress.

TYRTÆUS. 680—660 B.C.

Tyrtæus.

17. The transition from the last two heads of subject to that treated in the present section, transports us once more from the busy thoroughfares of an Ionian city into the heart of a camp of Homeric warriors. The remains of Tyrtæus, as compared with those of the Parian or the Amorgian poet, offer one among other examples that might be adduced, how fallacious in many cases must be the evidence derivable from those peculiarities of style, subject, or allusion, so much pressed by speculative critics as tests of the comparative age of authors or works. Tyrtæus, by reference to such criteria, and apart from the historical data which establish him as a younger contemporary of Archilochus, would naturally be classed as the more antient poet of the two. Of those varied pictures which the works of the latter present of the social condition of early republican Greece, from the business of the senate or forum down to the domestic

¹ But one example can be discovered in the extant fragments, and that in a doubtful reading (frg. 15. Bergk). In verses 1. and 43. of the poem on women a synizesis rather than solution may be assumed, as in many parallel passages of Archilochus.

² Before *ov* in v. 13. of frg. 1.

squabble or the debaucheries of the brothel or beer-house, the pages of Tyrtæus offer not a vestige. With a uniformity of style amounting almost to monotony, they are exclusively devoted to martial adventure, exhibiting an absence of all interest in the affairs of ordinary life, with an absorption of the individuality of the author in the enthusiasm for his subject, scarcely surpassed in the case of Homer himself. Nowhere, accordingly, is there any allusion by Tyrtæus to his own personal history, the accounts of which, as transmitted in other quarters, are of a somewhat singular or even marvellous character.

The most remarkable events in the political annals of European Greece, between the epoch of the Dorian settlement in Peloponnesus and the Persian invasion, were the two devastating wars waged between the leading states of that peninsula, the Spartans and Messenians. This long struggle, extending, with the intermediate interval, over nearly a century, ended in the subjugation of the latter people, and annexation of their territory by the victors to the Lacedæmonian state. The first war terminated in a treaty, the conditions of which were so oppressive to the Messenians, as to lead in the second generation afterwards to a renewal of the contest with still greater energy. At the outset the fortune of the war was now on the side of the Messenians, who, under the auspices of their hero Aristomenes, obtained so decided a superiority, as to induce the Spartans to have recourse to the Delphic oracle for advice in their emergency. The answer of the Pythoness was, that they should apply to the Athenians for a leader. A deputation was sent to Athens accordingly. The Athenians,

His popular
biography.

with a view of defeating, in so far as in them lay, the favourable intentions of the oracle towards their formidable neighbours, and of indulging at the same time their facetious humour, made choice, as the legend bears, of a lame schoolmaster of the demus of Aphidnæ, hitherto as little distinguished for mental as bodily qualities, who was escorted with all due ceremony to Lacedæmon, and, in punctilious obedience to the terms of the oracle, installed in his high functions. The pedagogue, however, was not long in asserting both his own honour and the credit of the Pythoness. Such was the wisdom of his counsels, and so brilliant the poetical rhetoric by which he enforced them, as speedily to renovate the drooping courage of his new fellow-citizens, and turn the tide of success in their favour. The hero of this adventure, and of Sparta during the second Messenian war, was Tyrtæus.¹

Nor was the influence of their new political chief confined to the military affairs of his adopted countrymen. It extended also to their domestic politics. On the Spartan arms regaining the ascendant in the field, the Messenians, by the desperate measures of defence to which they resorted, aggravated the evils of war to their adversaries by those of famine and civil dissension.² Avoiding pitched battles, they were content, from their stronghold Ira, situated not far from the Spartan frontier, to exercise a systematic brigandage, as well on the territory conquered from themselves as on the conterminous parts of Laconia. Seizing men and goods, they exacted

¹ Pausan. iv. xv. sqq.; Justin. iii. v.; Themist. Orat. xv. p. 197 D.; conf. Plat. Legg. p. 629 D.; Lycurg. contr. Leocr. § 28.; Philoch. et Callisth. ap. Strab. viii. p. 362. According to Suid. v. *Τυρταῖος*, the poet's father's name was Archimbrotus.

² Pausan. iv. xviii. sq.; Aristot. Polit. v. vi.

high ransoms for their restoration; and allowing the enemy to cultivate the soil, descended as harvest approached, and destroyed the crop or carried it off for their own use. This policy was met by the Spartan government with a decree, that as the benefit derived from the culture of these lands was solely or chiefly enjoyed by the enemy, they should be allowed to lie waste. The consequence was a scarcity which, with the discontent of the owners of the deserted properties, led to a sedition, and to a clamour for the popular expedient of the Greek democracies in such cases, a new division of the lands of the state. The ferment thus created was allayed by the eloquence of Tyrtæus; an example of the power of music and poetry on the minds of those stern citizens, to be added to those already recorded of Terpander and Thaletas. Another reported exercise of his political influence was his having persuaded the Spartans, after a great defeat and carnage of their troops, to resort, for the first time, to the expedient of recruiting their army from the Helots.¹ This new force he inspired with such enthusiasm as to turn the tide of success in the next engagement.

18. The legend of the poet's origin and first connexion with Sparta, for the rest is all in substance at least historical fact, if occurring in the annals of some chivalrous war of our own middle ages, would not perhaps be exposed to any very severe scrutiny. The affair is characteristic of the relations between rival members of petty martial confederacies in primitive times, and might possibly find a parallel in the authentic chronicles of the Hanse towns or Italian republics. But the spirit of modern inquiry is less

Its authenticity.

¹ Pausan. iv. xvi. 3.

indulgent towards such traits of political romance in the corresponding periods of antient history ; and the whole story has, in authoritative quarters, been rejected as fabulous. That it is however founded on fact, in so far at least as respects the foreign origin of the poet, which forms the essence of the legend, seems to be established by the concurrent testimony of all the earliest and best authorities¹, inclusive of that of the Lacedæmonians themselves. Not only is there no notice of any attempt on their part to dispute the foreign birth of Tyrtæus, but, in one of the celebrated Laconian apophthegms² in the collection of Plutarch, Pausanias, the victor of Platæa, when asked why the Spartans had conceded to Tyrtæus the rights of citizenship, replies : " In order that no foreigner might appear ever to have held sway in Lacedæmon." That the Spartans would, had Tyrtæus really been a native Laconian, ever have sanctioned the alienation of so distinguished a national hero in their popular tradition, or that Plutarch, in a professed treatise on their character and institutions, should ever have placed such an acknowledgement of that hero's foreign birth in their mouth, is scarcely credible. The powerful influence of lyric song on the political destinies of Sparta during this period, is itself a no less certain fact than that she was indebted to foreigners rather than her own citizens for the exercise of that influence. There can therefore be as little real ground for denying a share of it to the Athenian Tyrtæus, as to the Lesbian Terpander or the Cretan Thaletas.

¹ Nor is there any trace of scepticism but in a single anonymous notice of Suidas (v. Τυρτ.), where Tyrtæus is called " a Milesian, or a Laconian ; " while in another article of the same compilation the popular account is preferred.

² Plut. Apophth. Lac. p. 230.

The Athenians of later times would not be slow to turn the circumstance to satirical account, in favour of their boasted intellectual superiority to their Lacedæmonian rivals; and the story of an Attic man of letters restoring by his inspiring minstrelsy the fortunes of the Messenian campaign, might easily assume the turn of an "Athenian schoolmaster superior in the art of war to the Spartan generals." As to his lameness, the literal acceptance of the legend is at least as rational as the interpretation, itself certainly somewhat lame, suggested by modern critics, that the allusion is to the limping style of his pentameter verse.¹ It is also worthy of remark, that neither in his own poems nor in the current tradition is there any hint of actual military exploit performed by Tyr-tæus. On the contrary, it is distinctly stated by the authorities who have preserved the most specific details of that tradition, that he remained with the priests and augurs in the rear of the battle during action, to encourage the troops in his capacity of counsellor and poet.² It were certainly somewhat strange that a Spartan hero, whether poet or private citizen, unless under some such peculiar circumstances of physical disqualification as those recorded in the legend for the most essential duties incumbent on every Spartan, should have obtained so high a celebrity merely by inculcating those duties, without being himself at all distinguished for their performance.

An argument however, in favour of the indigenous Spartan origin of Tyr-tæus has been adduced, with some hesitation by ancient³, more confidently by modern

¹ Thiersch, *Act. Monac.* vol. III. p. 594.

² Pausan. IV. xvi. 1.

³ Strab. VIII. p. 362.

critics¹, from an extant passage of his own works, where, reminding his fellow-warriors of the martial feats of their Dorian ancestors, he uses the expressions "we" and "our," thus identifying, it is urged, his own origin with that of the audience whom he addresses. A sufficient answer to this argument is contained in the Laconian apophthegm above cited from Plutarch, where the republic is described as having conferred on the alien poet the unusual boon of a full right of citizenship, "in order that no foreigner might exercise authority over them." The language of the poet and of the apophthegm thus mutually illustrate each other. Tyrtaeus, as an adopted son of Sparta, was not only entitled, but bound, to merge his foreign blood and associations in his new privilege. But apart from any such testimony, even a less thoroughly naturalised foreigner, when once installed as the state poet and inspired organ of the national enthusiasm, could hardly be held, in his stirring addresses, to a rigid maintenance of the distinction between his own personal share in the common fund of patriotic feeling and that of his adopted countrymen. Whether a Spartan by birth or by adoption, he spoke henceforth not as Tyrtaeus but as the Muse of Sparta; and the observance of any such subtleties as that here imagined, in the midst of his poetical fervour, could as little occur to himself as be expected by his public.

His age,
character,
works.

19. The age of Tyrtaeus depends entirely upon that of the second Messenian war in which he figures, and which is itself a doubtful point of chronology. Pausanias places the commencement of the war in the

¹ Conf. Thiersch, *op. cit.* p. 600.; Bernhardt, *Grundr. der Griech. Lit.* vol. II. p. 344.

fourth year of the xxiiird Olymp., or 685 B.C.; other authorities bring that epoch, and by consequence the age of Tyrtæus, from forty to fifty years lower. The point is one of some difficulty; but upon the whole a preference may be given to the testimony of Pausanias, both on its own merits, and in consideration of the peculiar care and zeal with which he has brought his habits of antiquarian research to bear upon the Spartan and Messenian history of this period. His view is also more in unison with the dates of other contemporary events incidentally connected with the vicissitudes of the war. As the struggle lasted, in round numbers, about twenty years, the poetical distinction of Tyrtæus, who first appears at a comparatively advanced period of it, may be placed between 680 and 660 B.C.¹

The personal character of Tyrtæus, as exhibited in his remains, appears but a reflexion of the national genius of his adopted countrymen. Every sentiment or allusion may be said to embody some peculiarity, military or political, of that singular people. This attribute of his muse was warmly and durably appreciated on their part; and his works constituted in every age of the republic the most popular text-book of martial song, and the most approved standard of national and patriotic feeling.² Later grammarians allude to a division of them into five books³, upon what principle does not appear. By earlier authorities they are classed, with reference to their subject, under three heads.⁴ The first head comprised mar-

¹ Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 183. 251. sqq. See Appendix D.

² Lycurg. *contr. Leocr.* § 28.; Athen. xiv. p. 630.; Plat. *de Legg.* p. 629. 660. sq.; Plut. *vit. Cleom.* ii.; *conf. Bach*, op. cit. p. 54.

³ Suid. v. *Τυρταῖος*.

⁴ Pausan. iv. xv. 3.; Aristot. *Pol.* v. vi.; *conf. Suid.* v. *Τυρτ.*

tial addresses or exhortations; the second consisted of odes of a political tendency, inculcating obedience to the laws, and maintenance of the Spartan constitution and customs. The compositions of both these classes were in elegiac measure and Ionic dialect. The third head comprised war marches (*enoplia*, *embateria*), in anapæstic measure and Doric dialect, sung in chorus by the phalanx in advancing to the attack. The poems of all three classes were considered among the most excellent of their kind. The performance of his martial and political odes on festive occasions became a habitual custom at Lacedæmon, especially in time of war, when they were chanted by the troops at their meals, or when assembled in front of the general's tent door.¹ The war marches of Tyrtæus also constituted the national standards in that branch of composition; and the anapæstic measure in which they were composed, called in memory of its origin Messeniac, continued to be preferred as the favourite rhythm for the regulation of military movements.²

The preserved passages of Tyrtæus are chiefly of the elegiac order. Several of them can hardly be called fragments, as extending to from thirty to fifty verses each, and the longest³, though not distinctly transmitted as such, possesses all the requisites of an integral composition. They offer in their general character much resemblance to the remains of Callinus; and the correspondence in several verses is such as almost to warrant a suspicion of plagiarism by the more recent author. The style of Tyrtæus however is marked by a greater vigour and terseness, and his

¹ Lycurg. contr. Leocr. § 28.; Philoch. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 630.

² Bach, p. 73. sq.

³ Frg. viii.

addresses by a spirit of ardent enthusiasm, and fierce or even ferocious determination, very different from the morbid desponding patriotism of Callinus. The martial appeals of Tyrtæus are also enlivened by illustrations of the soldiers' duties, and of the scenes and adventures of the battle field. Among the most graphic of his pictures is the description ¹ of the warrior advancing to the encounter "with compressed lips and firm step, brandishing his spear in his hand, while his plume nods terribly from his helmet." The excellence of a glorious death is placed in spirited contrast with the wretchedness of life purchased by loss of honour; and the baseness of flight is further beautifully illustrated by the reflexion, that, "in proportion as it insures safety to the young and lusty combatant, it entails death on the grey-headed veteran, whose support and defence ought to be held a sacred duty by his youthful comrades." ²

To the political order of elegy belonged what appears to have been the most elaborate work of Tyrtæus, and the only one mentioned by the ancients under a distinct title, the *Eunomia*, or *Politia*.³ The former title, literally, "excellent system of laws," is the same by which the Pythoness, in her celebrated enuntiation to Lycurgus⁴, designates his code, and by reference to which the lawgiver was afterwards himself honoured with the figurative patronymic of Son of Eunomus. The poem, of which some fine remains are extant⁵, was a eulogistic commentary, as its name implies, on the Spartan constitution. It appears to have been composed for the purpose of allaying the

¹ *Erg.* vii. 21. sqq.; *conf.* vi. 31.

² *Erg.* vi. 21.

³ *Aristot. Polit.* v. vi.; *Strab.* viii. p. 362.; *Suid.* v. *Tyrp.*

⁴ *Plut.* in *vit.* v.

⁵ *Erg.* i.

agrarian sedition above noticed, and to have been addressed more immediately to the instigators of that disturbance. It was interspersed with allusions to the glories of the Heraclid race, and to the rise and ascendancy of the Dorian power under the auspices of so admirable a form of government, the special gift of Apollo to his favoured people. Stress was also laid on the triumphs achieved in the first war over the same enemy, the prospect of whose complete subjection was now endangered by a factious impatience of the evils inseparable from such a contest. Even in this poem military descriptions seem greatly to have abounded, as most of the existing fragments partake of the martial character. The dialect of these elegies is the same modification of the old epic, or Homeric (here slightly tinged with Æolo-Doric forms¹), as that used in the parallel compositions of Callinus and Archilochus. The preference of this idiom by a Spartan minstrel, may be attributed partly to a deference to the example of those earlier standard elegiac authors; partly to a similar deference to the old hexameter style, from which the elegy or pentameter is itself an emanation; partly, perhaps, to the poet's Ionian origin.

The few remaining passages of the embateria, or war marches, in anapæstic measure and Doric dialect, are, upon the whole, the most original and characteristic portions of the extant works of this poet. They are not only the earliest remaining examples of the pure anapæstic metre, but the only preserved specimens of the Greek war march, and so excellent in their kind as painfully to tantalise the appetite for more. Replete

¹ Fragg. ii. 7., v. 3.

with fire and energy in sound and sense, they afford abundant proof of the value of the anapæstic verse, and of the Greek tongue, in their adaptation to the rhythm of military movements: ¹

ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου
 κοῦροι πατέρων πολιῆται·
 λαιᾶ μὲν ἴτυν προβάλεσθε,
 δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως πάλλοντες,
 μὴ φειδόμενοι τᾶς ζωᾶς,
 οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τᾶς Σπάρτας. . . .

To the field, to the field, gallant Spartan band,
 Worthy sons, like your sires, of our warlike land !
 Let each arm be prepared for its part in the fight,
 Fix the shield on the left, poise the spear with the right.
 Let no care for your lives in your bosoms find place,
 No such care knew the heroes of old Spartan race. . . .

The style of Tyrtæus is more remarkable for simplicity and vigour than polish and refinement. He brings home facts and objects in their native reality to the apprehension, with little variety of phraseology, and rarely an attempt at figurative illustration. The frequent recurrence, in his longer addresses, of the same ideas and images ², a consequence, in some degree, of the almost exclusively martial character of his odes, amounts occasionally to a sort of poetical commonplace, similar to that authorised in the popular usage of the heroic minstrelsy. Here however the repetition, in its connexion with otherwise broadly different materials and style, instead of con-

¹ Frg. xi. The anapæst embodies in fact the natural march time, and was adopted as such, accordingly, by the Romans (Ammian. Marcell. xxiv. 6.; Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii. 16.), as it has been in familiar modern practice.

² Of the phrase *πρόμαχοι*, for example: frgg. vi. 1. 21. 30., vii. 4. 12. alibi; conf. frgg. vi. 31., vii. 21.

ducing, as in the old epic poem, to harmony or precision, imparts at times an incoherent or disjointed character to the text. This latter peculiarity may also, in part, be a consequence of the fragmentary form in which the passages have been transmitted. It has, however, afforded matter for the speculations of those modern critics who would discover, in all such distinctive peculiarities, so many evidences of miscellaneous origin or systematic corruption. Such theories, precarious as they are even in the case of entire compositions, become comparatively nugatory as applied to detached passages of works which must have been, in their integrity, of an essentially fugitive or desultory character. It were certainly not easy to find a similar collection of fragments displaying, in its variety or uniformity, its merits or defects, more satisfactory internal evidence of a single author.¹

The elegiac verse of Tyrtæus is distinguished by regularity and emphatic precision of structure. As a general rule, each distich comprises a more or less distinct clause of the text: and rarely, if ever, does a full period seem to have occurred at the close of a hexameter, or in the middle of either verse, according at least to the genuine arrangement of the text, although here and there introduced by the caprice of editors. That Tyrtæus was familiar with the

¹ See *supra*, p. 137. note 5. That the national Spartan collection of martial songs by native Spartan warriors should ever have been recognised by the Spartans themselves, for so recognised the poems of "Tyrtæus" unquestionably were, as the compositions of an Athenian stranger, seems something, to say the least, very marvellous. Such however in substance, is the theory of Thiersch, when stripped of all its appendages of Wolfian subtlety and learned illustration.

poems of Homer may be inferred from several passages¹ of his remains, embodying the spirit, and to a certain extent the letter, of parallel portions of the *Iliad*. Of his musical talents less is said by the ancients than in the case of most other equally distinguished lyric poets of this period.²

¹ Compare frg. vi. 19. sqq. with Il. xxii. 71. sqq.; frg. vii. 10. sqq. with Il. v. 529. sqq., xv. 561. sqq.; frg. vii. 31. with Il. xiii. 129.

² He is mentioned by Pollux, iv. 107., as the institutor of the Spartan musical festival of the Trichoria (*supra*, p. 128.). Plutarch however, apparently with better reason, traces the origin of this primitive national solemnity to the time of Lycurgus. Plut. in Lyc. xxi.

CHAP. IV.

BIOGRAPHY OF LYRIC POETS. ALCMAN. ARION. STESICHORUS. XANTHUS. SACADAS. XENOCRITUS. EUNOMUS.

1. ALCMAN. HIS ORIGIN, BIRTHPLACE, AND TIMES.—2. STYLE AND TENDENCY OF HIS POETRY. HIS TITLE TO THE CHARACTER OF "LACONIAN POET."—3. HIS RHYTHICAL IMPROVEMENTS.—4. HIS REMAINS.—5. ARION AND HIS DOLPHIN.—6. PROBABLE IMPORT OF THE LEGEND.—7. HIS IMPUTED ODE TO NEPTUNE.—8. CHARACTER OF HIS GENUINE WORKS.—9. STESICHORUS. HIS BIRTHPLACE. HIS LOCRIAN ORIGIN. HIS DESCENT FROM HESIOD.—10. HIS FAMILY. INTERCOURSE WITH PHALARIS.—11. BLINDNESS. "RECATANTION."—12. MIGRATION TO CATANA. DEATH AND TOMB. PERSONAL CHARACTER.—13. INVENTIVE GENIUS. EPICO-LYRIC STYLE.—14. ITS PRIOR CULTIVATION BY XANTHUS.—15. HOMERIC ATTRIBUTES OF STESICHORUS.—16. HIS WORKS AND THEIR REMAINS. EUROPIA. GERTONIS. CERBERUS. CYCNUS. SCYLLA. ATHLA PELIÆ. STOTHERÆ. ERIPHYLÆ.—17. ILII-PERSIS.—18. PALINODIA.—19. CALYCE. RHADINA. PEANS. APOCRYPHAL WORKS. FABLES.—20. METRES. DIALECT.—21. OTHER EPICO-LYRIC POETS. SACADAS. XENOCRITUS. EUNOMUS.

ALCMAN. 670—610 B. C.

Alcman.
His origin
and times.

1. ALCMAN¹, the next as he is the last of the more illustrious masters of the Spartan school of lyric poetry, flourished, according to the various notices of chronologers, from about 670 B.C. down to 611 B.C.² The length of the period comprised within these two dates is justified by his own pointed allusion in one of his odes to his advanced old age. The former date may be taken conjecturally as the epoch of his youth or first notoriety; the latter, as that of his death. His period of poetical activity would thus

¹ Conf. Welck. *Fragm. Alcm.*; Bergk, *Poett. lyrr.* p. 538.; Schneidewin, *Delect. Poes. Gr.* sect. III. p. 238. The fragments are here cited according to the arrangement of Welcker.

² Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. I. pp. 189. 195. 201. 217.

have commenced about the close of the second great Messenian war, and the establishment of the Spartan ascendancy over the Dorian peninsula. Accordingly, both the style and the subjects of his compositions bespeak a period of national prosperity and repose, or even of festive enjoyment, broadly contrasted with the wars, turbulence, and internal dissensions, shadowed forth in the odes of his elder contemporary Tyrtæus. While rivalling, or even surpassing, his great predecessors Terpander and Tyrtæus, in the popularity enjoyed by his muse among his Lacedæmonian fellow-citizens, Alcman possesses as little claim as those masters to the honour of genuine Lacedæmonian origin. By the concurrent testimony of the best authorities, corroborated incidentally by himself, he was a Lydian slave in the family of Agesidas a Spartan citizen, by whom he was emancipated, and under whose patronage he acquired such subordinate political rights as were compatible with his previous condition.¹ It does not distinctly appear whether he was himself a native Lydian, or a son of Lydian parents settled in Laconia; but the former view is the more probable, and is partially borne out by a passage of his own works where he connects a certain refinement of tastes, for which he assumes credit, with the Lydian capital, in terms seeming to claim it as his birthplace.² That he must in this case have been brought early to Lacedæmon, may be inferred from his mastery of the Greek tongue, especially the Laconian dialect. According to some

¹ Crates ap. Suid. v. Ἀλκμαν; Heracl. Polit. frg. II. Schneidew.; Vell. Paterc. I. xviii.; Alex. Ætol. in Anthol. Pal. vii. ep. 709.; Antip. et Leonid. *ibid.* 18, 19.; conf. Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. I. p. 189.

² Frg. XI.

authorities, his father's name was Damas; according to others, Tityrus.¹

Style and
tendency of
his poetry.

2. The more prominent features of Alcman's genius present, certainly, more of an Asiatic than a Spartan character; the extant specimens of his muse being chiefly of an amorous tendency, or in celebration of the pleasures of the table. Of the poems of the former class a large proportion appear to have been those called Parthenia, performed at certain public festivals and under national auspices, in honour of the youthful portion of the female citizens.² The circumstance of his being the earliest recorded author of odes of this rather peculiar character, may have obtained him the credit which he enjoys with the later grammarians, as "inventor" of the love song.³ The only member of the sex whom he celebrates by name is Megalostrata⁴, described by some commentators, but on no competent authority, as herself a proficient in the poetical art. These compositions are censured by the antients for their voluptuous or even licentious style⁵; and their author is ranked, in respect to this peculiarity of his muse, in the same category as Anacreon. This judgement is also amply justified by the remains of Alcman, which are for the most part of a light and jovial, or even meretricious tendency, savouring more of Æolian or Lydian than Dorian genius. Yet it is certain that the same rank allotted to the Athenian Tyrtaeus, as representative of Spartan national feeling in the martial and political orders of poetry and music, was enjoyed by the Lydian Alcman in the more social

¹ Suid. loc. cit.; conf. Welck. p. 4.

² Supra, p. 74.

³ Suid. loc. cit.; conf. Athen. xiii. p. 600 f.

⁴ Frg. xxvi. sq.

⁵ Archyt. et Chamæl. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 600 f.

and familiar departments of the same arts. This congeniality of his style to the taste of the Spartan public, with his skill in adapting the rugged forms of the Laconian dialect to the livelier more popular branches of lyric composition, obtained for him the proud title of "Laconian" or "Lacedæmonian poet" by preeminence; under which title he is as familiarly cited by his quoters and commentators as under his proper name of Alcman.

From all this it would appear, either that the ascetic contempt for sensual indulgence on which the Spartans afterwards prided themselves had not yet been fully matured, or that the legislative rigour of their public morality was compatible, in the days of Alcman, with much freedom of social habits.¹ The great importance attached by the "Laconian poet" to the subject of eating and drinking forms, it may be added, a no less prominent feature, both of his personal and poetical character, than his turn for sexual gallantry. A large portion of his remains are devoted to elaborate descriptions of particular dishes, with eulogies of such as were to his own taste, and directions for their preparation.² He also boasts, in no measured terms, of the vastness of his appetite for this unpoetical species of luxury. He is hence habitually quoted, by Athenæus and other popular writers on convivial subjects, as the chief

His title to the character of "the Laconian poet."

¹ The frequent and familiar allusions to gold and other objects of luxury or social splendour by "the Spartan poet," in these popular Spartan odes (frgg. xxv. xxix. xxx. xvii.), are also in curious conflict with the traditional banishment by Lycurgus (Plut. in Vit. ix.; conf. Lacon. Apophth. p. 226.) of the precious metals, and all other more sumptuous appendages of civilised life, from the Lacedæmonian state.

² Frgg. xvii—xx., xxiii—xxv., xxviii, xxix., lxxxiv. alibi; all in the broadest possible conflict with Plutarch, Vit. Lyc. x. alibi.

authority of this early period on some of the more delicate branches of the art of good living. Several of the dishes described and commended by him belong rather to the head of pastry or confectionary than to that of substantial diet¹, and are, by consequence, more peculiarly at variance with the popular notions of the black broth school of cookery. He disclaims however, in very emphatic terms, any desire to indulge in more dainty diet than his fellow-citizens²; pluming himself less on the quality than the quantity of his meals, as his title to the designation, in which he seems to have gloried, of "the voracious Alcman."³ The loathsome disease of which, like Sylla, Pherecydes, and some other great men, he is said to have died, has hence been ascribed to his gluttonous habits.⁴ Yet, from allusions contained in his extant passages, he would seem to have lived to an advanced age.⁵ His taste for wine was equally liberal. In one place he enumerates five kinds, several of which appear to have been of foreign growth.⁶ But neither his own text, nor the notices of his life, indicate any turn for intemperate conviviality.

His rhyth-
mical im-
prove-
ments.

3. Alcman possesses a strong claim to the honour, if not of inventing, of maturing at least the proper melic school of Greek lyric poetry. Terpander, Thaletas, and other earlier composers of Spartan celebrity, while uniting in some degree the literary with the

¹ Fragg. xviii. xxviii. But for the little taste generally displayed by Thucydides for poetical citation or allusion, the suspicion might naturally arise from a comparison with these passages, that the titles μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην, and λίνου σπέρμα κακοκείμενον, applied by him (iv. 27.) to certain articles of Laconian diet, were fragments of Alcman.

² Fragg. xxiii.

³ Fragg. xxiii.

⁴ Aristot. Hist. An. v. 31.; Plin. H.N. xi. 39.; conf. Welck. p. 14. sq.; Ælian. V. H. i. xxvii.

⁵ Fragg. xii.

⁶ Fragg. xv.

melic branch of art, rank not as poets but as musicians; Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Archilochus, on the other hand, rank not as musicians but as poets. In the works of Alcman is first observable that more complete distinction between recitative and melic composition, which forms so essential a characteristic of the more advanced stages of lyric poetry. As the immediate successor or younger contemporary of Terpander, and enjoying the full benefit of the musical improvements of that great master, Alcman flourished at a period peculiarly favourable for the exercise of his own inventive faculties in the extension of those improvements to the properly poetical department of their common art. He is celebrated, accordingly, as author of the first more artificial developement of the strophe, the foundation of the higher choral styles of composition. The strophe indeed in its simplest form, was probably from the earliest period an element of the popular minstrelsy. In the remains of Archilochus it already appears, but on a comparatively limited scale, and imparting epigrammatic rather than melic spirit to the text of an ode. In Alcman it assumes a fulness of form, and a variety of rhythmical combination, equalling or surpassing that allotted to it by Alcæus or Sappho. His Lydian origin therefore, taken in connexion with the popularity of this style of composition in the contemporary or immediately succeeding school of Æolian poetry on the same Asiatic coast, and with a marked tinge of Æolism in his dialect¹, can leave little doubt that the Greek public was indebted for the germ of this, as of other similar improvements of

¹ Fragg. passim; conf. Auctt. ap. Welck. ad frg. LXXVI.; Eustath. ad Od. xv. p. 1787.

lyric art, to an Æolian rather than a Peloponnesian source. Alcman was probably not so much the author of the improvement, as the instrument of its introduction and development on a wider field of influence and popularity. The exercise of his inventive talent has also been supposed, on grounds the validity of which has been considered in a previous chapter¹, to have extended from the simpler melic order of strophe to the more complicated choric or antistrophic form of the same metrical refinement. The existing passages of his works afford, indeed, no distinct evidence of antistrophic arrangement. But while neither their number nor state of preservation is sufficient to constitute them in this case any fair criterion of the entire collection, it is certain that several of the metrical combinations comprised in that collection are so far prolonged beyond the ordinary limits of the melic strophe, as to warrant the belief of their having formed part of regular choral compositions. Alcman is also mentioned by ancient critics as author of an ode of fourteen strophes or stanzas, consisting of two sets of seven, each of which sets was in a different measure.² But it does not appear in what mode the members of the series were disposed, whether the two varieties of form were chequered with each other in alternate pairs, and arranged, consequently, in regular antistrophic form; or whether each set of stanzas was ranged by itself in continuous order, forming as it were one prolonged strophe, to which the other seven stanzas may have corresponded as antistrophe.

His works

4. The parthenia³, or virginal songs, which occupied

¹ Supra, p. 59.

² Hephæst. p. 134. Gaisf.

³ Plut. de Mus. xvii.; Alcman. frg. i. alibi.

two¹ at least of the six books into which Alcman's entire collection is divided by the grammarians², seem to have been solely or chiefly of the kind above classed³ as secular or profane; those namely composed and performed in honour of the youthful members of the female sex. Of the other sacred order of parthenia, sung in chorus by the virgins themselves, there is no distinct trace in this poet's remains; although such compositions appear in Sparta, as in Thebes and Athens, to have formed a distinct branch of choral poetry.⁴ and their remains.

Besides the parthenia, Alcman is described as author of hymns, pæans, prosodia, hymenæa, and of certain compositions entitled Diving or Tumbling songs.⁵ The preserved specimens of these various compositions can hardly be said to justify the great celebrity of their author. Amid much that is commonplace, or even vulgar, the style of his chaster passages seldom rises above a tone of easy colloquial elegance; and, even in his more dignified amorous or tender moods, his taste for the lower objects of sensual indulgence is apt to break forth. He descanted with some complacency, in one of his hymenæal odes it would appear, on the ingredients used in the preparation of certain dainty cakes, which it was customary to hand round to the female choristers while engaged in chanting the praises of the bride.⁶ In a poetical description of the four seasons⁷, he complains of spring, on account of the comparatively scanty stock of his favourite viands

¹ Frg. xi.; conf. Steph. Byz. v. ἐρυσίχη.

² Suid. v. Ἀλκμ.

³ Ch. ii. p. 74. supra.

⁴ Paus. iii. x. 8., iv. xvi. 5. alibi.

⁵ Frg. xxxii.; Menand. Rh. ap. Welck. ibid.; Plut. de Mus. xvii.; Leonid. Tarent. in Anthol. Palat. vii. 19.; Suid. et Eudocia, v. Ἀλκμ.; conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 9.

⁶ Sosib. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 646.

⁷ Frg. xxiv.

with which that part of the year supplied his table, but congratulates himself on the increased variety which would set in after the summer solstice.¹ His chief excellence appears to have lain in his descriptive powers. The best and one of the longest extant passages² of his works is a description of sleep, or rather of night; a description unsurpassed, perhaps unrivalled, by any similar passage in the Greek or any other language, and which has been imitated or paraphrased by many distinguished poets:³

εὐδοσιν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαί τε καὶ φάραγγες,
 πρῶνές τε καὶ χαράδραι·
 φύλά τε, ἔρπετά θ', ὅσσα τρέφει μέλαινα γαῖα·
 θῆρες ὀρεσκῶί τε, καὶ γένος μελισσῶν·
 καὶ κνώδαλ' ἐν βένθεσσι πορφυρᾷς ἀλός·
 εὐδοσὶ δ' οἶωνῶν
 φύλα τανυπτερύγων. . . .

Over the drowsy earth still night prevails.
 Calm sleep the mountain tops and shady vales,
 The rugged cliffs and hollow glens;
 The wild beasts slumber in their dens;
 The cattle on the hill. Deep in the sea,
 The countless finny race and monster brood
 Tranquil repose. Even the busy bee
 Forgets her daily toil. The silent wood
 No more with noisy hum of insect rings;
 And all the feather'd tribes, by gentle sleep subdued,
 Roost in the glade, and hang their drooping wings.

¹ Frg. xxiii.

² Frg. x.

³ Apoll. Rh., Virgil, Tasso, ap. Welck. ad loc. A beautiful peculiarity of this beautiful description is the vivid manner in which it shadows forth the scenery of the vale of Lacedæmon, with which the inspirations of the poet were so intimately associated, from the snow-capped peaks of Taygetus, down to the dark blue sea which washes the base of the mountain. The author would find it difficult to convey to the imagination of the reader the effect produced on his own by the recurrence of the passage to his mind during a walk among the ruins of Sparta, on a calm spring night, about an hour after a brilliant sunset.

Nowhere however in his remains, even in the fragments of his hymns to the gods, is there any distinct trace of that loftiness of style which distinguishes the nobler productions of the Dorian Muse; no high tone of devotional fervour or moral feeling. Even his amatory effusions are rather of the sentimental and complimentary than the impassioned order. Nor does a vestige of camp song or war march appear in the collection, although later superficial grammarians¹, in the face of the notorious priority of Tyrtaeus in this department, ascribe to Alcman the invention of the anapaestic embaterion, or battle pæan. The peculiar title of Diving or Tumbling songs², given by the antients to a portion of his compositions, would indicate them to have been of a grotesque or ludicrous tendency; destined, possibly, as accompaniments of the rustic mimes and Satyr dances popular among the Lacedæmonians during this early period.

Among the graver mythical subjects treated by Alcman, for the most part incidentally it may be presumed, were the siege and sack of Athens, and capture of Æthra mother of Theseus, by the Dioscuri.³ These adventures were described in a hymn addressed to the twin deities. Alcman differed from Homer, in representing Circe as herself stopping the ears of the mariners of Ulysses⁴, instead of merely instructing the hero to take that precaution; and in assigning ten, instead of twelve children to Niobe.⁵ Among other innovations on the older fable, he described the Muses as female Titans⁶, daughters of

¹ Ap. Welck. p. 12.

² *κολυμβώσεις*; Suid. et Eudoc. v. Ἀλκμ.; conf. Welck. p. 8. sqq.

³ Frg. III. sqq.; conf. Welck. ad loc.

⁴ Frg. LI.

⁵ Frg. LIV.

⁶ Frg. IX.

Uranus and Terra. Fortune (Tyche), a deity unknown to Homer, was, in a more ethic spirit of allegory, made daughter of Promethia (Prudentia), and sister of Eunomia (good government¹). The stone of Tantalus was explained, not as a real object of Tartarean terror, but as a morbid delusion in the condemned hero's mind²; and the Greco-Pelasgic origin of the Hellenic race was figured by their descent from a mythical race of matrons called Græces.³

Consistently with Alcman's accredited extension of the system of strophic or choral arrangement, the more elementary rhythmical combinations, on which the varieties of that system are founded, appear in greater number in his remains than can be discovered in the works of any previous poet. He supplies consequently several additions to the stock of Archilochus, especially in the dactylic and Cretic branches, and in their different modifications, the choriambic, Ionic, and pæonic.⁴ Although Alcman has the credit of imparting the graces of poetical diction to the ruder forms of the Laconian dialect, his use of that idiom seems to have been chiefly confined to compositions of a more familiar character. The more classical of his extant passages are partly in the primitive epic dialect, especially where dactylic forms prevail; partly in the Æolic, or in a medium between the two. Even in more homely subjects, his idiom can rarely if ever be considered as pure Laconian. Like other poets, he availed himself of the ordinary privilege of Greek art, to select from the common stock of poetical usage the forms best adapted to the subject of each work.

¹ Frg. XLV.

² Frg. XCIII.

³ Frg. LIII.

⁴ Welck. Præf. ad Fragm. p. 12. sqq.

ARION. 625—610 B. C.

5. A large share of attention has already been allotted to this poet in a previous chapter, in connexion with the dithyrambic chorus, around which his celebrity, as a promoter or improver of national art, was mainly concentrated. A few remarks still remain due to the details of his personal history, and to the merits of his poetical style, as represented by the single composition transmitted under his name.

Arion and
his dolphin.

Arion was a native of Methymna in the isle of Lesbos, and a disciple, therefore, of the same Æolian school which produced so many other illustrious poets of the melic order. His talents, as we have already seen ¹, were more celebrated as exercised in the musical and orchestric than in the poetical department of his art. His age has not been very exactly recorded. He is described, however, as a pupil of Alcman ² (670—611 B.C.); and the chief scene of his professional activity was Corinth, during the reign of Periander, which commenced in 625 B.C. The date assigned to his maritime adventure described in the sequel, is 610 B.C., the year before the death of his accredited master Alcman. His own flourishing period may hence be placed in part between 625 and 610 B.C.³ The name Cycleus, or Cyclon, familiarly ascribed to his father ⁴, seems an evident figure of the fame derived by the son from his invention of the "Cyclic" chorus. Of his early career nothing further is recorded than that he selected Corinth as his principal scene of activity, where he enjoyed the

¹ Supra, p. 78. sqq.

³ Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 211. 217.

² Suid. v. 'Αρίων.

⁴ Suid. v. 'Αρίων.

patronage and friendship of its celebrated ruler above mentioned.

The remarkable adventure of which he afterwards became the hero, while indebted probably for much of the romantic detail with which popular tradition has invested it to his celebrity as an artist, has, in its turn, contributed nearly as much to his posthumous fame, as the brilliancy of his musical compositions. It has been narrated under its liveliest and most attractive features by Herodotus, and cannot consequently be presented to the reader in a more concise, simple, and agreeable form than in the language of that author :¹

“ During the reign of Periander a very extraordinary event occurred, the transport of Arion the Methymnæan to Cape Tænarus by a dolphin. This Arion, the most distinguished harp-player of his age, and the first who to our knowledge composed and represented the dithyramb in Corinth, is said, after a long residence at the court of Periander, to have conceived a desire to visit Italy and Sicily. Having acquired much wealth in those regions by the exercise of his art, he resolved again to return to Corinth, and, reposing great confidence in the mariners of that city, embarked on board a Corinthian vessel. The crew however conspired on the voyage to cast him into the sea, and take possession of his treasure. On being apprised of their design, he entreated them to spare his life, and to content themselves with his goods, the whole of which he would freely abandon to them. But they would not listen to him, and ordered him either to dispatch himself with his own hand, promising him a decent interment on shore, or to throw himself into the sea. Seeing no hope of prevailing with them, he besought them at least to allow him, adorning himself with the insignia of his art, to sing his own funeral dirge, and promised that at its close he would fulfil their command. To this they agreed, fascinated by the thought of hearing such a performance by the most illustrious musician of the age, and

¹ Herodot. i. xxiii. sq.; conf. Dio Chrys. vol. ii. p. 102. Reisk.; Pausan. iii. xxv. 5.; Ælian. Hist. An. xii. xlv.; Auctt. ap. Plehn. Lesbica, p. 166.; Welck. Delph. des Arion, Kleine Schrift. vol. i. p. 91.

assembled in the centre of the ship for the purpose. Arraying himself accordingly in his festive attire, he took up his station on the prow with lyre in hand, and, after performing the Orthian nome¹, plunged into the waves. The ship pursued its course to Corinth; while a dolphin, as the story is told, taking Arion on its back, bore him safe to Cape Tænarus. On landing he travelled direct to Corinth, still equipped as before, and on his arrival related what had befallen him to his patron. Periander, somewhat incredulous, retained him in custody, keeping at the same time a careful watch on the return of the vessel. On its entry into port he sent for the mariners, and questioned them concerning Arion. They replied that the poet was still in Italy, and that they had left him in prosperous circumstances at Tarentum. Upon this Periander suddenly brought him, dressed precisely as he was when he leapt overboard, into their presence; when, terror-struck, they confessed all that had taken place. This adventure is related both by the Corinthians² and the Lesbians; and, in a small bronze offering dedicated by the poet himself in the sanctuary of Neptune at Tænarus, he is represented bestriding a dolphin."

6. That this beautiful fable is founded, to a greater or less extent, on fact, few even of the most fastidious commentators have ventured to dispute, whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the nature or amount of such ingredient of reality. Some have supposed that the poet, when thrown into the sea by piratical mariners, had been picked up alive by a vessel bearing the sign of a dolphin. Others have conjectured that a figure of Neptune riding on a dolphin had been dedicated by Arion in the temple of the god at Tænarus, as an acknowledgement of the favour vouchsafed by him to the poet in his maritime adventures; and that the human portion of the group having been misrepresented by the priests, or mistaken by the frequenters of the sanctuary,

Probable
import of
the legend.

¹ Plutarch (Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 161.) calls it the Pythian nome.

² Bianor (in Anth. Pal. ix. ep. 308.) makes the dolphin bear Arion direct to Corinth. Lucian and others (conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 97.) place the adventure in the Ægean sea.

for an effigy of Arion himself, had given rise to the fable of his miraculous preservation by the animal. There can be little doubt that the legend, whatever its own immediate import, is connected with the older fable of the Laconian hero Phalanthus¹, who led a colony from Sparta to Tarentum, the Italian port from which Arion sailed, and who was similarly preserved by a dolphin when shipwrecked near the coast of Italy. There is here the further coincidence, which can hardly be altogether fortuitous, that a similar legend is related of Taras, the primitive eponyme hero of Tarentum², who is also represented on the coins of that city bestriding a dolphin. The dolphin, from its proverbially sociable and easy intercourse with mariners, playing, as it does habitually, round their vessels, and accompanying them on their course, was the popular type, not merely of navigation, but especially of successful maritime enterprise.³ Hence the legends of remarkable persons, (among whom may be numbered, besides Taras, Phalanthus, and Arion, Telemachus, Hesiod, and others of inferior note,) saved from death, or preserved when drowned from a watery grave, by the friendly intervention of this animal, were singularly popular and prevalent⁴ among the Greeks of all ages. Riding on a dolphin thus became the familiar symbol of providential escape from maritime disaster. Another fabulous attribute of the

¹ Pausan. x. xiii. 5.

² Pausan. loc. cit., conf. x. x. 4.; Strab. vi. p. 279.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 216. 369.; Plehn, Lesbiaca, p. 166.

³ Hom. Hymn. Apoll. Pyth.; Pind. Pyth. iv. 29.; Eurip. Helen. 1474.; conf. Welck. Ueb. den Delph. d. Arion. Op. Misc. vol. i. p. 89.; and the author's Journal of a Tour in Greece, vol. i. p. 173.

⁴ Of Hesiod, supra, B. II. Ch. xx. § 1. Of Telemachus, Plut. de Solert. Anim. p. 985.; conf. Archil. frg. 84. Lieb.; Phylarch. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 606.; Paus. i. xliv. 11., iii. xxv. 5.; Plut. Conv. S. Sap. p. 162., De Solert. Anim. p. 984.; Welck. op. cit. p. 90.

animal was its partiality for music and musicians¹, supplying an additional motive for its employment by Arion or his admirers in this symbolic capacity, should opportunity offer or circumstances require. Assuming therefore that the poet was, it matters not how, providentially preserved from drowning in the course of a voyage from Tarentum, nothing could be more natural than for him to shape his votive offering to Neptune in the form described by Herodotus; and any more subtle interpretations which have been hazarded, as to a misunderstanding of the real nature or import of the monument by posterity, or wilful deception by the priests of the temple, become superfluous and hypercritical.

More specious, perhaps, is the objection founded on the text of the inscription on the monument, as quoted by later authors², where the name Cycleus or Cyclon occurred as that of Arion's father. This name, it has been urged, was a mere figurative title³, typifying the poet's celebrity as institutor of the "Cyclic" chorus. "It could hardly, therefore, have been the invention of Arion's own day, still less have been inscribed by himself, instead of the real name of his parent, on a votive monument of his own dedication." Upon this difficulty has chiefly been grounded, and with some plausibility, the hypothesis, that the figurative group, even if really representing Arion, was not of his own or of contemporary dedication, but a forgery of the priests in later times, as a valuable addition to their stock of curiosities. The sceptical argument however is here also more spe-

Cycleus,
father of
Arion.

¹ Pind. frgg. 156, 157. Boeckh; Eurip. Electr. 433.

² Ælian. Hist. An. xii. xlv.; Cramer, Anecd. Oxon. vol. iii. p. 352.

³ Conf. supra, p. 85.; Suid. et Eud. v. 'Aplaw.

cious than real. The slender knowledge we possess of the mode or circumstances under which such symbolic titles were wont to be bestowed, ought itself to render us cautious, in any case, of grounding specific conclusions on such speculative data. But in fact there can be no doubt, by reference to other authenticated examples, that it would have been quite in conformity with the Greek figurative style of those days, that a significant patronymic of this nature should not only have obtained currency during Arion's own lifetime, but should have been used by himself or his friends in a poetical dedication. That the figurative title *Ligytiades*, or *Ligyastades*, "Son of Complaint," was similarly applied to *Mimnermus*, the "plaintive poet" by preeminence, is proved by its occurrence in a still extant passage of an elegy addressed to him by his friend and contemporary *Solon*.¹ Whether that legislator's own patronymic *Execestides*, "Son of Reform," be more than a typical indication of his political services, seems also very questionable. And there is reason to believe that the name *Enipo*, literally "Scold," under which *Archilochus* has himself recorded his servile origin by the mother's side, is but a figure of his own scurrilous tongue. The genuine character both of Arion's monument and of its inscription, has received a further curious confirmation by the palæographical discoveries lately effected in the island of *Thera*, now *Santorini*.² That island was colonised by *Sparta* at a remote date, and the worship of *Neptune* was transplanted to it, in a form similar to that which prevailed at *Tænarus*, as an emanation probably from the *Laconian* sanctuary.

¹ See *infra*, Ch. vi. § 1.

² *Boeckh*, Ueber die von *Prokesch* in *Thera* entd. *Inscr. Abhandl.* der *Berlin. Acad.* 1838, p. 41. sqq.; conf. *Franz*, *Elem. Epigraph.* p. 53.

Among other very antient and valuable inscriptions lately discovered in Thera, seemingly within the sacred precinct of the god, is one which, as restored by its ingenious editor¹, contains the name of Cycleus, and, to all appearance, those of Arion and his dolphin. It also bears in its terms that the monument to which it referred, a duplicate probably or copy of that in the parent sanctuary, was dedicated by the poet's own brother; and the style of the letters has been admitted, on the same not very indulgent authority, to betray an antiquity coeval with that of the dedicator.

7. Another important question, as affecting both the element of historical fact in this legend and the literary character of Arion, is that concerning the authenticity of the elegant ode to Neptune² preserved by Ælian³, and attributed by him to Arion. This poem not only describes itself very distinctly in the person of its own author as a work of Arion, composed in commemoration of his delivery by dolphins, but makes the poet himself allude to the circumstances of that delivery, as corresponding in all essential respects with those narrated by Herodotus. He describes "treacherous men as casting him from the hollow ship into the purple sea; and the nobly bounding music-loving dolphins as transporting him on their crested backs to the Tænarian shore of the land of Pelops." Modern critical opinion⁴

Arion's
ode to
Neptune.

¹ Boeckh, op. cit. p. 71. sqq.

² Ap. Schneidew. *Delectus Poesis Græc.* sect. II. p. 258.; Bergk, *Poet. Iyrr. Græcc.* p. 566.

³ *Hist. An.* XII. 45.; conf. Tzetz. ap. Cram. *Anecd. Oxon.* vol. III. p. 352.

⁴ Conf. Welck. op. cit. p. 93.; Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. I. p. 205.; Hermann ad Aristot. *Poet.* p. 235.; Lehrs, *Rhein. Mus.* 1847, p. 58. sqq.

has been much divided as to the genuine character of this composition. Objections have been raised, partly on the improbability of any poet having promulgated such a story concerning himself, partly on the internal evidence of the style of the ode, which has been pronounced inconsistent with the age or genius of Arion. To the former objection the obvious answer is, that it were unreasonable, in any such case, to exact a literal import from the expressions of a popular poet. The same indulgence which commentators claim in their attempts to interpret the legend might fairly be extended to Arion's promulgation of it. He would merely have availed himself of the common privilege of poets, to record, in figurative language, an extraordinary or providential event of his life. If Horace was at liberty to represent Mercury as preserving him from death by enveloping him in a cloud on the field of Philippi, or the protecting arm of a Faun as warding off from his head the blow of a falling tree in the Sabine mountains, Arion was surely as free to figure his delivery from a maritime disaster under the familiar symbol which would so naturally, on many grounds, present itself to his imagination. It is true however, that his description of himself in the ode, as having been "cast into the sea by the treacherous mariners," can hardly with any plausibility be interpreted in a sense seriously at variance with its literal import. Admitting then the genuine character of the ode, the natural explanation of the fable would be, that Arion, having on his passage from Italy been plundered of his goods by the crew of the vessel, and then thrown overboard, turned adrift in a boat or on a plank, or otherwise consigned to the mercy of the waves, had saved

himself by swimming, or had been in some other mode providentially delivered and transported to Peloponnesus. If his first landing-place was the Tænarian sanctuary of Neptune, where the fable of Taras was already in vogue, the figure of the dolphin's miraculous interposition could hardly fail to suggest itself in any attempt to commemorate the adventure, whether in poetical form, or by aid of the kindred art of sculpture.

The other question, as to the claim of the ode to genuine origin on the score of its poetical style, affords a curious example of the widely different judgements to which critics of high authority may be led in such matters, with precisely the same data for their guidance. By one commentator¹ of acknowledged taste and judgement, the hymn is characterised as "distinguished by so fine a unity of whole, so rich a fulness of lyric expression, and a style of embellishment so brilliant, yet preserving so happy a medium between superfluity and simplicity, as to entitle it to rank among the most beautiful compositions of its class." Another critic² of equally high credit contemptuously describes it as "copious in words, but poor in ideas, and quite unworthy of such a poet as Arion."

8. In order fairly to balance the merit of these two opinions, it will be proper, in the first place to arrive at some definite understanding as to the value of the phrase "such a poet as Arion;" or in other words, as to the qualifications of this celebrated

Character
of his
genuine
works.

¹ Welck. Klein. Schr. vol. i. p. 93.; conf. Herm. ad Aristot. Poet. p. 235.

² O. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 205.; conf. the more dogmatical and exaggerated criticism of Lehrs, Rhein. Mus. 1847, p. 63.

author in his capacity of poet or composer of verses, apart from his celebrity as musician. That Arion, as a poet in the narrower sense of the term, was distinguished in any great degree by the higher attributes of genius, there is no ground to believe. The fact that, with the exception of this apocryphal ode, no passage of his works has been preserved, or so much as appealed to by any antient author, is in itself argument that comparatively little account was made of them, apart from the charm of the musical and dramatic performances with which they were originally connected. Had his literary compositions been distinguished by those higher poetical features which characterise the muse of Archilochus, Sappho, or Alcæus, such neglect on the part of the native public were scarcely conceivable. Hence, although by extant authorities Arion is occasionally designated poet as well as musician, it is in the latter capacity alone that he can be said to be celebrated. Herodotus describes him simply "as the greatest musical performer upon record;" and the same or similar expressions are habitually applied to him by others. While this silence as to any superior excellence of his poems need not necessarily imply an actual deficiency of merit, it goes far to indicate that such merit as they possessed was much of that description characterised by one of the critics already quoted as "consisting in words rather than ideas;" in suavity and elegance of expression, and harmony of sound; in those features namely, which adapt lyric composition to the lighter festive order of musical performance. As judged merely by this standard, the ode in question is certainly no way unworthy of its accredited author's reputation. There are however, it can

hardly be denied, both in its style and measure, traces of a later more artificial period of literature than the age of Arion. The measure is of that comparatively lax and disjointed kind which the antient critics¹ considered as a species of lyric recitative or harmonious prose, and is widely at variance therefore with the practice of either the Æolian or Dorian schools in the age of Arion. It savours, at the earliest, of the time of Simonides, whose Lament of Danaë² is the first ascertained specimen of this style of composition. The expression and imagery are also in a strain of poetical rhetoric more compatible with the muse of a dithyrambic poet of the Attic period than with that of Arion. Apart from these considerations, it were certainly not very easy to understand how, among so many classical authors who describe, or pointedly allude to Arion's adventure, Ælian should have been the first to appeal to this ode as an authority on the subject, had his predecessors known of its existence or admitted its genuine character.

To revert however from the apocryphal to the more solid claims of Arion to poetical celebrity, it may further be remarked, that the vigorous talent displayed by him in his own proper style of art, as originator or ennobler of the lyro-dramatic order of composition, furnishes no necessary argument of any higher qualifications as a poet in the ordinary sense. A proficiency in such orchestric or pantomimic branches of art might rather perhaps, as a general rule, be held incompatible with genius of a superior order. The more properly dramatic or mimetic portions of the dithyrambic solemnity, were doubtless

¹ Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. xxvi.

² Ap. Dion. Hal. loc. cit.

in a great measure extemporaneous, and neither intended nor qualified to stand the test of a written perusal. Nor accordingly, among the notices of Arion's works, does mention occur of any poem under the general title of Dithyramb. His compositions are limited to the two heads of Proœmia and Odes or Songs; and as the whole collection is described by the same authorities as consisting of but two books, it was not probably copious. The Proœmia were, there can be little doubt, the introductory hymns or preludes to the dithyrambic performances. The other head might comprehend productions of a very miscellaneous character. The title Orthian or Pythian nome, given by Herodotus and Plutarch to the composition executed by Arion before committing himself to the waves, alludes to a musical rather than a poetical performance.

The wide-spread celebrity of Arion, whether due to his merits as a musician, or to the supernatural protection vouchsafed him by the gods, cannot be better evinced, than by the fact of the group representing him astride on his dolphin having been adopted by numerous cities and states as the device of their coined money. This is a distinction rarely conferred, in any case, but on divinities, founders, or illustrious national heroes. Its extension to an ordinary mortal is here the more remarkable, from the absence, in several instances, of any immediate bond of connexion, by birth race or otherwise, between the person so honoured and the communities by whom the honour was conferred. That such a compliment should have been paid to Arion at Methymna or Corinth, localities closely identified with his own personal history, were nothing ex-

traordinary. But he possessed no such claim on Brundusium, Alisarne, Pisaurus, and other states¹, by whom the like homage was offered to his memory. His statue, in the same attitude as at Tænarus, was also dedicated in the Sanctuary of the Muses at Helicon.²

STESICHORUS. 635—554 B. C.

9. Before entering on the life and works of Stesichorus³, attention may seem to be demanded by another poet named Xanthus, mentioned by several authorities as having not only preceded Stesichorus in the cultivation of the branch of lyric art common to each, but as having supplied him with a portion of his materials. As, however, the chief or only title to celebrity on the part of Xanthus seems to be this connexion between him and Stesichorus, the few particulars transmitted of the life or labours of the former will be more appropriately introduced as subsidiary to the history of his distinguished successor and supposed plagiarist.

Stesichorus.
His birth-
place.
Loerian
origin.

The birthplace of Stesichorus is generally understood to have been Himera⁴, a Greek colony on the north coast of Sicily, founded about the xxxiiii

¹ Rasche, *Lex. Rei Num.* vol. I. p. 1098., vol. III. p. 1361.; *conf. Supplem.* vol. I. p. 1046.; *Eckh. Doctr. R. N.* vol. I. p. 143. 145., vol. II. p. 502.

² Pausan. ix. xxx. 2.

³ *Conf. Suid. v. Στησίχορος*; Klein, *De vit. et script. Stesichori*; *Fragm. Stesich. ibid.*; Schneidewin, *Del. Poes. Gr.* p. 325.; Bergk, *Poett. lyrr.* p. 634.; Welck. *Stesichorus*, in *Kleine Schrift.* vol. I. p. 148. sqq. The remains are here quoted according to the arrangement of Klein.

⁴ *Auctt. ap. Welck. Stesich.* p. 150.

Olympiad, B. C. 648.¹ This colony is described as having been peopled by a mixed body of settlers², comprising emigrants from the opposite coast of the Italian Locris, Chalcidians from Zancle on the Straits afterwards called Messina, and Syracusan refugees; the Locrians being of Æolian, the Chalcidians of Ionian, the Syracusans of Dorian race. The poet's familiar title of Himeræan, with the leading circumstances of his history, establish Himera as at least his place of residence. In some accounts however, he is described as a native of Pallantium in Arcadia³; in others, of a town called Metaurus. This latter name is connected by geographers with two localities: the one situated in the same Italo-Locrian territory which contributed largely to the Himeræan settlement; the other is placed in Sicily⁴, and described as a Locrian colony. But the existence of the Sicilian town rests on no sufficient authority, and both notices probably refer to the Italo-Locrian Metaurus.⁵ These conflicting accounts of the poet's nativity may be partially explained, by the circumstance of the foundation of Himera itself having taken place but a few years prior to his own birth; or according to some authorities, the two events must have been nearly simultaneous. He might thus have been brought over an infant by one of the earlier colonists; and if any doubt existed as to his precise place of nativity, it was natural that each district whence an influx of settlers had taken place should, on his subsequently obtaining celebrity, attempt to claim him as its own.⁶ In

¹ Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 198.

² Thucyd. vi. 5.

³ Suid. v. *Ἰμῆρ*.

⁴ Steph. Byz. v. *Ματαυρός*.

⁵ Strab. vi. p. 256.; conf. Plin. *alios ap. Klein. Fragm. Stes.* p. 9.

⁶ This explanation, even as applied to the legend of his Arcadian origin, which stands altogether alone among the variety of those connecting

the more popular accounts a Locrian origin at least is assigned him. His connexion, or that of his family, with the Italian Locris is further confirmed by the name of one of his brothers, Mamertius¹, and by that of Tisias which he himself is said originally to have borne.² The one is evidently derived from Mamertium, the other from Tisia, two towns of the Locrian district. Of the four or five³ different names, mythical or real, ascribed by different biographers to his father, that of Euphemus is supported by the authority of Plato.⁴ Another was Euclides, in favour of which might be urged, that Thucydides mentions a Euclides as one of the founders of the Himeræan colony.

The birth of Stesichorus may, on a balance of various authorities, be placed about 635 B.C.; his death about 554 B.C. He would thus have lived upwards of eighty years. Lucian assigns him eighty-five.⁵ Aristotle⁶ however, backed by Philochorus an esteemed commentator of the poet, is said to have ascribed to him a much higher antiquity, and at the same time a father of no less celebrity than Hesiod.⁷ His mother, in the same account, was Clymene, the maiden whose imputed seduction by the Bœotian bard was, in the popular legend, the cause of his

Age.
Descent
from
Hesiod.

him with Locris, appears more natural and probable than Welcker's proposed interpretation of it (op. cit. p. 160.) in a figurative sense.

¹ Suid. v. Στησίχορος.

² Suid. ibid.; conf. Klein, op. cit. p. 10.

³ Suid. v. Στησίχορος; conf. Klein, p. 3. sq.

⁴ Phædr. p. 244.

⁵ Klein, Fragm. Stesich. p. 4.; Welck. Stesich. Kleine Schrift. vol. i. p. 149.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 217., vol. ii. p. 5.; Lucian. Macrob. xxvi.

⁶ Procl. et Tzetzes, Prolegg. in Hesiod. ap. Gaisf. pp. 7. 15.; if indeed the work of Aristotle here quoted be genuine, which the grammarian himself appears to doubt.

⁷ Procl. ad Hesiod. Opp. 268.; conf. Suid. v. Στησίχ. and supra, B. ii. Ch. xx. § 1.

own death. This account, taken by the letter, is so repugnant to all history, chronology, or common sense, and so broadly disproved by the internal data of the Himeræan poet's works, as to render it, even if sanctioned by so high authority, unworthy of serious attention. Modern commentators accordingly, are agreed that, in so far as admissible at all, it must be taken in a figurative sense, as indicating not a kindred of blood between the two poets, but a relation between the schools of art over which they respectively presided. To the nature of that relation attention will be directed in the sequel.

His family.
Intercourse
with Phalaris.

10. The poet's own name, as already stated, is reported to have been originally Tisias, but was altered to Stesichorus¹ in honour of his choric improvements, possibly of his office of president of the choral festivities of his native republic. The latter name appears to have remained hereditary in the family. A second Stesichorus of Himera is mentioned, though on somewhat apocryphal authority, as having visited Greece in the LXXIIIrd Olympiad², about seventy years after the death of his more distinguished predecessor; and a third as having gained a prize in a theatrical competition at Athens several generations later.³

¹ Such changes are familiar in Greek literary history, as in the cases, among others, of Plato and Theophrastus, whose previous appellations are reported, on apparently authentic testimony, to have been Aristocles and Tyrtamus.

² Marm. Par. Ol. LXXIII. 3.

³ Marm. Par. Ol. cii. 3. These later Stesichori, in whatever number they may have existed, or whatever their connexion with each other or the chief of the family, are so completely unknown to fame, that it is not easy to see how they should, in any quarter, have been raised to the dignity of chronological pivots. There can indeed be little doubt that the first Stesichorus of the Parian chronicler (to whose notices of the early lyric authors, as a general rule, very little value attaches) is the original

Mention also occurs of two brothers of Stesichorus, each of whom enjoyed his share of the family talent in a different branch of pursuit. One, the Mamertius above noticed, is described as a skilful geometrician ; the other, Halianax, as a legislator or statesman.¹ Of the poet's daughters, their existence, or adventures, no information has been transmitted, but on the very questionable authority of the epistolary romance which passed current with the moderns up to the time of Bentley as the "Letters of Phalaris,"² the celebrated tyrant of Agrigentum. The genuine character of any portion of this correspondence is now universally and justly set aside. But as Phalaris and Stesichorus appear to have been contemporaneous; and as the author of the Letters would naturally be anxious to impart plausibility to his fiction, by embodying in it the current historical notices concerning two such remarkable personages, it is not perhaps unlikely that some of the details of their joint biography which the correspondence supplies may be authentic, though not entitled to rank as such unless corroborated by better evidence. The most important of these details, on which all or most of the others depend, is the tyrant's munificent patronage of the poet, in common with other men of letters of the same period. It would seem however, by reference to better authorities, that the merits of Phalaris as a Mæcenas are fictitious³, or

Himeræan poet, transferred by some strange blunder from the fifth to the eighth decade of the Olympic era. Conf. Klein, *Fragm. Stesich.* p. 5. sq.; Welck. *Stesich.* p. 149. sq.; Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* vol. II. p. 319.

¹ Suid. v. *Στησίχ.*; conf. Eudoc. p. 385. Villois.; Hipp. ap. Procl. ad Euclid. ap. Klein. p. 14.

² Epist. 67. alibi, ed. Boyle.

³ Bentr. *Opusc.* p. 32. sqq. ed. Lips. 1781.

at least that such relations as may have subsisted between him and Stesichorus were of no very friendly nature. The only well attested record of a part taken by the latter in the political affairs of his times, describes his successful resistance to the insidious attempt of Phalaris to reduce the poet's native commonwealth Himera to subjection. The tyrant by his intrigues, favoured by the necessities of that republic then engaged in wars with its neighbours, had procured himself to be elected commander-in-chief of its forces, and subsequently applied for a body guard in support of his authority. From this dangerous concession Stesichorus dissuaded his fellow-citizens by a popular fable, ever since justly esteemed one of the most ingenious of its kind, and for the invention of which Aristotle¹, by whom the whole transaction has been recorded, gives him credit :

"A horse who had hitherto enjoyed the pasturage of a meadow, being disturbed in his possession by a stag, applied to a man for assistance in expelling the intruder. The man replied, that he could only serve him effectually if allowed to mount on his back and put a bit in his mouth. To this the horse agreed; but no sooner was the rider firm in his seat, than the horse discovered, too late, that in avenging his cause against the stag he was become the slave of the man. 'Beware therefore,' the poet continued, applying the case to his audience, 'lest, in your anxiety to obtain the superiority over your enemies, you yourselves be reduced to subjection. The bit you have already placed in your mouths by selecting Phalaris to command your troops; but if you grant him a body guard, you will then have allowed him to mount you, and will become his slaves.'"²

Blindness,
and "Re-
cantation."

11. The most celebrated event in the life of this poet, supplying certainly one of the most interesting chapters in the literary mythology of Greece,

¹ Rhetor. II. 20.; conf. Horat. Epist. I. x. 34.

² The same story is told by Conon (Narr. 42.), concerning Gelon tyrant of Syracuse, and the Stesichorus of Ol. 73.

is the temporary blindness with which he was visited, shortly after the composition of his poem on the "Destruction of Troy." This disaster was supposed to have been inflicted on him by the heroine Helen, as a punishment for the calumnious terms in which he had spoken of her in that poem; and the restoration of his sight was attributed to his public recantation of the slander in a subsequent work. The following account of his recovery is given by Conon¹ and Pausanias², on the joint authority of the Himeræans and Crotoniates:

"In the Euxine Sea, near the mouth of the Danube, is situated the island called Leuka, sacred to Achilles, and containing a temple and image of that hero. This island is said to have been first visited by Leonymus of Croton; who, being afflicted by a sore wound in the breast, applied for relief to the Delphic oracle. He had received this wound in an engagement between the Crotoniates and the Locrians. It was the custom of the Locrians in marshalling their line of battle to leave an open space in the centre, which they believed to be occupied and defended by their national hero Ajax, son of Oileus. Leonymus, in the course of the action above alluded to, made an attempt to break through this opening; when he was assaulted and beaten back by a phantom warrior, and received a thrust in the breast from the spear of his mysterious adversary. Unable to procure relief from human surgical skill, he appealed to the Pythoness. Her advice was, that he should visit the temple of Achilles in the sacred island of Leuka, where the Locrian Ajax would appear to him and heal his sore. This advice he followed. On his return home from his pilgrimage, cured through the agency pointed out by the oracle, he related, among other wonders of the sacred island, that he had found Helen there, living as the spouse of Achilles, and that she had ordered him, on revisiting his native country, to cross over to Himera, and inform Stesichorus that the blindness which had overtaken him was a punishment for his injurious treatment of her. On receiving this communication the poet composed his *Palinodia*, or *Recantation*, and his sight was restored."

¹ Ap. Phot. Narr. 18.² III. xix. 11.

Plato¹, who like many other distinguished authors dwells with pleasure on this legend, gives a somewhat different version of it, describing Stesichorus as having himself, by the inspiration of his muse, divined the source of his calamity. According to other accounts it was disclosed to him in a dream.² The story, stripped of its fabulous appendages, may reduce itself to a simple kernel of fact. An attack of ophthalmia shortly after the composition of the work in which the heroine was maligned, would easily lead a lively poetical imagination to combine the two circumstances in the relation of cause and effect. This was the more natural, from Stesichorus having, in the unfavourable points of the history of Helen, deferred to the authority of Homer; whose proverbial blindness he might naturally connect, as Plato³ himself and other authorities very pointedly do, with the same cause to which he had been led to attribute his own. A dream, a vow of redress, a recantation, and subsequent recovery of sight, would suffice to impress a conviction of preternatural interference on a superstitious mind. Some such basis of fact, together with his own actual belief in the reality of the interposition, is implied by the tenor of an extant passage⁴ of his works.

12. Towards the close of his life Stesichorus is said to have emigrated from Himera, driven probably by the political emergencies of the times, to the kindred Chalcidian city of Catana on the opposite coast

Migration
to Catana.
Death and
tomb.

¹ Phædr. p. 243.; conf. Isocrat. Helen.; alios ap. Klein. Fragm. Stesich. p. 21. sqq.

² Suid. *ἐνὶ δρεῖπον*.

³ Loc. cit.; conf. Vit. Hom. Matrit. p. 233., where Homer's blindness is distinctly attributed to the anger of Helen.

⁴ Frg. XLIV.

of the island, where he died.¹ Mention occurs of the murder of Stesichorus, "the citharædic poet," by a robber named Icanus.² But the notice, even if authentic, leaves it doubtful whether reference be made to the elder Stesichorus, or to one of the subsequent poets of the name. A sumptuous monument was erected in his honour at one of the gates of Catana, hence called the Stesichorean gate.³ The structure is described as octangular, supported by eight columns and raised upon eight steps. From this peculiarity some derived the popular Greek proverb, "all of eight," expressive of uniformity or symmetry. Hence also a cast of the dice in which the number eight came up, is said to have been called the "cast of Stesichorus."⁴ Several authors, alluding to this proverb, describe the tomb as situated at Himera⁵; but the claims of Catana to possess the remains of the poet are preferable. His memory however was highly cherished in his native town, where a fine bronze statue of him is described by Cicero as still extant in his time.⁶

Of the personal character of Stesichorus, the comparatively slender criteria supplied by the more authentic notices of his life, or by the internal evidence of his remains, afford a favourable estimate. His successful opposition to the intrigues of Phalaris exhibits him in a creditable light, both as a patriot

Personal
character.

¹ Suid. vv. Στησίχορος et πάντα ὀκτώ; Antip. in Anthol. Palat. vii. 75.; Phalar. Epist. 54.

² Suid. v. ἐπιμήθευμα.

³ Suid. v. Στησ. et πάντα ὀκτώ, alibi; Antip. sup. cit.

⁴ Pollux, ix. 100. For other more subtle, not perhaps more probable interpretations, see Welcker, p. 170.

⁵ Eustath. ad Il. p. 1289.; Pollux, loc. cit.; conf. Klein, p. 27.; Bentl. Opusc. Diss. xv. p. 30. ed. Lips.

⁶ In Verr. ii. xxxv.

and a statesman ; while the ingenious allegory with which he seasoned his counsel, displays the lively imagination of the poet united to the sound judgement of the practical philosopher. The affair of the Palinodia, on the other hand, savours more of the former than the latter quality. The general spirit of his works, whether in the selection of his subjects or in their mode of treatment, is marked by dignity and delicacy of taste, and, upon the whole, by a higher tone of morality than is common with his brother poets of the lyric school ; but the characteristic absence from his compositions, of that personal or local individuality which forms the prevailing feature of their style, renders his text proportionally barren of data for judging as to the nicer shades of his own temper or disposition.

Inventive
genius.
Lyro-epic
style.

13. The influence ascribed to Stesichorus in maturing or perfecting the antistrophic order of choral performance, has already been considered in treating of the general progress of the lyric art. In another respect he ranks as the most distinguished master, if not the actual originator, of a new style of poetical composition. Among the more prominent features of distinction between the lyric and the epic schools of Greek poetry, a distinction already frequently noticed and illustrated in these pages, are the preference in the former of subjects of local or contemporary, rather than mythical or heroic interest, and their treatment in a descriptive or illustrative, rather than a narrative style. In the works of Stesichorus this distinction entirely disappears. The more essential characteristics of epic composition are there found engrafted on lyric forms. The subjects of all or most of his principal poems are derived from the old ideal mythology, from the events and exploits of the

heroic age; from the same mythical sources in fact, which supplied the Epic Muse with her favourite materials, and are treated in the same narrative mode as in the page of Homer and Hesiod. Still however, the metrical style of Stesichorus was so essentially lyric, that even amid a marked preference for dactylic forms, his remains afford no trace whatever of a continuous series of hexameter or elegiac verses.

This peculiarity of his style is much dwelt on by antient critics, and has been elegantly described by Quintilian¹ as “sustaining with the lyre the burthen of the epic minstrelsy.” It helps also to explain the fable which made Stesichorus a son of Hesiod. The epic element of the Himeræan poet’s art stood obviously in a nearer relation to the Hesiodic than to the Homeric school of poetry. An ode or choral song, to whatever extent it may have partaken of the epic character, could never, without an entire forfeiture of its lyric character, admit of the wide extent or elaborate structure of the Homeric epopee. The subject of such an ode must have been either in itself comparatively limited, or have been treated in a limited or condensed form. But this comparative brevity is the characteristic of the Hesiodic, as contrasted with the Homeric or Cyclic school of heroic composition. The seat of the former school was, as we have already seen², Central Greece; Bœotia, with the neighbouring districts of Phocis and Locris. The prevalence and popularity of the Hesiodic poetry in the latter district are sufficiently proved by the tradition of Hesiod’s death within its bounds, and of his burial in the sacred soil of one of its most

¹ x. i. 62.

² Conf. B. II. Ch. xx. § 1.

distinguished sanctuaries. But Stesichorus himself was of Locrian origin, or at least was proudly claimed as such by the Italo-Locrian colonies. In any attempt, therefore, to connect his epic genius with the mother country by the popular forms of figurative genealogy, both his Locrian blood and his poetical style could hardly fail to point out Hesiod, and Hesiod's Locrian mistress Clymene, as his most appropriate ancestors.¹ How so immediate a relation as that of father and son should, in complete repugnance to the received chronology, have been preferred to the more remote bond of patriarchal kindred usual in such cases, is not so easily explained.

Priority of
Xanthus
and his
Orestia.

14. Admitting, however, the claim of Stesichorus to rank as the earliest author of any high celebrity in the lyro-epic style of composition, it would yet appear that the origin and first cultivation of that style are to be sought in a still earlier source. There is indeed reason to believe that the Himeræan poet was not only a successor, but a plagiarist or imitator of a more antient author in the same style, the Xanthus

¹ The Locrian origin of Stesichorus forms a very palpable ingredient in the legend of his blindness and Palinodia. A Crotoniate warrior, suffering from a Locrian wound inflicted by the Locrian Ajax, is sent to Leuca to be healed by the same Locrian hero; and on his return home is bearer of a message to the Locrian Stesichorus (*supra*, p. 223.). Stesichorus is also said (*frg.* xxiii.) to have copied Hesiod in writing the name of the national Locrian hero's father promiscuously, Oileus and Ileos. (Eustath. ad Hom. p. 277. 1018.) Pindar too (*Ol.* x. 19.), in the marked compliment paid by him to the lustre of the Epic Muse of the Epizephyrian Locris, in connexion with the adventure between Hercules and the Locrian hero Cynus celebrated by both Hesiod and Stesichorus, may be presumed to have had in view the Locrian kindred of the two poets. Welcker (*Stes.* p. 154.) has pointed out the further coincidence, that Cuma, the seat of Hesiod's family, in deriving her popular title of "Phriconis" from a Locrian mountain, admitted the share taken by Locrians in her original colonisation.

already alluded to. One of the most remarkable works of the former poet, his *Orestia*, is stated on good authority to have been modelled in a great degree, both in regard to its plan and treatment, on a similar poem under the same title by Xanthus.¹ That Stesichorus however was neither a treacherous nor an ungenerous plagiarist, and as little ashamed of the obligations under which he lay to his predecessor as disposed to suppress them, is evinced by his having himself appealed to him by name as a prior authority.² The birthplace of Xanthus has not been recorded. Of his age the only specific notice is that which asserts his priority to Stesichorus. It has been further conjectured that he must also have preceded Pisander, having, as Stesichorus himself recorded of him³, represented Hercules after the old Homeric fashion, armed with bow and arrows, instead of club and lion's hide according to the later innovation, of which Pisander was the reputed author and which was adopted by Stesichorus. This is not certainly a very conclusive argument of the antiquity of Xanthus. That poet was distinguished, as appears from other evidence, for a respectful deference to Homer as his text-book of heroic tradition; and there is no reason to suppose he would more readily desert this standard authority in favour of Pisander than of any other innovator. Of his respect for Homer's tradition another example has been transmitted. The daughters of Agamemnon are described by their father in the *Iliad* as but three in number, Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa, to the exclusion of Electra so celebrated in later fable. Xanthus, in his *Orestia*, in order to

¹ Athen. xii. p. 513 A.; conf. Klein, *Fragm. Stes.* p. 83.

² *Frg. LXII.*

³ Ap. Athen. xii. p. 512. sq.

uphold Homer's authority, without too rudely setting aside the current tradition of his own day, identified Electra with Laodice by a slight variation of the former title into Alectra, as a significant surname subsequently conferred on the heroine, in allusion to the celibacy to which she had been condemned by her mother and Ægisthus.¹ The Orestia is the only poem of Xanthus the title of which has been recorded. No remains of his works have been preserved.

Homeric
properties
of the style
of Stesichorus.

15. But, although Stesichorus may not have been the originator of this order of composition, he appears to have been the only author of any celebrity by whom it was cultivated. Even among those lyric poets who, like himself, aimed at a loftier range of heroic subject and style, no actual parallel can be found. The nearest extant approach to one appears in the odes of Pindar, many of whose encomia on illustrious mortals, or hymns in praise of the gods, contain a large amount of epic material. Still, however, such passages are introduced but as episode or digression. The epic remains subservient to the lyric element, the narrative to the song or ode. With Stesichorus each composition was, in regard to its main subject, substantially an epic poem embodied in the choral forms proper to the higher walks of lyric poetry. Several of his odes celebrated the same adventures which formed the subject of distinguished poems of the Homeric school, and under titles common also to those poems. Such were his *Ilii-Persis*, or Destruction of Troy, and his *Nosti*, or Return of the Greeks. A certain slight analogy might also perhaps be traced between the Stesichorean ode and the

¹ Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. xxvi.

narrative portion of the dithyramb of Arion, where the exploits and adventures of the god Dionysus were the subject of a mixed epico-lyric celebration. The difference however in the general spirit of the dithyramb, its essentially mimetic character, the extant to which its epic element was absorbed by its dramatic and orchestric accompaniments, with the purely religious tendency of the whole ceremonial, preclude any attempt to establish, even collaterally, a connexion between the two orders of composition.

From what has been said it seems evident that Stesichorus was by nature formed to excel as an epic rather than a lyric poet; and that, had he flourished at an earlier period, he would have been a zealous and probably a successful cultivator of the regular heroic style. He had however the discrimination to perceive, that from the influence of circumstances over which he had no control, that style now presented but a barren and exhausted field for poetical enterprise. He preferred therefore, by a happy combination of the new and old departments of art, establishing his own claims to celebrity on a more solid and hitherto unoccupied basis. To this preference of heroic subjects and epic treatment he was indebted, in part at least it may be presumed, for the title and honours which he enjoyed of "the most Homeric" among the melic poets of Greece. "It is the universal opinion of the Greek critics," says Dio Chrysostom¹, "that Stesichorus was a devoted disciple of Homer, and that there is a great resemblance between their works." He is further described by a subtle, but not inappropriate figure, as "watering

¹ Vol. II. p. 284. Reisk.; conf. vol. I. p. 83. 81.

his own labours with streams derived from the fountains of Homer;”¹ and in a still more rhetorical strain, the soul of Homer is said, in the vicissitudes of metempsychosis, to have animated the body of Stesichorus.² Commentators of high authority also award him the prouder distinction, of having successfully emulated his great original in some of the more excellent attributes of his genius. Longinus³ classes him with Archilochus, Sophocles, and Herodotus, among the few authors entitled to that distinction. Quintilian⁴ commends the Homeric spirit of his dialogue, and his happy conception of his heroes’ characters. Dionysius⁵ of Halicarnassus passes a similar eulogy on this attribute of his muse, in which he pronounces him superior to Pindar and Simonides. The same critic dwells also on his native ease and unaffected simplicity of style, equally remote from turgid pomp, prosaic insipidity, or elaborate artifice, a beauty which he allows to so few of Homer’s more celebrated successors in common with himself.⁶ Quintilian⁷ however blames Stesichorus for occasional diffuseness, and in this respect contrasts him unfavourably with Homer. A more fastidious judge of the latter poet might perhaps adduce this as another trait of analogy between the two, it being one of those points on which Homer himself is occasionally open to censure. The imputed defect, as we learn from other sources, consisted in the case of Stesichorus in an occasional superfluity of epithets, while his elegant taste in their selection is also commended.⁸

¹ Anthol. Pal. ix. 184.

² Antip. in Anthol. Pal. vii. 75.

³ De Subl. xiii. 3. ⁴ x. i. 62.

⁵ De vet. Script. p. 421. Reisk.

⁶ De comp. Verb. xxiiv.

⁷ Loc. cit.

⁸ Hermog. de Form. Orat. ii. p. 409. Laurent.

The criticism here again, under both its heads, might be extended to his illustrious predecessor.

These comments¹ are all more or less borne out by the remains of the Himeræan poet. As a general rule his verse is marked by a sonorous roundness and harmony, seldom rising to the grandeur, but in terms of the Halicarnassian commentary free from the inflation or obscurity of Pindar. His text is indeed remarkable for the flowing smoothness and perspicuity of its structure. The parallel between him and Homer is, however, less observable in the matter than the manner of his composition. He exhibits in fact, in the selection or working up of his epic materials, a frequent preference of versions of the national tradition which, whether the fruit of his own imagination or derived from secondary epic sources, are not only at variance with those authorised by the pure Homeric minstrelsy, but in themselves eccentric and farfetched.

16. The following are the titles, in so far as known, of the epico-lyric compositions of Stesichorus, arranged, as nearly as may be, in the chronological order of their subjects: Europia, Geryonis, Cerberus, Cycnus, Scylla, Athla Peliaë, Syotheræ, Eriphyle, Ilii-Persis, Palinodia, Nosti, Orestia, Calyce, Rhadina. The two last-mentioned poems, though partaking of the same epic character, belong, as will be seen, to a less purely heroic head of celebration than the remainder.

His works
and their
remains.

The title Europia here, as in the Cyclic poem to which it was common, indicates the subject of the work to have been the settlement of the Cadmean colony in Bœotia. It described the sowing of the dragon's teeth, which was attributed to Minerva, not

Europia.

¹ Conf. alios ap. Klein, pp. 32, 33.; Welck. Stesich. p. 163.

to Cadmus as in the popular account.¹ The death of Actæon was also mentioned.² The very strange version of this latter legend preferred by Stesichorus, was by no means an improvement on the vulgar fable, and certainly does not tend to bear out the poet's high reputation for Homeric dignity in the treatment of his subject. The death of the unfortunate hunter was ascribed, not to the anger of Diana at his outrage on the sanctity of her virgin retirement, but to her anxiety to disembarass her father Jupiter of a rival competitor for the favours of Semele. The expedient to which she resorted to secure the assault of the hero's dogs on his person, by dressing him up in a deer's skin, is also a very poor conceit.³

Geryonis.

The next four poems in the list relate to as many more or less familiar adventures of Hercules, whom Stesichorus, preferring the authority of Pisander to that of Homer, armed, not with bow and arrows, but with club and lion's skin.⁴ In the Geryonis he also adopted, from the same source, the not very genial fable of the ærial voyage of the son of Alcmena, under the patronage and in the mystical drinking-goblet of the sun.⁵

Cerberus.

The Cerberus treated of the descent of Hercules to Hades, and his victory over the fabulous monster-guardian of the palace gates of

Cycnus.

Pluto. In his account of the hero's adventure with Cycnus, the same celebrated in the Hesiodic Shield of Hercules, Stesichorus, while referring to the legend of the Shield, and to Hesiod as author of that poem, differed from his reputed poetical father in describing the Theban hero as flying from Cycnus

¹ Frg. xvi. sqq.

² Frg. xvii.

³ Paus. ix. ii. 3.; conf. Apollod. iii. iv. 4.

⁴ Frg. lxii.; conf. B. ii. Ch. xxi. § 4.

⁵ Frg. x.

at their first encounter, on observing Mars arrayed as ally of his opponent. Hence the Greek proverb, "Two to one are too much even for Hercules."¹ In the sequel, when himself backed by Minerva, the hero engages the enemy with the same result as in the Shield. This account of the combat, as more creditable to Cynus, may have been preferred by Stesichorus in compliment to his Locrian clansmen of the Epicnemidian territory, Cynus being a hero of that district. The same version of the legend is sanctioned by Pindar², in a passage where he dwells in a highly complimentary tone on the merits of the Italian Locris, and which also appears to contain an allusion to the previous poem of Stesichorus. The Scylla³ recorded, it would appear, not the more celebrated encounter of Ulysses with the monster heroine whose name the poem bears, but a previous adventure of Hercules, by whom the same Scylla, amid the anomalies of the popular mythology, had been slain⁴, although alive and in full activity in the next generation. The adventures of Ulysses in the Straits appear to have been treated in the Nosti.⁵

The Athla Pelia⁶ was a description of the funeral games in honour of Pelias. Among the heroes who took part in them, Meleager and Amphiaraus seem to have been chiefly distinguished.⁶

The subject of the Syothera⁷ is less clearly ascertained. That it described a boar hunt the name itself indicates. But as Hercules and Meleager were

¹ οὐδὲ Ἡρακλεῖ πρὸς δύο. Aristid. vol. II. p. 102. (172.) Jebb, Schol. ad loc.; Archilochus ap. Aristid. loc. cit.; Plato, Phædo, p. 89. The above citation of Archilochus, if authentic, would imply this version of the legend to be older than the time of Stesichorus.

² Pind. Ol. XI. 15. Boeckh, Schol. ad loc.

³ Klein, p. 72.

⁴ Schol. ad Od. XII. 85. ⁵ Frg. xxxv. ⁶ Klein, p. 54. ⁷ Klein, p. 72.

both favourite heroes of Stesichorus, and as the single extant citation throws no light on the details of the text, it becomes the less easy to decide between the claims of the Erymanthian and those of the Calydonian adventure, the two most celebrated of their class. The plural form of the title might perhaps imply that both were comprehended, or that the poem may have treated generally of the more famous boar hunts of the heroic age.

Eriphyle.

The Eriphyle derived its name from the spouse of Amphiaraus, who, bribed by Polynices, betrayed her husband into a participation in the first Theban war, in which he was destined to perish. The poem appears, from the existing notices of its contents, to have comprised a large portion of the events of the war. Stesichorus seems to have been author of a not very judicious innovation on the old Thebaïc legend, to the effect that Capaneus, and other slain heroes of the siege, were restored to life by Esculapius.¹

Ilili-Persis.

17. The title of the Ilili-Persis, or Destruction of Troy, sufficiently explains the subject of the poem. Of its plan there exists, in addition to the preserved notices of the antients, a valuable elucidation in the extant piece of sculpture called the Iliac Table. This celebrated monument, already cited in treating of the Cyclic poems, represents in a series of reliefs the more important adventures of the Siege, according to various popular authorities. As a work of the Roman period, it has evidently been prepared with more immediate reference to Roman feelings and associations. Hence, in the portion of it devoted to the sack of the city, the version of that catastrophe given by Stesichorus has been preferred (as is also stated in the inscription annexed to the relief); being

¹ Klein, p. 74. sq.

that upon which were founded the flight and subsequent adventures of Æneas as related by Virgil. The existing fragments show the narrative to have also embraced, in the form either of introduction or of episode, a considerable portion of the previous history of Helen, which it seems to have been a special object of Stesichorus, in this poem, to represent in the most unfavourable light.

Venus, in revenge for a slight put on her by Tyndareus, in excluding her from the honours of a sacrifice offered to the rest of the deities, pronounced on him the curse, that he should be the father of incontinent and adulterous daughters.¹ Under the influence of this malediction, Helen at a very early age became the captive and mistress of Theseus, to whom she bore Iphigenia. The child was adopted by Clytemnestra, who passed it off as her own offspring by her husband Agamemnon.² When retaken by her brothers, the Dioscuri, and restored to her paternal mansion at Sparta, Helen was courted by the Greek chiefs; and a vow was exacted by Tyndareus from her suitors to defend the rights of the fortunate candidate.³ Her subsequent marriage to Menelaus, her elopement with Paris, and the ten years' war for her recovery, were related in substantially the same form as in the tradition of Homer.⁴

The main narrative of the poem, as figured on the relief, commenced with the Wooden Horse standing in the Trojan agora. The Greek heroes, to the number of one hundred⁵, are issuing by a ladder from the side of the colossal image, and dealing death and devastation around them. Priam and Hecuba take refuge at the altar of Jupiter Herceüs, where the old king is slain. Several of his sons lie prostrate by his side. Ajax Oileus, not far off, is seen dragging Cassandra from the steps of the temple of Pallas. In another direction Helen, flying for refuge to the sanctuary of Venus, is seized by the hair and detained by Menelaus. The Greeks are about to stone her, as the fitting punishment of her adulteries, but such is the magic influence of her beauty that, as they gaze on her, the weapons drop⁶ powerless from their hands. Hard by,

¹ Frg. LXXIV.

² Frg. XXI.

³ Frg. XX.

⁴ Frg. XX.

⁵ Frg. XXVI.

⁶ Frg. XXVII.

Æthra mother of Theseus, who had been captured and enslaved by the Dioscuri in the rescue of Helen from that prince, and had since acted as the waiting-maid of their sister, is recognised and led off by her two grandsons. Below, Æneas is seen issuing from the gate of the city into the open country, with Anchises on his back, who bears in his hands the Trojan penates. Mercury conducts Æneas by one hand; with the other Æneas leads Ascanius; Creusa follows behind. Numbers of fugitive Trojans, male and female, assemble round the tomb of Hector without the walls; among them are Hecuba, Andromache, Helenus, and Polyxena. Hecuba is preserved from captivity through the interposition of Apollo, by whom she had been beloved in her youth, and is transported by the god to his Lycian sanctuary.¹ Neoptolemus sacrifices Polyxena on the tomb of his father Achilles, in the presence of Calchas and Ulysses. Anchises, Æneas, and Ascanius, but now without Creusa, embark, attended by the pilot Misenus, for Hesperia.

Among other remarkable innovations on the old Homeric tradition observable in this poem, was that which described Hector, in the Iliad the favourite hero of Apollo, as the son of that deity, offspring of an illicit connexion between him and Hecuba.² Hence too Hecuba, instead of being led away captive by the Greeks, as in the Cyclic version, is here preserved by her divine paramour, and transported safe to his own sanctuary in Lycia. The legend which traced the incontinent habits of Helen and Clytemnestra to the wrath of Venus, seems to have been common to Hesiod, the fabulous father of Stesichorus.³

Palinodia.

18. In the Palinodia, or "Recantation," Stesichorus retracting, as the title implies, under the circumstances already noticed, the opprobrious statements promulgated against Helen in his former poem, gave an entirely different version of her life and adventures. Herodotus⁴ reports the following legend to have been current among the Egyptian priests in his time, and to have been communicated by them to him.

¹ Frg. xxviii.

² Schol. Eurip. Orest. 249.

³ Frg. xxix.

⁴ II. 113. sqq.

Helen, according to these authorities, instead of sailing to Troy with Paris, had, when that hero touched on their coast on his voyage from Sparta, been seized and detained by their king Proteus. In her place a phantom was delivered to Paris, and enacted during the whole period of the war the part of the real heroine, who was restored to Menelaus when he visited Egypt on his return from the siege. This far-fetched and insipid fable, though more worthy of an Egyptian than of a Hellenic imagination, could hardly have been of Egyptian invention. It originated probably in some section of the early epic school of poetry, was introduced into Egypt by Greek settlers, and readily adopted by the native priesthood, with other incongruous blendings of Greek and Egyptian fable tending to enlarge the credit of their own school of mythology. Upon this legend Stesichorus so far improved, as to deny that Helen had ever quitted Lacedæmon at all, or by consequence sinned against her nuptial vow, devolving, from the first, on the phantom alone the functions of both fugitive and adulteress.¹ This appears from the still extant exordium of the *Palinodia*, which in an abrupt and excited tone, at once announces the author's object in composing the poem, and offers a summary of its contents:

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὔτος·
οὐ γὰρ ἔβας ἐν νησὶν εὐσσήλμοις,
οὐδ' ἴκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.²

Untrue's the tale I told; for ne'er didst thou
The briny sea in swift-oared galley plough,
Or visit lofty Troy.

The words "Untrue's the tale" passed into a fa-

¹ Dio Chrys. vol. i. p. 323. Reisk.; conf. Plat., alios ap. Klein, p. 93. sq.

² Frg. XLIV.

miliar proverb, ennobled by the use of Plato, Cicero, and other distinguished classics.¹ A still more striking living test of the celebrity of the poem and of its author, is the adoption and inveterate use² of the term "recant," or "sing back again," in the sense of retract or unsay, in the vocabulary, not only of Greece, but of civilised Europe. This phrase, however familiar and expressive it may by long usage have become to our ears, has no intrinsic sense or point but in connexion with Stesichorus and his *Palinodia*. How the sequel of the real Helen's history was treated by him, if indeed he ventured to grapple with it at all; whether he left her concealed in her husband's palace at Sparta, or transported her at once to the isle of Leuka, to be reserved for her future marriage to Achilles, are points on which no light is shed either by the fragments or the quoters of the poem. The *Palinodia* is, there can be no doubt, the same work also cited occasionally as the "Encomium of Helen," sometimes simply as the "Helen" of Stesichorus.³ It appears to have comprised a description of the nuptials of the heroine and Menelaus in the form of an episode, introduced, it may be presumed, as a medium for the more effective celebration of the beauty and purity of the bride.⁴

Nosti. The *Nosti*, or "Return of the Greeks,"⁵ forming a sequel to the "Destruction of Ilium," narrated, in considerable detail, the destinies of the heroes, "whether they perished in the sea, were driven to wander on foreign shores, or reached their native land in safety." The "*Scylla*," if devoted to the

¹ Ap. Klein, p. 91. sqq.

² Auctt. ap. Klein, sup. cit. et p. 95. sqq.

³ Suid. v. Στησιχ.; Athen. iii. p. 81., x. p. 451.; conf. Klein, p. 21. sqq.

⁴ Frg. xlvī.

⁵ Klein, p. 81. sq.; frg. xxxiv. sqq.

adventure of Ulysses with the monster heroine whose name it bears, could have been little more than an episode of the *Nosti*. Hercules however, as has been seen, has prior claims to the honour of hero of the former poem.

The *Orestia* was divided into two books¹, and judging from the numerous quotations of its text, must have been a poem of some length, embracing various heads of episodical matter besides its own immediate subject. Here again Stesichorus prefers the more eccentric varieties of tradition. The royal residence of Agamemnon was placed at Lacedæmon, instead of Mycenæ.² The invention of alphabetic letters was ascribed to Palamedes³; whether that of the whole number, or merely of the additional four for which later grammarians gave that hero credit, is not distinctly stated.

19. The fables which supply the subjects of the *Calyce* and *Rhadina*, the two remaining poems on the list, are of a somewhat different character from those hitherto examined. The "*Calyce*"⁴ narrated the sorrows of a nymph of the same name, who, deeply enamoured of a youth called Euathlus⁵, prayed to Venus that she might obtain him as her husband; but failing in her efforts to propitiate the goddess, or to inspire the object of her affection with an honourable passion in return, she sacrificed herself to her love by a leap from the Leucadian cliff.

Rhadina, a virgin of the town of Samos on the coast of Elis, was beloved by a tyrant of Corinth, and

¹ Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 783.

² Schol. Eurip. *Orest.* 46.

³ Bekk. Anecd. Gr. loc. cit.

⁴ *Frg.* LIV.; Athen. xiv. p. 619.

⁵ Stesichorus seems here to have mixed up the legend of the rustic "*Lay of Calyce*" (*supra*, Ch. ii. § xix.) with Hesiod's tradition of a nymph of the same name, daughter of Hesiod and spouse of Aëthlius. Marcksch. *Fragm. Hesiod.* xii.; *conf.* Apollod. i. vii. 3. 5. Klein, p. 105.

delivered up¹ by her parents, or the native rulers, an unwilling victim to his passion. Her cousin and lover Leontychus pursued her to Corinth; and in an attempt to rescue her both were slain by the tyrant, who in a fit of remorse delivered up the bodies to their friends.² This adventure, of all those treated by Stesichorus, is the only one which can, with any probability, be considered as embodying a historical fact, or at least a tradition connected with the historical age of Greece. The Corinthian "tyrant" could hardly have been the celebrated Periander, the poet's contemporary, although the adventure would be in unison with the popular accounts of Periander's character. These two poems, the Calyce and the Rhadina, offer the first recorded examples of the treatment, in classical Greek poetry, of that species of romantic love story which afterwards acquired so great a popularity in the pages of Parthenius, Heliodorus, and other prose authors of the Roman and Byzantine periods.³

Pæans,
Apocryphal
poems,

By various modern commentators the collective works of Stesichorus have been supposed to comprise,

¹ Whether as bride or mistress is left doubtful. The Samians of Asia Minor also claimed Rhadina as their own, according to Pausanias vii. v. 6.

² Strabo, viii. p. 347. A free version has here been given of Strabo's account, which is somewhat ambiguous and confused; but the substance of it seems to be as embodied in the text. What the mission of Rhadina's brother to Delphi, mentioned by the geographer, had to do with the matter does not appear.

³ A poem on the subject of the celebrated Sicilian pastoral hero Daphnis, has also been ascribed to Stesichorus by modern critics, and has supplied material for elaborate commentaries to Welcker, O. Müller, and others. But the single vague passage of Ælian (V. H. x. xviii.), on which the existence of such a poem has been assumed, does not appear sufficient to bear out any such conclusion; although it seems probable that Stesichorus may have alluded to the fate of the fabulous Himærean shepherd boy in some of his works.

besides the epico-lyric poems for which he was chiefly celebrated, numerous other more properly lyric productions: hymns, pæans, erotica, elegies, scolia, bucolica, and metrical fables. That a popular lyric poet should have composed many such pieces seems in itself certainly probable. With the exception however of a convivial pæan¹, and of a hymn to Pallas², the notices of which last are, at the best, extremely doubtful, there is no authentic record of works belonging to any of those branches of composition having been ascribed to Stesichorus. The poem cited by the title "Encomium of Helen" has already been disposed of. The "Epithalamium of Helen"³ seems to have formed part either of the *Ilii-Persis* or the *Palinodia*, probably of the latter. The erotic poems⁴ were the *Calyce*, *Rhadina*, and others possibly in the same style, the names of which have perished. Of bucolic poems or elegies by Stesichorus there is no authentic notice.⁵ The pæan or pæans attributed to him, appear to have been of the kind usually appropriated to social festivities.⁶ The scolia somewhat vaguely ascribed to Stesichorus, like those quoted of various other illustrious lyric poets, were apparently nothing more than appropriate passages selected from the body of his works, and introduced as parts or members of the popular roundelays or catches, to

¹ Timæus ap. Athen. vi. p. 250.

² Frg. xcvi.

³ Schol. Theocr. Id. xviii. These various compositions, or rather titles, are comprehended under the common head of *ὑμνους εἰς Ἑλένην* by Conon, Narrat. 18. ap. Phot.

⁴ Klein, p. 100. sq.

⁵ The only allusion to *Bucolica* occurs in the passage of Ælian relative to *Daphnis*, already disposed of. Elegies are mentioned but in the letters of the Pseudo-Phalaris, and in terms which do not here warrant the assumption of any historical basis for his fictions. Klein, p. 114.; Welck. p. 214.

⁶ Athen. vi. p. 250.; Hesych. v. *Τριάς Σττησιχόρου*.

which attention has been directed in a former chapter.¹

Fables. Still less authority is there for the belief that Stesichorus composed metrical fables of the Æsopic order. The moral tales of this description above referred to, that of the Horse and Stag for example, quoted by Aristotle¹, are ascribed to the poet in his political, not his poetical capacity. Another similar piece of advice, embodied in a like figurative form, is that recorded on the same authority² as having been imparted by Stesichorus to the Locrians, where he warns them to beware, "lest the reckless impolicy of "their conduct should cause their crickets to sing on "the ground;" in other words, lest their country should be invaded, its vines and olive trees cut down, and the wood-crickets no longer perch on their branches. There is as little reason here as in the former case to suppose that the lesson was delivered in a metrical form. The fable of "The Man and the Eagle," diffusely narrated by Ælian³, is also stated by that author, in somewhat ambiguous terms, to have been cited by Crates the grammarian from a "rare work" of Stesichorus. Admitting the substance of this notice to be correct, the story could have formed but an epilogue or illustration, not the principal subject of the supposed work. It was to the following effect:

A party of reapers, reposing during the heat of the day, sent one of their number to draw water from a fountain. The man on approaching the spot saw an eagle entwined in the coils of a large serpent, and in the last gasp of strangulation. Hastening

¹ Conf. Welck. Stesich. p. 211.

² Rhet. II. XX. Tauchn.

³ Arist. Rhet. II. XXI. (XXII.) alibi. Similar is our own popular proverb of "making the squirrels walk," denoting a great fall of wood.

⁴ Hist. An. XVII. 37. and ap. Klein, p. 111. sq.

with pious zeal to the rescue of Jove's messenger, he cut the serpent in two with his sickle, and the bird recovered and escaped. Returning to his companions, the reaper, whose turn it was to act as cupbearer, mixed the water with a due proportion of the common stock of wine, and poured out to each man his share of the beverage. But as he was about to enjoy his own portion, the eagle, which had remained hovering around him, flew against the cup and dashed it to the ground. On the point of bitterly reproaching the bird for so unworthy a requital of his late good offices, the man happened to look towards his comrades, and saw those who had first drunk writhing in the agonies of death. The water had been poisoned by the venom of the snake. He now saw that to the gratitude of the eagle he was indebted, in his turn, for the preservation of his life.

20. The remains of Stesichorus comprise about fifty lines of various lengths and characters. His whole works are subdivided by the grammarians into twenty-six books.¹ As this number considerably exceeds that of his entire poems, which has been given above in so far as their names have been preserved, it may be presumed that in the antient enumeration the separate parts or books of poems were taken into account.

Gram-
matical
subdivision
of his works.

It was stated in a previous chapter² that, while Alcman enjoyed the credit of originating the antistrophic style of composition, to Stesichorus was assigned the honour of carrying its elementary principle to maturity, by the addition of the epode to the two simpler alternations of choral response, and of having thus laid the entire basis of the variety of forms which the antistrophic ode assumed in the hands of the Attic dramatists. Among the fragments of his works are none of sufficient continuity to afford any clear insight into the actual arrangement of his chorus; but from secondary sources it may be in-

Their re-
hearsal.

¹ Suid v. Στησίχ.

² Supra, p. 60.

ferred that there was much general correspondence between his odes and those of Pindar, in regard at least to the length and varied character of their strophes. And here the question arises, to what extent the continuous heroic narrative of the Stesichorean odes could, consistently with the dignity or propriety of their epic character, have admitted of a purely choral performance. The analogy of those of Pindar, which often comprise a large amount of historical matter, scarcely applies here. The epic is with that poet still altogether subordinate to the lyric element, and each ode in its integrity is essentially adapted to the forms of lyric ceremonial. But it is less easy to imagine a similar adaptation in the case of the *Ilii-Persis* or the *Nosti* of Stesichorus. Perhaps therefore the more probable view, and which seems also to receive support from antient authority, may be, that the compositions of Stesichorus, those at least in which the epic character chiefly predominates, were destined for recital in a more continuous form, and with a less varied style of musical accompaniment, somewhat in the manner of the rhapsodical rehearsals of Homer, Hesiod, and other poets of the regular epic school.¹

Metres. The metres of Stesichorus, as exemplified in his remains, are all reducible to certain lofty and sonorous combinations of dactylic or trochaic rhythm, comprehending, besides the primary forms of each of those measures, the choriambic, anapæstic, and Dorian epitrite.² The monotony of effect, which might otherwise have been expected to result from a repetition of these more grave and solemn metrical cadences in a text of prolonged epic continuity, was relieved by the

¹ *Chamæel. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 620. ; conf. Welck. Stesich. p. 166.*

² *Klein, Fragm. p. 41. sqq. ; Welck. Stesich. p. 171. sqq.*

variety of new and agreeable turns which he imparted to them. Hence the number of such combinations which, besides their more technical definition, bear the distinctive surname of Stesichorean, and most of which have been used by Pindar. The peculiar harmony and suavity of the versification of Stesichorus, combined with his lucid perspicuity of style, beauties so much dwelt on by the antient critics above quoted, were figured by the elegant fable, that when an infant, shortly after his birth, a nightingale was found perched on his lips, warbling her sweetest notes.¹ The authority of the commentators is here amply confirmed by the poet's remains. The following passage, embodying his own fantastical allegory and that of the lyric schools of his day, relative to the sun's evening course in the heaven, will serve for more effectual illustration, owing to the beauty of the work being so little dependant on that of the material:

Ἀέλιος δ' Ὑπεριονίδας δέπας ἐσκατέβαινε
 χρύσειον, ὅφρα δι' ὠκεανοῖο περάσας,
 ἀφίκοιθ' ἱερᾶς ποτὶ βένηα νυκτὸς ἐρεμνᾶς·
 ποτὶ ματέρα, κουριδίαν τ' ἄλοχον,
 παῖδάς τε φίλους· ὃ δ' ἐς ἄλσος ἔβα
 δάφναισι κατὰσκιον
 ποσσὶ πᾶϊς Διός.

Hyperion now his golden car² ascends,
 And o'er the trackless wave of ocean bends
 His radiant course, to where night's sacred shades
 Heaven's light absorb; there, in his laurel glades,
 His mother, his fond spouse, and children dear,
 His daily toil with their sweet converse cheer.

¹ Christodorus in Anthol. Pal. vol. i. p. 31. ed. Tauchnitz; conf. Plin. H. N. x. xxix. (xliii)

² The author, for the sake of his own verse, has taken the liberty of substituting *car* for *cup*.

It is not easy to imagine anything in language more perfectly harmonious, as to structure, measure, and sound, than these seven lines. The remark may be extended to almost every other passage in the
 Dialect. collection. The dialect of Stesichorus is usually defined as Doric¹, but approaches, as befitted the general character of his muse, more nearly to the old epic idiom than that of any other melic poet of this period. It might perhaps be more accurately characterised as Homeric, seasoned with Doric or Æolic forms; a combination representing both the character of the poet's own muse, and the mixed origin of the Himeræan colony.² Plutarch³ describes Stesichorus as exhibiting in the musical arrangement of his odes a preference for the nomes of Olympus, especially the harmatian and orthian nomes of that master; a style of music which has above been shown to be equally adapted to the more dignified and to the more impassioned orders of lyric performance. The poet himself is stated, on the same authority⁴, to have been the author of several improvements in the musical art, probably in its adaptation to his own peculiar style of lyric composition.

SACADAS. XENOCRITUS. EUNOMUS. 586 B.C.

Other
epico-lyric
poets.

21. Attention has already been called, in connexion with the life and works of Stesichorus, to one earlier

¹ Suid. et Eudocia, v. Στησίχ. That is, the poetical Doric of the Spartan school. There is no trace of the Siculo-Doric; which was not matured, as a cultivated dialect, out of the provincial idiom of the island, till a later period.

² Thucyd. vi. 5.

³ De Mus. vii.

⁴ Plut. de M. xii.

cultivator of the same field of poetical pursuit. Some additional notices are here subjoined of two other less celebrated lyric poets, whose compositions partook of the Stesichorean character, Sacadas of Argos and Xenocritus of Locris.¹ Both appear, from the not very distinct notices of their age, to have been younger contemporaries of Stesichorus.² Both are more celebrated as musicians than as poets, in which former capacity they have already been brought under notice.³

Sacadas composed a poem on the same subject, in the same epico-melic style, and under the same title, as the Ilii-Persis of Stesichorus.⁴ The most honourable testimony to the value of the poetry of Sacadas, is its reported selection by the Messenians, for performance in the musical festivities held in honour of the reestablishment of their national independance by Epaminondas.⁵ It may hence also be inferred, that the subjects of some of his works were connected with Messenian history.

Sacadas of Argos.

Of the blind-born⁶ Locrian poet and musician Xenocritus, it is recorded⁷, that "he composed songs on heroic arguments embodying an action." The coincidence implied in this definition between his style and that of Stesichorus, seems to bear some historical relation to the fact, that Xenocritus was a native of the Italian Locris, and founder or chief of a school of music which derived its name from that district. As all the traditions regarding Stesichorus point to the same Locris as the source whence that poet

Xenocritus of Locris.

¹ Plut. de M. viii. ix. x.

² Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 201. 229.; conf. Plut. locc. cit.

³ Supra, p. 44. sq.

⁴ Athen. xiii. p. 610 c.

⁵ Pausan. iv. xxvii. 4.; conf. supra, p. 46.

⁶ Heraclid. Politic. ed. Schneidew. xxx.

⁷ Plut. de Mus. x.

also derived his origin, with the peculiar bent of his poetical genius, it may the more naturally be inferred that the common epico-lyric style of the two authors had its first beginnings in Italy. Beyond the fact of their being to some extent contemporary, no distinct notice has been preserved of their relative ages; nor consequently, how far they may have stood towards each other in the relation of disciple or master. There could, however, have been but little analogy between them in respect to the moral tendency of their works; the Locrian school proper, both of music and poetry, being remarkable for its meretricious character¹, while that of Stesichorus was distinguished by attributes of an entirely opposite description. It is to be regretted, in reference to the historical question here involved, that no record has been transmitted of the birthplace of Xanthus, the acknowledged predecessor of both authors. But the argument in favour of Locris, as remote ancestress of this branch of art, receives further support from Lucian's introduction of Eunomus, another apparently still earlier Locrian poet, as leader of a chorus comprising also Arion, Anacreon, and Stesichorus, in the "lyric performance of epic compositions."² As this Eunomus could have had no claim to any such precedence on the ground of merit, the honour thus awarded to him can only be due to his priority of age. He seems however, like Sacadas and Xenocritus, to have been more celebrated as a musician than as a poet in the same Locrian school. The following pleasing fable is related of him:³

Eunomus
and his
cricket.

¹ See *supra*, p. 45.

² *Ver. Hist.* II. 15.

³ *Timæus ap. Strab.* vi. p. 260.; *Lucian. loc. cit.*; *Conon, Narr.* 5., *ap. Phot. Cod.* 186.; *Ælian. Hist. An.* v. ix.

“ The boundary between the Locrian and Rhegian territories was a deep ravine, remarkable for the peculiarity that the wood-cricket of the Rhegian bank were dumb, while those on the Locrian side were gifted with even more than their usual vocal powers.¹ While Eunomus and a neighbouring Rhegian artist, named Ariston, were preparing for a competition in the citharædic performance of the Pythian festival, a conversation took place between them as to their respective prospects of success. Ariston affected to talk proudly, as member of a family devoted to the worship of Apollo. The Locrian retorted: ‘ It were strange should the prize be awarded to a native of a district where even the crickets, so proverbial for the sweetness of their music, are silent.’ During the ensuing contest a string of the lyre of Eunomus gave way, and he despaired of success ; but a cricket, bearing in grateful remembrance his late compliment to her race, took up her post on the stump of the broken chord, and so effectually performed its functions with her voice that the victory was declared in his favour.”

¹ The wood-cricket is, throughout the poetical literature of Greece and Italy, from Homer and Hesiod downwards, celebrated for the sweetness of its note ; and its song is hence, conjointly with that of the nightingale, the favourite symbol of music and lyric poetry. Foreigners however, on first visiting the South of Europe, usually find the monotonous chirp or hiss of this animal, which fills the air during the great heat of the summer months, extremely unpleasant. The opposite feeling on the part of the natives is evidently the result of no different estimate of the actual harmony of the same chirp or hiss, but of an association of the sound with the fine season during which it prevails, and with the blooming vines, olives, and other rich fruit trees, on the branches of which the animal chiefly perches. The author, from an experience of many years’ residence in Italy, can vouch in his own case for the full influence of this association.

CHAP. V.

ALCÆUS. SAPPHO. DAMOPHYLA. ERINNA.

1. ALCÆUS. HIS LIFE AND TIMES.—2. HIS CHARACTER, POLITICAL AND PERSONAL.—3. HIS WORKS: STASIOtica, EROTICA, CONVIVIAL SONGS, HYMNS.—4. METRES INVENTED OR CULTIVATED BY HIM.—5. SAPPHO.—6. HER BIRTHPLACE, AGE, FAMILY, AND SOCIAL RELATIONS.—7. HER LOVE FOR PHAON. HER LEUCADIAN LEAP.—8. ORIGIN OF THE RITE.—9. EVIDENCE FOR AND AGAINST HER PERFORMANCE OF IT.—10. HER PERSONAL APPEARANCE. MORAL HABITS.—11. FALLACY OF THE LATE POPULAR ESTIMATE OF HER CHARACTER.—12. HOW FAR REPRESENTED BY THE ANTIENTS AS A COURTESAN.—13. HOW REPRESENTED IN THE COMIC DRAMA OF ATHENS.—14. APOLOGY FOR HER CHARACTER DERIVED FROM THE FREEDOM OF ÆOLIAN MANNERS.—15. HER CHARACTER AS PORTRAYED BY HERSELF IN HER ODE TO VENUS.—16. IN HER OTHER POEMS.—17. HER RELATIONS TO HER FEMALE ASSOCIATES.—18. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF HER GENIUS AND WORKS. HER METRES.—19. BRANCHES OF COMPOSITION CULTIVATED BY HER.—20. DAMOPHYLA. ERINNA.

ALCÆUS.¹ 611 B. C.

Alcæus, his
life and
times.

1. THAT intimate connexion with the realities of contemporary life, which forms so prominent a characteristic of Greek lyric poetry, acquires a peculiar value in the case of authors actively engaged in public affairs. The works of such poets often supply, in the earlier imperfect stages of prose history, the best and most authentic records of contemporary events. This peculiarity of the Lyric Muse has already been largely illustrated in the cases not only of Tyrtæus and Callinus, whose poetry is solely or chiefly of a political tendency, but in those of Ar-

¹ Matthiæ, *Alcæi Reliquiæ*; Gaisf. *Poett. minn.* ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 317.; Schneidewin, *Delectus Poesis Gr.* § III. p. 262.; Bergk, *Poett. lyr. Gr.* p. 569.; conf. Welcker, *Alcæus*, in *Kl. Schrift.* vol. I. p. 126. The remains are here cited according to the number and arrangement of Matthiæ, unless where another collection is specified in the reference.

chilochus and others, whose materials are derived from sources of private and personal rather than public interest. The subject of the present memoir, if not so exclusively a political poet as Tyrtaeus, was a no less zealous politician, from necessity as well as from choice. In no other case accordingly, with the exception perhaps of that of the Spartan bard, is the history both of the poet and the man more inseparably interwoven with that of the times in which he lived.¹

Alcæus of Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, was a member of one of the principal families of that republic. His lifetime coincided with a period during which his native country, while frequently engaged in foreign wars, was agitated also by a constant strife of internal factions, in which his rank as a citizen, with his ambitious spirit and vehement temper, led him to bear a prominent part.

The contending interests in the state of Mitylene, at this period, appear to have been ranged under two comprehensive parties or factions. The one may be called the constitutional party, consisting of the middle class of citizens and the better-disposed portion of the nobles, each of which bodies was content to assert its own just privileges in conjunction with the general liberties of the republic. The opposing faction comprised the chiefs of certain powerful families, who, aided by the lower more servile order of democracy, endeavoured, as an oligarchal body, to engross the supreme authority; and each of whom seems also to have been ready, when opportunity offered, to usurp the whole of that authority

¹ This feature of his muse is pointedly noticed by the antients. Horat. Carm. II. xiii. 26.; conf. Matth. Fragm. p. 2.

to himself, as sole despot or tyrant, at the expense of his fellow-oligarchs. The family of Alcæus, itself belonging to the higher order of aristocracy, appears to have sided sometimes with the one sometimes with the other party, as happened to suit the object of its leaders. Hence the poet and his brothers, while not averse to oligarchal government, when themselves allowed a due share of its power and privileges, were easily converted into enthusiastic patriots and supporters of the constitution, when any breach of established constitutional forms took place for the sole benefit of others or to their own detriment.

The active life of Alcæus may be dated from the XLII Olympiad, 611 B. C.¹ In that year the poet's brothers, Cicis and Antimenidas, are mentioned as leading associates of Pittacus in his successful conspiracy against the usurpation of the tyrant Melanchrus, whom they deposed and slew.² Not long afterwards, during the war between the Athenians and Mitylenæans for the possession of the town of Sigeum, the military character of Alcæus was sullied, in an unsuccessful action, by the loss of his buckler, cast from him in the hurry of his flight. This trophy, whether from his celebrity as a poet or his prowess as a warrior, the Athenians thought sufficiently important to be suspended as a votive offering in the Sigean temple of their patron goddess.³ It may perhaps seem doubtful, in the face of so untoward an occurrence, whether Alcæus really was as valiant a soldier as his martial songs and impetuous spirit

¹ Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. pp. 216. 219. 225.

² *Diog. Laert.* i. iv. 74. ; *Suid.* vv. Πιττακός et Κίκισ ; Clint. locc. cit.

³ *Herodot.* v. xcv. ; *Strab.* XIII. p. 600. ; *Matth.* ad frg. ix.

would imply. The antients¹ however, in spite of this single blemish on his scutcheon, are unanimous in admitting and celebrating his military prowess; and the same apology for the self-imputed delinquency may be advanced in his case as in the parallel case of Archilochus. Like his distinguished predecessor, Alcæus was not ashamed to allude to his mishap in one of his odes, addressed in the form of a poetical letter from the field of battle to a friend.²

Alcæus afterwards appears as an adherent of the constitutional party, in the resistance offered by them to the attempts made by a new series of turbulent demagogues, successfully it would seem in several instances, to reestablish despotic power. The most formidable of these leaders was Myrsilus³, whose death, from what precise cause has not been recorded, the poet celebrates in a tone of triumphant exultation in a still extant passage of his works.⁴ In the sequel of the same political vicissitudes, Alcæus and his brothers appear, in their turn, as usurpers or disturbers of the liberties of the republic.⁵ They were expelled in consequence by their old ally Pittacus, the only staunch and disinterested patriot, it would seem, among these political chiefs, and who was supported by the mass of the better-disposed citizens. In the sequel, as the most effectual stop to this disastrous series of civil broils, the same Pittacus was elected by the unanimous voice of the "people," as Alcæus himself admits⁶, to the dignity entitled

¹ Horat. Carm. i. xxxii. 6.; Athen. xiv. p. 627., xv. p. 687.; Anthol. Pal. ix. 184.; Cic. Tusc. Disp. iv. 33.

² Frg. ix.

³ Frg. ii.; Heraclid. Pont. ad loc.

⁴ Frg. iv.; Athen. x. p. 430.

⁵ Strab. xiii. p. 617.

⁶ Frg. v.

among the Æolians Æsymnetës, or constitutional chief with dictatorial powers for the preservation of the laws and liberties of the state.¹ This measure is described by classical authorities as chiefly directed against the machinations of Alcæus² and the other exiled malcontents.

The poet's muse, following the bent of his passions, was speedily directed against Pittacus, with an animosity as fervid as the zeal with which the cause of that patriot had formerly been lauded and supported. He now denounces his fellow-countrymen in the mass as a servile mob, and their leader as the author and instrument of the same tyranny which he affected to abhor in others; as a traitor, in comparison with whom even the base Melanchrus³ deserved well of the republic; and as a wretch every way contemptible, from an accumulation of defects, bodily and mental. These imputed failings are described in terms of vituperation expressly invented for the purpose, such as Archilochus himself might not have been ashamed to employ in one of his most withering iambic sallies. The best epithets which Alcæus has now to bestow on a fellow-citizen so celebrated in every age and in every impartial quarter, as one of the ablest and most virtuous of Greek patriots and philosophers, are those of "base-born, bloated, paunchbelly;" "splay-footed sloven," "swaggerer," and "night-reveller."⁴ This is the worst feature in the character or history

¹ Strab. loc. cit.; Aristot. Polit. III. ix. (x.); Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. v. 73.; Diog. Laert. I. iv.

² Aristot. et Dion. Hal. locc. citt.

³ Frg. VII.; conf. Welck. Alc. p. 130.

⁴ κακοπατρίδα; φύσκωνα, γάστρων; σάραποδα, σάραπον; ἀγδυστρον; χειροπόδην; γαυρίκα; ξοφοδορκίδαν. Aristot. Pol. III. ix. p. 101. Tauchn.; Diog. Laert. I. iv. 81.; conf. frg. v. vi.

of Alcæus; the moderation of Pittacus and the purity of his motives being admitted and eulogised by every impartial authority. The fact indeed, of his having voluntarily resigned his dictatorship on the expiry of the ten years for which it had been delegated¹, is sufficient evidence that he was influenced by motives of patriotism rather than of personal ambition to its acceptance.

But the hostility of Alcæus was not confined to words. In an armed attempt to reestablish their influence, his party was defeated and himself made prisoner; when his generous adversary, mindful rather of the honour due to his genius as a poet than of the punishment merited by his offence as a citizen, restored him to liberty.² His ultimate fate is unknown. By some authorities he is supposed to have been permanently reconciled to Pittacus, and to have passed the remainder of his life in tranquillity at Mitylene, under the mild sway of that patriotic ruler; by others, to have ended his days a discontented wanderer in foreign lands. In the course of his peregrinations, and of the maritime disasters with which Horace³ describes them as having been attended, he visited Egypt⁴; and, about the same time, his brother Antimenidas, his steady companion it would seem in good or bad fortune, entered into the service of the Babylonian emperor, where he distinguished himself by his valour. Alcæus alludes, in a still extant passage⁵, to the victory achieved by this brother over a notable chieftain of the enemy in a battle, probably

¹ Strab. xiii. p. 617.; Diog. Laert. i. iv. 75.

² Diog. Laert. i. iv. 76.; Valer. Max. iv. i., Ext. 6.; Diodori Excerpt. i. vii.

³ Carm. ii. xiii.

⁴ Strab. i. p. 37.

⁵ Conf. Strab. xiii. p. 617.

that fought at Carchemish between Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh Necho. The rival champion appears to have been a sort of Assyrian Goliath, though somewhat inferior in stature to the Philistine giant, being described by the poet as "but a span short of five cubits in height."¹

His character, political and personal.

2. The above review of the public life and conduct of Alcæus, compiled from the most impartial authorities and confirmed by his own remains, places his character, both as a man and a citizen, in a light which is far from justifying the encomia bestowed by various critics, antient and modern, on his fervent patriotism and love of liberty. From the same more authentic sources it appears, that the ardour of his temperament was as broadly manifested in the pleasures as in the business of life. He describes himself as resorting for consolation in disappointment, to the same sensual enjoyments with which he so exultingly celebrates the prosperous turns of his destiny. "Wine" he pronounces "the most efficacious medicine for all diseases, the sweetener of the joys of life, the remedy for all its evils, the drowner of its cares²; the mirror of human character³; the best resource against the heat of summer⁴, or the cold of winter⁵; the best welcome to reviving spring."⁶ Nor was the proverbial combination of zeal for the worship of Bacchus, with an equal devotion to the rites of

¹ παλατῶν ἀπολείποντα μόνον μίαν πάχυν ἀπὸ πέμπων, according to K. O. Müller's ingenious restoration of the corrupted text. Schneidewin, frg. 26.; conf. Matth. frg. viii.

² Frg. xxxi.

³ Frg. xxxvi. xxxvii.

⁴ Frg. xxviii. A.

⁵ Frg. xxvii.

⁶ Frg. xxviii. B. κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ περιστάσιν πίνων. Athen. x. p. 430., who has carefully collected and ingeniously commented the numerous passages illustrative of this point in the poet's character; conf. frg. xvii. sqq.

Venus, belied in his case. He describes Love as the most terrible of gods¹; his own submission to whose authority seems also to have been largely displayed in the forms most repulsive to modern taste or morality. Special mention occurs of his passion for a youth named Lycus², whom he appears to have celebrated in a very offensive strain of encomium³; and, even in his flight, his exile, and greatest political emergencies, he is said never to have separated himself from this favourite object of sensual attachment.⁴ Yet, although the licentiousness of his amorous muse has been generally stigmatised by judicious critics, none of the specimens preserved are open to very grave censure on this account; and those allusive to the tender relations between him and Sappho, whose charms were among his favourite subjects of celebration⁵, are as remarkable for delicacy as for elegance of expression. In one of the remaining texts⁶, he accosts her as the "dark-haired, spotless, sweetly smiling Sappho." In another⁷ he makes advances of a less Platonic tendency, which, in her reply, also still extant, whether from modesty, prudery, or personal disinclination, she mildly repels. Judging indeed, as well from the recorded verdict of the antients as from the remains of his works, the poetry of Alcæus was less open to criticism than his personal character. He appears to have been considered, and with justice, among the most brilliant or even faultless authors of his class, and his works obtained a place

¹ Frg. xxiv.² Frg. 48. Schneidew.³ Cic. de Nat. D. i. xxviii. "Nævus in articulo pueri delectat Alcæum."⁴ Horat. Carm. i. xxxii. 7. sqq.⁵ Hermesianax ap. Athen. xiii. p. 598.⁶ Frg. xlii.⁷ Frg. xli. ; Aristot. Rhet. i. ix.

among the standard representatives of that mixture of native simplicity and dignity of expression so much admired by the great critics of antiquity.¹ His muse, although, as regards its mechanical element, strictly confined within the limits of the *Æolo-melic* school, offers a considerable resemblance to that of Archilochus in the freedom with which it ranges over an extensive variety of subjects, from the heroic ode or the scurrilous pasquinade to the tender love sonnet or the joyous drinking-song. Any closer parallel however between the characters of the two poets, must be restricted solely to their common defects of malignity, scurrility, and profligacy. Alcæus can advance little or no pretension to the higher ethic attributes of the Parian satirist, to his profound though gloomy spirit of philosophy, or his elevated though morbid tone of religious enthusiasm. Both were the slaves of impulse; but the impulse of Archilochus, though often degrading him below himself, to disgraceful excesses of malignity, transported him at times as far beyond himself, to the opposite extreme of the noble and sublime. Even in the higher efforts of Alcæus, self in its undisguised nakedness seems always predominant, animating those of his compositions devoted to objects of public importance equally with those elicited by his own petty interests and enjoyments. His political effusions appear neither to have contemplated nor produced any benefit, social or civil, to his native community. That their tendency was rather in an opposite direction may be assumed, as

¹ Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. xxiv.; conf. Judic. de vett. Script. p. 421. ed. Reisk. In the latter text this commentator speaks in terms of boundless eulogy of his style, as combining dignity, conciseness, suavity, power, perspicuity, and elegance.

well from the above details of his political career, as from the distinctive titles of *Dichostasiastica* and *Stasiotica*, "factious, or seditious poems," bestowed by the antients on this chapter of his collective works. His love of strife and power was also accompanied by love of money, if several fragments of his compositions may be trusted, where wealth is described, in terms apparently representing the author's own doctrine, as an indispensable ingredient of merit in human character; poverty as equally incompatible with its dignity or respectability.¹

3. Besides the *Stasiotica* already mentioned, under which head his more popular compositions of the martial or satirical orders appear to have been included, the collective works of Alcæus comprised hymns, love sonnets (*Erotica*), and *Symposiaca*, or convivial songs. The collection was divided by later grammarians into books², on what precise principle does not appear; nor has the precise number of such divisions been specified; but ten books are incidentally cited. The most esteemed part of the collection were the *Stasiotica*; as well, it may be presumed, from the greater importance of their subject, as from their affording a more effective medium for those vivid displays of individual passion and feeling which form the zest of all genuine lyric poetry. Quintilian³ speaks of them in high terms of commendation, passing over the remainder of the collection with comparative indifference; and censures the author for having bestowed so great a portion of his time and talents, destined by nature for nobler themes, on love ditties and other inferior subjects. To

His works.
Stasiotica.

¹ Frg. L. LXV.

² Welck. Alcæus, p. 134. sq.

³ x. i. 63.

the political class, accordingly, belong the greater portion of the fragments transmitted to our own age in the citations of the classics. The longest and most spirited are, his description of the brilliant appearance of his palace, resplendent with arms and military equipages¹, on the eve it would seem of some great outbreak of hostile factions; and the remnant of the ode, in which he describes the distracted state of the republic under the figure of a ship tossed in a stormy sea.² The former passage is subjoined as a specimen of his style.

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος χαλκῷ, πᾶσα δ' Ἄρη κεκό-
σμηται στέγα·
λαμπραῖσιν κυνίαισι, καττᾶν λευκοὶ καθύπερθεν ἵπ-
πιοι λόφοι
νεύουσιν, κεφαλαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάλματα· χάλκισαι
δὲ πασσάλοις
κρύπτουσιν περικείμεναι λαμπραὶ κνάμιδες, ἄρκος ἱ-
σχυρῷ βέλευς·
θώρακές τε νέω λίνω, κώϊλαί τε κατ' ἄσπιδες
βεβλημέναι.
πὰρ δὲ Χαλκιδικαὶ σπάθαι, πὰρ δὲ ζώματα πολλὰ καὶ
κυπάττιδες.
τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λαθέσθ' ἐπειδὴ πρῶτιστ' ὑπὸ ἔργον ἔ-
σταμεν τόδε.

From floor to roof the spacious palace halls
Glitter with war's array;
With burnished metal clad, the lofty walls
Beam like the bright noon-day.
There white-plumed helmets hang from many a nail,
Above, in threatening row;
Steel-garnished tunics, and broad coats of mail,
Spread o'er the space below.

¹ Frg. I. Athenæus, xiv. p. 627.

² Fragg. II. III.

Chalcidian blades enow, and belts are here,
 Greaves and emblazoned shields;
 Well tried protectors from the hostile spear,
 On other battle fields.
 With these good helps our work of war's begun,
 With these our victory must be won.

Of the fire and spirit of his martial poetry this passage, with others in the collection, can leave no room for doubt, whatever may have been the case with the author's own military conduct. Some of the laconic apophthegms in which he inculcates military duty are also singularly terse and pointed. In one passage¹, paraphrased by Æschylus, he tells us that "the device of a warrior's shield inflicts no wound;" and in another², also imitated by Æschylus, and cited or celebrated by various distinguished classics from Plato downwards, he pronounces "the best rampart of a city to be the valour of its men."

That his amatory compositions, however morally defective, possessed great poetical excellence, may be inferred, as well from their remains, as from the extent to which they were admired and imitated by poets of high credit, but less fastidious judgement than Quintilian. His convivial songs were equally esteemed; and most deservedly so, as is evinced by many fine passages in the extant collection, distinguished by a tone of licentious indeed, but manly and martial joviality, strongly contrasted with the strains in which Anacreon and Mimnermus celebrate their luxurious and effeminate debaucheries. Several of these convivial passages are also among those where the fervid impetuosity of the author's political feelings and passions breaks forth in the most brilliant and

Erotica.

Convivial songs.

¹ Frg. XIII.; Matth. ad loc.

² Frgg. XI. XII.; conf. Matth. ad loc.; Thucyd. VII. LXXVII. in fine.

striking manner. His poems of this class also comprised a number of those lively epigrammatic sallies called *Scolia*, or convivial catches.¹

Hymns. The hymns, or religious compositions of Alcæus², far from aspiring to the higher dignity of sacred poetry, were composed, if we may judge from their remains, much in the same spirit of elegant levity or license as his popular odes. In his mythological lore he shows but little respect for the old orthodox Hellenic standards, freely availing himself of his privilege of lyric poet to strike out for himself novel varieties of fable, marked by a subtle but elegant ingenuity of allegorical conceit. One of his hymns to Apollo, the substance of which has been transmitted by Himerius in a prose epitome, was conceived in a spirit as alien to the fable of Homer, as congenial with that of the Phœbus-smitten Aristæas and his Arimaspea. The deity was described as "presented

¹ Aristoph. ap. Athen. xv. p. 693. sq.; conf. Matth. ad frg. xxvi., Aristoph. Vesp. 1227., Schol. ad loc.; conf. frg. xiv. In the opening line of one of his convivial odes,

πίνωμεν· τί τὰ λύχ' ἀμμένομεν; δάκτυλος ἡμέρα,

the words *δάκτυλος ἡμέρα* have baffled the ingenuity of commentators both antient and modern. Not one of them has suggested any rational interpretation of the phrase. The subjoined, which has been communicated to the author by his accomplished friend Mr. W. R. Hamilton, is certainly the most ingenious that has yet been proposed, and supplies in all probability the true meaning of the poet. The whole verse may be translated as follows :

"Let us drink on! why wait for flambeaux? the finger will serve for daylight."

The allusion is to the custom of persons carousing in the dark ascertaining the quantity of wine poured out to them by placing a finger on the brim of the cup. In the present case the poet represents the party, of which he was a member, as overtaken in their revels by darkness. Some one proposes that they should suspend or relax their festivity until lights were brought. Against this proposal Alcæus remonstrates in the terms above quoted.

² Matth. p. 23. sqq.

"at his birth with a lyre by his father Jupiter, as
 "crowned with a golden diadem, and sent in a chariot
 "drawn by a pair of swans to Delphi, to be installed
 "as interpreter of the divine will to mankind. The
 "youthful god, however, turns his winged steeds
 "first towards the land of the Hyperboreans, where
 "he sojourns a year. His Delphic worshippers, dis-
 "tressed by this delay, institute choral solemnities
 "around the tripod to propitiate his advent, which
 "at length takes place at midsummer, amid the
 "song of nightingales and the jubilee of all sur-
 "rounding nature."¹ In a hymn to Cupid², that
 deity, in the same spirit of elegant but fantastic me-
 taphor, is transformed from the first-born of Chaos
 into a son of Iris and Zephyr. In his hymn to Mer-
 cury on the other hand³, Alcæus adheres to the old
 Homeric fable of the god's nativity, the lively humour
 of which supplied a theme more congenial to his taste.

4. In the form of his composition, Alcæus seems
 to have been contented with his own proper Æolo-
 melic orders of lyric arrangement. Of the more
 lofty and elaborate choral ode cultivated about this
 period in the Dorian schools, no trace is perceptible,
 either in his remains or in the notices of the antients.
 There is, however, no poet of the purely melic order
 who possesses in a higher degree than Alcæus, the
 art of imparting emphatic power to the native suavity
 and simplicity of the Æolian metrical elements.
 This is especially the case with the measure named,
 whether from his invention or favourite use of it,
 Alcaïc, in which the otherwise languid flow of the
 logaædic catalexis is finely sustained by the blending

Metres in-
 vented or
 cultivated
 by Alcæus.

¹ Himer. Or. xiv. x.; frg. xvii. sqq.

² Frg. xxiv.

³ Paus. vii. xx. 2.

of iambic¹ and dactylic elements in the previous lines. A still greater force and vivacity appear in some of his choriambic systems, especially in the one employed in the description of his armoury. These measures, accordingly, are, as a general rule, preferred by him in compositions of a more serious character. In some of his lighter pieces, such as his hymn to Mercury², he avails himself of the Sapphic strophe, so called from the partiality shown for it by his distinguished countrywoman. Some grammarians³ ascribe to Alcæus the credit of its "invention," a merit to which, in so far as any such notice can be taken by the letter, his partial priority of age might seem to entitle him. In this, the softest and most melodious of Greek lyric measures, the gentler trochee is substituted, both at the commencement and the close of the verse, for the more manly iambic forms of the Alcaïc. In those compositions where a continuous series of the same verses is preferred to his customary forms of strophic arrangement, Alcæus chiefly avails himself of dactylic⁴ and choriambic⁵ metres, often in prolonged and rapid succession where the subject is of a livelier and more festive or excited character. In strains of a terser more energetic tone, he tempers this volubility, as in his strophes, by a greater admixture of iambic feet.⁶ In more tender or plaintive subjects he also uses the Ionic in similarly prolonged succession, and with

¹ Conf. Hor. Epist. i. xix. 28. "Temperat Archilochi musam pede."

² Frgg. xxii. xxxiii.

³ Marius Victor, iv. p. 2610. ; conf. Hephæst. Gaisf. p. 79.

⁴ Frg. xiv.

⁵ Frgg. v. xxviii. A, xxx. sqq., liii. ; conf. xl., where a trochaïc succession is preferred for the Comus.

⁶ Frg. i.

powerful effect.¹ Of the elegy or iambic trimeter there is no example in his remains. Traces, however, occur of the Archilochian epode in passages of a satirical or misanthropic tendency.

The high rank enjoyed by Alcæus in the national estimation, is evinced by the selection of his works as materials for the editorial labours and special commentaries of the great Alexandrian masters, Aristophanes and Aristarchus²; an honour restricted by them to but a few standard monuments of native genius. His poems were also a favourite subject of commentary with numerous other little less distinguished grammarians. Another strong proof of the estimation in which he was held, is the extent to which he has been imitated and paraphrased by other celebrated lyric poets, especially by the one who combined in the highest degree the qualifications of poet with those of critic. How largely Horace was indebted to Alcæus is notorious, as well from his own admission, as from the number of passages of his works which can be identified as translations or paraphrases from his Lesbian predecessor. Among the more prominent instances may be quoted the Latin poet's Ode on Winter³, and that where the Roman state, during the agitated times in which he lived, is compared to a vessel in a stormy sea.⁴ Similar, or still closer, appears to have been the relation between the respective hymns to Mercury of the two poets.⁵ The ode where the fiery republican of Lesbos

¹ Frg. LXIX.

² Hephæst. ed. Gaisf. p. 134.; Villos. Proleg. ad Hom. p. LIX.; conf. Matth. Præf. ad Fragm. p. 5.

³ Carm. I. ix.; Epod. xiii.; conf. frg. xxvii.

⁴ Carm. I. xiv.; conf. frg. II. III. and Theogn. 671.

⁵ Carm. I. x.; conf. Matth. ad frg. XXI.

exults in his revels over the downfall of the rival political chief Myrsilus, has also been paraphrased by Horace in a more amiable, but less animated strain.¹ There seem, in fact, to have been few standard compositions of Alcæus but have supplied subject of imitation to his brilliant disciple of Rome. Hence Horace has been occasionally styled the Latin Alcæus, with much propriety in respect to all but the less amiable characteristics of his Grecian prototype. The veneration of Horace for his Lesbian master is equally marked in his preference of the favourite metres of Alcæus, especially of the Alcaïc and Sapphic strophes. Even the more celebrated countrymen of Alcæus, Æschylus for example and Aristophanes, did not disdain to borrow from him.² Of piracy from his own predecessors, the only distinct example is a passage of some length paraphrased from Hesiod.³

SAPPHO. 600 B. C.

Sappho. 5. The earliest Greek authoress, omitting the fabulous Sibyls and Phemonoës, of whom any mention occurs, is Megalostrata, the beloved of the poet Alcman, whom Athenæus describes as herself a poetess⁴; but of her works or history no further notice is preserved. The next is Sappho⁵, admitted by her

¹ Carm. I. xxxvii. frg. iv.; conf. Carm. I. xviii., frg. xxx.

² Frg. xii., Æsch. Pers. 349.; frg. xiii., Æsch. Sept. in Th. 388.; frg. xxxvi., conf. Matth. ad loc.; frg. xiv., Aristoph. Vesp. 1234. Tauchn.; frg. lxi., Aristoph. Av. 1409.

³ Frg. xxvii.; conf. Hes. Op. et D. 580. sqq. ⁴ xiii. p. 600.

⁵ Sapphonis Fragm. ed. D. C. F. Neue; Gaisf. Poett. minn. Gr. ed. Lips vol. iii. p. 291.; Schneidewin, Delect. Poes. Gr. § iii. p. 289.; Bergk, Poett. lyrr. Gr. p. 598.; conf. Welcker, Sappho, Kl. Schrift. vol. I. p. 110. The remains are here cited according to the number and

countrymen of every age to be the only female entitled to rank on the same level with the more illustrious poets of the male sex ; and who may even be said to bear away the prize from them all in the peculiar branch of composition which her genius led her to cultivate. Hence, as the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was called by preeminence "the poet," Sappho was honoured by the distinctive title of "the poetess;" and Aristotle¹ classes her in the same high grade of relative excellence as Homer and Archilochus. Of Solon it is related, that, on hearing for the first time the recital of one of her most esteemed compositions, he prayed that "he might not see death until he had committed it to memory."² So highly did Plato value her intellectual as well as her imaginative endowments, that he assigned her the honours of sage as well as poet, and familiarly entitled her the tenth Muse.³ Strabo⁴ describes her genius in a tone of mysterious awe, as a divine rather than a human attribute. By other authorities she is characterised in more figurative vein as the joint fosterchild of Venus, Cupid, and the Graces⁵, and as combining in her single person the two natures of Muse and Venus⁶; while, in one of the numerous epigrams⁷ in her praise, the Muses themselves, nothing jealous, unite with Jupiter and Destiny in confirming or approving the honours bestowed on her by her fellow-mortals. Amid all this, and much more that might be quoted of enthusiastic eulogy, not a word of censure

arrangement of Neue, unless where another collection is specified in the reference.

¹ Rhet. II. 23.

² Ælian. ap. Stob. xxix. 58.

³ Phædr. p. 235.; Anthol. Pal. ix. 506., conf. 66. 571.

⁴ xiii. p. 617.

⁵ Antip. Sid. in Anthol. Pal. vii. 14.

⁶ Demochar. in Anth. Plan. iv. 310.

⁷ Anth. Pal. ix. 521.

is to be found on any actual defect, either of her poetical style generally, or of any individual passage of her poems. The scantiness of the existing remains of those poems, renders it the less easy to judge how far their internal evidence may have justified this boundless admiration. If, however, the brilliancy and beauty of the passages which have been preserved may be taken as a criterion of the general character of the collection, Sappho, as the poet of Love and the Graces, may still be pronounced unrivalled by any successor, male or female, among the numbers who, in different ages and countries, have competed with her for the palm.

To this celebrity of her genius may partly be ascribed the obscurity which involves her history. In addition to the popular tendency, in such cases, to engraft fabulous details on a comparatively slender stock of matter of fact, the controversies which arose relative to the merits or defects of her personal character, and the efforts made by the different sections of the critical public who took part in those controversies, to force the data at their disposal into harmony with their own peculiar views, interpose serious obstacles to the success of impartial investigation. There can be no better evidence of her surpassing fame and popularity, than the fact of her having figured as a favourite heroine of the comic drama of Athens, to a greater extent, it would appear, than any other historical personage upon record. Mention occurs of not less than six comedies¹ under the title of Sappho; and her history, real or imaginary,

¹ By as many authors: Amipsias, Antiphanes, Amphis, Ephippus, Timocles, and Diphilus. Meinek. *Fragm. Comm. Græc.* vol. II. p. 707., III. p. 112. 315. 333. 610., IV. p. 409.

furnished materials to nearly as many more¹ with which her name is not so specifically connected. While this, at the best ambiguous preeminence supplies ample ground of belief, even apart from other authority, or the internal evidence of her remains, that the events of her life or her social habits offered a fair opening for satirical animadversion, there can be no doubt that, in the hands of such censors, her defects would be broadly caricatured. Nor could the judgement of so popular a tribunal fail to exercise influence upon that of posterity. This latter consideration, however, has led her more enthusiastic modern admirers and apologists into the opposite extreme, of ascribing all the less favourable features of her portrait to the above polluted source, in their efforts to convert her into an ideal model of purity and moral excellence. It will be the object of the following review of her life and character to steer a just medium between these two extremes, by an impartial analysis of the existing materials for guiding the judgement, whether supplied by herself or derived from other sources.

6. The age of Sappho is established, with more or less accuracy, by its partial coincidence with the still better defined epoch of Alcæus and Pittacus; and besides other incidental synchronisms, by a general concurrence of authorities.² According to these data, the more brilliant portion of her career may be placed in the first half of the sixth century B. C.,

Her birth-place, age, family, and social relations.

¹ Two under the title of Phaon; one by Plato, the other by Antiphaneas, Meinek. op. cit. vol. II. p. 672., III. p. 124.; one under the title of Leucadia by Menander, Meinek. vol. IV. p. 158.; and another entitled Leucadius, by Antiphaneas, Meinek. vol. III. p. 78.

² Athen. XIII. p. 599.; Strab. XIII. p. 617.; conf. Neue, p. 3.; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 225.

while her childhood and early youth belong to the close of the seventh. Her birthplace, according to the more trustworthy authorities, was Mitylene, the metropolis of the isle of Lesbos. Others make her a native of the neighbouring town of Eresus.¹ It is certain that her family was of Mitylene, and of some rank in that state; one of her brothers, called Larichus², having held the post of cupbearer in the Prytaneum, an office only conferred on youths of the aristocratic order. Her father's name was Scamandronymus³, her mother's Cleïs.⁴ If Ovid may be trusted, she was left an orphan when six years old.⁵ The names of three of her brothers are also recorded: Charaxus, Larichus above mentioned, and Eurygyius.⁶ Of the youngest of the three nothing is known. Charaxus, as Herodotus and others relate, was a trader in Lesbian wines, and obtained notoriety by his amour with the celebrated Thracian courtesan Rhodopis, then a slave in the Greek colony of Naucratis in Lower Egypt, to which port he was in the habit of resorting. Such was the violence of his passion for this woman, as to induce him to purchase her from her master, set her free, and lavish his substance in her maintenance, or even, in some accounts, to espouse her. His sister was greatly scandalised and incensed at his conduct, and gave vent to her indignation in an ode composed for the occasion. This affair⁷, by reference to chronological

¹ Suid. et Eudocia v. *Σαρφώ*; Discorid. in Anth. Pal. vii. 407.

² Athen. x. p. 424.; Schol. Bekk. II. xx. 234.; Eustath. ad loc. p. 1205.

³ Herodot. ii. cxxxv.; Ælian. V. II. xii. xix. For the multitude of other fanciful titles, or varieties of the same title, see Neue, p. 1.

⁴ Suid. v. *Σαρφώ*; Epigr. ap. Schol. Pind. Boeckh, p. 8.

⁵ Ovid. Heroid. xv. 61.

⁶ Suid. loc. cit.

⁷ Herodot. ii. cxxxiv, cxxxv.; Strab. xvii. p. 808.; Athen. xiii. p. 596.; Ovid. Heroid. xv. 63. sqq., 117.; Suid. vv. *Ἀλωπύς* et *Ἰδμύων*.

data as well as to the terms of Ovid's allusion to it, would appear to have taken place at a comparatively late period of Sappho's life. Her brother consequently, may be presumed to have been greatly her junior. The same Latin poet, who, there can be no reasonable doubt, repeats the accredited version of the story, describes the young man as having been soon after reduced to penury by his folly and extravagance, and as having again betaken himself, as master of a small vessel, to commercial enterprise, or perhaps, on a less charitable construction of the passage¹, to piracy, in order to restore his fortunes. So mortally offended was he however by the interference of his sister, as to have broken off all connexion with her, and repelled her subsequent advances for a renewal of friendly intercourse.²

Her family affairs seem to have formed frequent subject of treatment in her works. In various passages of her lost poems she complimented her other brother Larichus, on his graceful performance of the duties attached to his Prytanean office³; and in several remaining texts, she appears to address or allude to her mother, and to a favourite or only daughter.⁴

To the later Athenian dramatists we are indebted, among other burlesque details of her popular biography, for the legends of her loves with Archilochus, Anacreon, and Hipponax. The former of these poets was dead before she was born. The two latter were not born, probably at the period of her death. All three however, in the fantastic mythology of the

¹ Op. cit. 65.

² Ovid. Her. xv. 67. 117.

³ Athen. x. p. 425.

⁴ Fragg. xxxii. xxviii. lxxvi.

Comic Muse, figure on the Attic stage as her contemporaries and associates.¹

Whether Sappho was ever married is doubtful, but the balance of evidence is strongly on the negative side of the question. She is familiarly alluded to by Horace and other classics as the "Lesbian maiden;"² nor is there any notice of a husband but on a single recent and very questionable authority, where the broadly indecent etymology of the names, both of the individual on whom the honour is conferred and of his birthplace, sufficiently proves them to be fictitious. Both titles are inventions, there can be little doubt, of the comic authors above alluded to, satirically reflecting on the weaker points of Sappho's character.³ How far the circumstance of her having had a daughter can be considered as admissible evidence of her having been married, is a point the settlement of which must depend on the closer inquiry into her moral habits to be instituted in the sequel. That such was the fact however, is stated on respectable authority.⁴ The name ascribed to the maiden is Cleïs, the same as that of Sappho's reputed mother. As this identity of the two appellatives is in harmony with the prevailing Greek custom of calling children after their grandfathers or grandmothers, there seems no reason to doubt that the young female addressed by her, as already mentioned, in terms of parental

¹ Athen. xi. p. 487., xiii. p. 599. In the case of Anacreon, the confusion rests partly on an ode addressed by him to a favourite Lesbian maiden, supposed by later superficial critics to be Sappho. Chamæleon ap. Athen. xiii. p. 599.; conf. Hermesian. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 598. sq.

² Carm. iv. ix. 12.

³ Suid. v. Σαπφώ. See *infra*, p. 301. note.

⁴ Max. Tyr. Diss. viii. p. 96. Davis; Suid. v. Σαπφώ; Ovid. Her. xv. 70. 120.

endearment, under the title Cleïs, in several extant passages ¹, was her own child.

The habits of Sappho, social or domestic, whether as described by her biographers or illustrated by her own works, were certainly little consistent with those which the laws either of Greek or modern European morality connect with the character or duties of a married woman. It appears, by reference to those combined sources, that the brilliancy of her talents and the charm of her conversation had collected around her residence at Mitylene, from all parts of Greece, a number of females of tastes and pursuits akin to her own, who formed an association or club of ladies devoted to the pursuit of every species of refined and elegant pleasure, sensual or intellectual. The younger members of the sisterhood are also represented as the pupils of their more advanced companions, especially of the poetess, in the arts of music and poetry, and, above all, it would seem, in that of love. This is an institution to which no parallel offers itself in any other period of Grecian history. Its precise character, or that of the relation subsisting among its members, has accordingly supplied the commentators on Sappho's life and character with matter for a copious variety of speculative discussion, to which attention will be directed in the sequel.

Of the extent to which Sappho was herself brought under the sway of the tender passion, which in one shape or other formed the theme, with little exception, of her collective works, sufficient evidence exists in her only remaining entire composition, the first ode in the published collections. She there describes herself, in the most touching and impassioned strains,

¹ Frg. LXXVI.; conf. XXVIII.

as the victim of an unrequited love, and implores the aid of Venus to ease her pangs by melting the heart of the obdurate or inconstant object of her affection. At the close of the address, it is also implied that this was not the first occasion on which the goddess, either on account of the same or a different lover, had been similarly and successfully invoked.

Her love for
Phaon. Her
Leucadian
leap.

7. The person to whom this ode is supposed to refer, or who at least obtained, in the popular tradition, the chief and longest sway over the affections of Sappho, was a Lesbian youth called Phaon, distinguished for his personal attractions and irresistible power over the female heart. For a time he is described as having corresponded to her ardour; but after cohabiting with her during some years, he deserted her, leaving her in a state of despair, for which the only remedy that suggested itself was that habitually resorted to in such cases, a leap from the summit of the Leucadian promontory into the sea. That she actually carried this purpose into effect was the popular opinion of antiquity, from the age at least of Menander downwards, and seems to have passed current as an authentic fact, even with the more intelligent authorities¹; although the result, whether as regards her mental or bodily welfare, is not distinctly recorded.

Both these points in the history of the poetess, her love for Phaon and her leap from the Leucadian cliff, have been questioned, with more or less plausibility, by distinguished critics of the present age. In respect to the first it has been denied, not only that Phaon was the name of the hero of this tragical

¹ Strab. x. p. 452.; Menand. ap. Strab. loc. cit.; Ovid. Heroïd. xv.; conf. alios apud Neue, p. 4.

drama, but that such a person ever existed. Certain it is, that there was a mythical personage of this name, whose celebrity was more immediately connected with the isle of Lesbos.¹ This fabulous Phaon is described as a Mitylenean youth, who by his own amiable qualities, or by certain services which he had been fortunate enough to render to Venus, so ingratiated himself with that goddess, as to have been endowed by her with surpassing beauty, and with irresistible power over the affections and persons of women, in whatever mode he chose to exert it. It has accordingly been urged, that "the selection of this hero's name by the Lesbians as the title of the favoured lover of Sappho, herself their native type of female loveliness, would, in the absence of any authentic record of that lover's real appellative, be quite consistent with the spirit of Greek literary legend in such cases." To this view however it has been objected by the advocates of the real personality of Phaon, that the story of his mythical namesake dates from so very recent a period, and is transmitted on such very questionable authority², as to leave abundant room for

¹ Ælian. V. H. xii. xviii.; Plin. H. N. xxii. viii.; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. iii. 279.; conf. Neue, *Fragm. Sapph.* p. 6.

² That apparently of the Attic comedians, by whom the affairs of Sappho, with the lover's leap and its mythology, were jointly burlesqued in dramas of which Phaon was the hero. He seems to have been represented by these authorities as having been involved in much inconvenience by the boon conferred on him by Venus, owing to the impossibility of accommodating the numerous claims on his amorous attentions; and as having undertaken a journey into the wilds of Acarnania, in order to avoid the importunities of the Lesbian ladies. Here he occupied himself in founding the temple of Apollo Leucas. He was, however, pursued into his retreat by crowds of his admirers; and those whose advances he still repelled, Sappho probably among the rest, threw themselves over the cliff into the sea. Conf. Meinek. *Fragm. Com. Græc.* vol. ii. p. 672. sqq., iii. p. 124., iv. p. 159.

doubt whether it may not be allowable to reverse the above explanation of the case, and assume the fabulous favourite of Venus to have derived his origin from the historical notices of the faithless lover of Sappho.¹ Here again it is objected, and with some reason, on the sceptical side, that "there is no trace, either in the remains of Sappho or in the citations from her text, of her ever having herself mentioned the name 'Phaon' in her poems. Had she so mentioned it, there could have been no opening it is urged, for the doctrine of certain sophistical commentators², that the lover of Phaon was not the poetess, but a purely fictitious courtesan of the same name, whom those sophists themselves called into existence, as a sort of scape-goat, on whom they were wont to fasten any points in the popular history of the real Sappho which did not square with their ideal estimate of her character." The whole question however is, in truth, in its vital bearings on the history of the poetess, very much a dispute of words. If, as appears from Sappho's own testimony, she was the victim of an unrequited passion, it matters little to the real substance of this point of her biography or character, whether the name by which the object of that passion was known to posterity was a real or a fictitious one.

The Leucadian leap of Sappho, though ranked by various modern commentators, like the name of her lover, among the mythical elements of her biography, will not perhaps be found, on a critical estimate of

¹ Neue, p. 6.; Welcker, *Kleine Schr.* vol. II. p. 135. sqq., who very properly rejects O Müller's theory of a connexion between Phaon and Adonis.

² Nymphis ap. Athen. XIII. p. 596.; Ælian. V. H. XII. xix.; Suid. v. *Φαων*; conf. Neue, p. 3. sqq.

the circumstances connected with it, to offer any so serious ground of scepticism. It will be proper, in order the better to judge in this obscure matter, to take a general view of the origin and history of the "Lover's Leap," real or fabulous, as illustrated by the more accredited authorities on the subject.

8. The Leucadian cliff, or Cape Leucas, which derived its name from its brilliant whiteness, and imparted that name to the neighbouring region, was the site of a temple of Apollo. Human sacrifice, it is certain, formed part of the early barbarous worship of that deity, in his primitive character of Destroyer or Avenger; and the rite was maintained, for the most part in a figurative or otherwise modified form, in many Greek sanctuaries up to a late period.¹ The celebrated Leucadian leap was, in fact, in its origin, as it appears ever afterwards chiefly to have remained, a sacrifice to Nemesis rather than to Venus, by the precipitation of a human victim of Apollo from the summit of the cliff into the sea.² Of the mode of selecting these victims in remote ages nothing is recorded. At the period however, from which the first notices of the rite have been transmitted, there can be no doubt of its having been already stripped, in whole or in part, of its more inhuman features. The victims, where compulsory, were criminals whose lives were already forfeited to the law; while in the case of voluntary devotees, whether instigated by enthusiasm, love of gain, or other motives, precautions were taken to prevent the more fatal consequences of the exploit. Buoyant substances, feathers, bladders,

Origin of
the Leu-
cadian rite.

¹ Müll. Dor. II. viii. 2., vol. I. p. 326.; Smith, Dict. of Antiq. v. Thargelia.

² Müll. Dor. II. ii. 10., vol. I. p. 231. sq.; Hardion sur le Sault de Leucade, in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. VII. p. 245.

and the like, were fastened to their bodies, in order to break the rapidity of the fall, and boats were stationed below to rescue them from the waves.¹

Of the circumstances which led to the connexion of this custom with the worship of Venus, there is no distinct account; but the existence of such a connexion is as well attested as that of the ceremony in its primitive form. The antients, as usual in such cases, trace the rite in both its forms to a fabulous origin; and Jupiter, Venus herself, Deucalion, and various other mythological personages of inferior note, are reported to have sanctioned it by their practice.² The earliest author in whose works allusion occurs to "the Lover's Leap" is Stesichorus, one of whose odes, as we have seen, celebrated a beautiful nymph named Calyce, who had adopted this mode of terminating, with her own existence, the pangs of a hopeless but honourable passion.³ The next female victim in the list is Sappho. From this period downwards, various and apparently authentic cases are recorded, though not generally, certainly not invariably, with the same fatal result as in the instance of the unfortunate Calyce. With the devotees of Venus, as of Apollo, there were two classes of leap, differing in danger and fatality as in motive or object. In the one case, the exploit was performed in its naked reality by persons to whom life was rendered odious by disappointed love, and who were impelled by a fervid and enthusiastic temperament to this popular and brilliant act of suicidal desperation. In the other case the leap was

¹ Strab. x. p. 452.

² Ptolem. Heph. vii.; conf. Ov. Her. 167. sqq.

³ Conf. Charon Lamps. ap. Plut. de Virt. Mul. p. 252.

undertaken, with the modifications or safeguards above described, as a remedy for the amorous disease. It was supposed in this latter case, and perhaps with reason, that apart from the sacred influence of the site and its associations, the revulsion of feeling and temperament consequent on the plunge, the terror, and the excitement of the whole ceremony, would be such as to banish the dominant passion from the breast, and give place to the sway of reason or other counteracting influences. Hence those who had derived benefit from the experiment in one instance were sometimes led to repeat it. One Maces of Buthrotum, a town on the neighbouring coast of Epirus, is said to have had recourse to it no less than four times, which obtained him the surname of Leucopetras, or Whitecliff. The person of greatest celebrity, next to Sappho, among those reported to have actually sought and met their death by the performance of the exploit in its naked suicidal form, was Artemisia of Halicarnassus, ally of Xerxes in his invasion of Greece. Among other less celebrated devotees are mentioned Nicostratus, a comic poet; Diodorus, a flute-player; and Charinus, an iambographer; the latter of whom is also said to have perished.¹

9. Although few, if any, of these cases may be so distinctly attested by contemporary authorities as to place them on the footing of historical facts, yet in several of them, the internal evidence of the persons, times, or circumstances, is such as, together with the universal belief of antiquity, to destroy any legitimate ground of scepticism. Fictions of this nature might, in the ordinary course of mythical

Evidence
for and
against
Sappho's
performance of it.

¹ Ptolem. Heph. loc. cit.; Plut. de Virt. Mul. loc. cit.

invention, come to be generally received in the case of Sappho or Artemisia, not to mention Deucalion or Calyce; but it is less easy to see how such stories should, without some basis of reality, have acquired currency or credit in regard to a Nicostratus, a Charinus, or a Maces, obscure individuals of comparatively low periods of Greek or Roman history. There might be more plausibility in the rejection even of these cases, did they involve anything repugnant to the spirit of antient manners or religion; but the ascertained fact of a similar practice having prevailed in honour of Apollo obviates any scruple upon this head. Without special reference therefore to individual cases, it were a somewhat rash, and, it is apprehended, uncritical stretch of scepticism, summarily to banish to the realms of fiction, as some modern inquirers have proposed, a practice so intimately associated both with the historical convictions and the poetical sympathies of the Greek nation from the earliest to the latest age of classical antiquity.

Admitting then the existence of the practice, and that there is, as cannot be denied, a greater body of antient testimony in favour of Sappho than of any other votary of the Cliff, the question occurs: Was there anything in the character or habits of this poetess, whether as described by her native biographers, or as illustrated by her own works, which places her beyond the category, above referred to, of persons likely to be impelled by a fervid temperament and the impatience of disappointed love to the fatal freak? The ready answer to this question, in every impartial quarter must be, that upon the whole, it were difficult to select from the annals of female character a heroine combining more of the attributes

calculated to verify, in her particular case, the substance at least of the popular tradition.

As a counterpoise to this preponderance of testimony on the affirmative side, appeal has been made to the absence of Sappho's name from the list of Ptolemy Hephæstion, the author who has collected the most numerous notices of the other performers of the rite. This circumstance has been, and very naturally no doubt, adduced as evidence that her claims were not recognised by that compiler. Even admitting him to have rejected them, it would yet hardly be reasonable to prefer the authority of Hephæstion to that of Strabo or Ovid, or to the otherwise unanimous voice of native tradition. Perhaps however a different inference, even in the case of Hephæstion, may be more reasonable. In every age of Greek antiquity, from the days at least of Menander downwards, the Leap of Sappho was, as it has since remained, the most celebrated and notorious in the whole series of such exploits. It is the one consequently, of which any professed writer on the subject was least likely to be ignorant; the one concerning which more especially a second-rate sophist of later times, who with all due gravity enumerates Jupiter, Venus, and Deucalion among the votaries of the Cliff, was least likely, in the face of such authorities as Menander, Strabo, and Ovid, to feel sceptical. The only apology therefore which suggests itself, for what must be considered but as a piece of eccentricity or affectation on the part of Hephæstion, is to suppose that Sappho, the acknowledged type or eponyme in later ages of this act of amorous desperation, has been tacitly assumed by him as the centre or pivot around which all the others were arranged

in the way of illustration or corollary. It has also been urged, that the tradition concerning Sappho leaves it uncertain whether she perished or survived. Admitting it to be so, preciseness of circumstantial detail is no very sound criterion of the element of truth in popular tradition. But although there may be no distinct statement to that effect, the general tenor of the existing notices would imply, that the leap from the Leucadian cliff was the last act of Sappho's life. Here another objection has been discovered in her advanced age; for by reference to the balance of chronological data above given, her birth can hardly be brought down much lower than about 620 B.C.; and as the adventure of her brother Charaxus with the courtesan Rhodopis, which she survived, is placed by Herodotus in the early part of the reign of Amasis, king of Egypt (569-526 B.C.), she could not, on this basis, have been much under fifty years of age at the period of her supposed suicide. Even here however, the tradition would at least be entitled to the merit of consistency. All accounts concur in representing the poetess, at the period of her last fatal love, as no longer youthful, and her age consequently as one of the obstacles to the gratification of her passion.¹ In a female of her

¹ Ovid. *Heroid.* xv. 85. It may further be remarked, that the age of the Thracian courtesan, on which the chronology of Sappho's leap, as above estimated, is made to depend, is still less well ascertained than the age of Sappho herself. The history of the former heroine is seasoned with a still more copious ingredient of fable than that of Sappho; and several modern commentators have been inclined, upon reasonable grounds, to prefer the tradition of Ælian (*Var. Hist.* xiii. xxxiii.) to that of Herodotus, and place the settlement of Rhodopis in Egypt during the reign of Psammetichus, the predecessor of Amasis. The real name of this celebrated beauty appears to have been Doricha; Rhodopis, or "Rosy cheek," her popular surname. *Athen.* xiii. p. 596.; *conf. Neue, op. cit.* p. 2. sq.

temperament and habits, an additional lustrum or two would make but little difference in the ardour of that passion, or in the shock attending a disappointment. Upon the whole therefore, without subscribing, amid the general obscurity and singularity of the case, an unqualified acquiescence to the received account of the Leucadian death of the poetess, the impartial critic must, at least, pronounce the balance of evidence to be on the affirmative side.

In the Parian chronicle¹ Sappho is mentioned as having, at a certain period of her life, fled from Lesbos to Sicily. The precise date assigned to this event is lost, owing to the dilapidation of the monument; but its position was between Olymp. XLIV. and XLVII. (604—588 B. C.) The notice is not corroborated by any subsidiary authority; but from the mode in which it is introduced, as one of a series of standard popular epochs, it must allude to some generally known and admitted vicissitude in the life of the poetess. As Ovid, in her last imploring letter to Phaon² previous to her self-destruction, makes her address her lover as resident in Sicily, it seems probable that by both the chronicle and the Latin poet Phaon was understood, on proving faithless, to have retired to Sicily, and to have been pursued thither by his disconsolate mistress.

10. Sappho is described, by the only authors who have transmitted any distinct notices on the subject³, as not distinguished for personal beauty; but as short in stature, and of dark, it may be understood swarthy, complexion. The laudatory commonplace

Her personal appearance, moral character, and habits.

¹ Epoch. xxxvi.

² Heroïd. xv. 11. 51.

³ Max. Tyr. Dissert. viii. p. 90. Dav.; Ovid. Heroïd. xv. 31. sq.

of kalē, or "fair," which Plato and others incidentally connect with her name, no way militates against this account, as implying nothing more, perhaps less, than does the English phrase by which the Greek epithet has above been rendered, and which is as frequently bestowed in familiar usage on plain as on handsome women.¹ The terms in which Alcæus addresses her, in a passage already quoted in the life of that poet, and which have been also adduced as evidence of her personal charms, do not, if fairly interpreted, appear more favourable to that view. He describes her simply as "dark-haired" and "sweetly smiling." No notice whatever is taken of her actual beauty, which an admiring lover would hardly have passed over in silence, had it offered matter for warmer eulogy.

In entering upon the most delicate and difficult element of the present inquiry, that which involves the moral and social character of Sappho, it must be subject of regret that any necessity should exist for exchanging the equable course of historical narrative for the more rugged paths of literary controversy; especially in a case where the sympathies of every well-constituted mind, would rather dispose it to side with those authorities from whom it will here be necessary to differ. The question is however one of too great importance and interest, as bearing on the character not merely of an individual poetess, but of the whole Greek nation, its manners and literature, during this period, to be passed over without an attempt to correct the fallacious point of view in which it has recently been placed by writers of deserved authority.²

¹ Conf. Max. Tyr. loc. cit.

² Welcker, Sappho von einem herrsch. Vorurth. befreiet, Gött. 1816.

Sappho, in the portrait of her character jointly exhibited in her own works and in the notices of her more candid and intelligent countrymen, appears as a woman of a generous disposition, affectionate heart, and independant spirit, unless when brought under the sway of those tender passions which lorded over every other influence in her bosom. Of a naturally ardent and excitable temperament, she seems, from her earliest years, to have been habituated to the enjoyments rather than to the duties, much less the restraints, of Greek female life. Her chief or only occupations were the exercise and display of her brilliant poetical talents and elegant accomplishments; and her voluptuous habits are testified by almost every extant fragment of her poems. Her susceptibility to the passion of love formed, above all, the dominant feature of her life, her character, and her muse. Her indulgence however of this, as of every other appetite, sensual or intellectual, while setting at nought all moral restraints, was marked by her own peculiar refinement of taste, exclusive of every approach to low excess or profligacy.

In the portrait presented to us by the popular authorities of the present day, all the less favourable features of the above sketch are effaced; while the colouring of the remainder has been heightened to a dazzling extreme of beauty and brilliancy, exhibiting a model of perfection, physical and moral, such as was never probably exemplified in woman, and least of

and in *Kleine Schr.* vol. ii. p. 80. sqq.; *K. O. Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit.* ch. xiii. § 6. p. 172. sqq.; *Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 411. sqq.; *Neue, Sapphonis Fragm.*; *Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 707.; *Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk.* vol. ii. p. 359. sqq.; *Richter, Sappho und Erinna.*

all in the priores of an association of votaries of Venus and the Muses, in one of the most voluptuous states of Greece.

The following is the summary of her various excellences, given by one of the popular organs of this amiable but fallacious theory. "In Sappho a warm and profound sensibility, virgin purity, feminine softness, and delicacy of sentiment and feeling, were combined with the native probity and simplicity of the Æolian character; and although endued with a fine perception of the beautiful and brilliant, she preferred genuine conscious rectitude to every other source of human enjoyment."¹

Fallacy of the lately popular estimate of her character.

11. The best, the only sound criterion, the infallible criterion, as it must here be considered, for estimating the moral character and habits of Sappho, and to which a due share of attention will be devoted in the sequel, has been transmitted by herself, in the still existing collection of her poems. That collection, though comparatively scanty, is yet abundantly sufficient, as illustrated by the parallel details of her traditional history, to verify, in all its substantial features, what has been presented in the previous page as the only genuine portrait of her character. By some of her more chivalrous modern admirers this internal head of evidence has been virtually overlooked; by others it has been so greatly misunderstood or misapplied for behoof of their own amiable paradox, as to have proved a fertile source of error rather than of truth. As a general rule however, their argument has been concentrated preferably around certain passages of distinguished antient writers, by whom the character

¹ Richter, op. cit. p. 22.; conf. Bode, op. cit. p. 422.; Smith, op. cit. p. 707.

of the poetess appeared to them to be viewed in a light favourable to their own doctrine. The authority of these passages there will be no necessity here to dispute, inasmuch as they are, it is apprehended, if fairly quoted and rightly understood, among those which tend most effectually to set aside the theory in support of which they have been adduced.

"How," it has been asked, "had the purity of Sappho's life been open to question, could Lucian¹ have cited her in company with a Theano and a Diotima, in illustration of female excellence? How could he, in another passage, have associated her with the same Theano and with Telesilla, as worthy to sustain the lustre of the female character against the aspersions of the other sex? How, had she been such as the popular error represents her, could even Plato² have made such honourable mention of her?"³ Here however we must not overlook, as some of the more unscrupulous champions of the poetess have done, another female, also comprised by Lucian among his specimens of womanly excellence, Aspasia namely, the paramour of Pericles; a lady distinguished, like Sappho, both for brilliant talents and accomplishments, and for refined delicacy of tastes, but like Sappho, also a woman of undoubtedly licentious morals. The admission of this name into Lucian's catalogue, were in itself sufficient evidence that the species of female excellence to which he refers had no connexion with immaculate moral purity. What he had in view was evidently mere general brilliancy of female character;

¹ Imag. xviii., Amor. xxx.

² Phædr. p. 235. sq.

³ Welcker, Kleine Schr. vol. ii. p. 102. sq.; Neue, Fragm. Sapph. p. 8.

genius, intellectual capacity, and elegant acquirements. In the former of the two passages accordingly, Aspasia and Diotima are quoted as representatives of female wit or conversational talent¹; Sappho as the representative of "luxurious refinement of taste and habits." This is precisely the kind of social excellence which, on the authority of her more critical fellow-countrymen, has in these pages been assigned her; but it is one not necessarily, or even usually, connected with scrupulously correct morals. In the second passage Sappho is adduced by Lucian, less on account of her own virtues, than of her eloquence in advocating those of her sex; and that the virtues in question were not of a very rigid character, also appears from the mode in which the same Aspasia is again introduced, in the immediate sequel, as their representative. Plato, in like manner, cites Sappho as an example of intellectual capacity combined with poetical genius, but in no sort of connexion with moral propriety, as is abundantly clear from the companion with whom she is associated as the male type of the same attributes. This is no other than Anacreon.² Even the most envenomed detractors from the fair fame of the poetess, might safely allow her all the honours of chastity which can justly belong to her in partnership with such a colleague.

¹ Diotima, however, seems also to have been an erotic poetess of the same liberal order as Sappho. *Max. Tyr. Diss. viii. p. 90. 94. Dav.*

² It can hardly be by mere accident that this name, with that of Aspasia already noticed, has been so generally suppressed by the modern defenders of Sappho (Neue, Bode, Ulrici,), in their appeals to the above passages of Lucian and Plato. Welcker alone, with that ingenuous candour which always distinguishes his style of criticism, has ventured fairly to grapple with all the difficulties and anomalies of the fallacious theory of which he is the originator and ablest advocate.

This association of the names of Sappho and Anacreon, as the male and female types of the voluptuous and impassioned orders of Greek erotic poetry, is familiar in every period of antiquity¹, and supplies an illustration of the moral character of the poetess which stands in need of no commentary. Here however there is also the further analogy, that Anacreon's notorious and self-emblazoned profligacy in the pursuit of pleasure was counterbalanced, we are assured, by other noble and generous qualities; by a high-minded independance of spirit, and a rigid integrity of conduct in the more serious affairs of life, both public and private.²

A similar analysis of other classical texts in which Sappho is honourably noticed would be attended with the same results. The brilliancy of her character is invariably dwelt on in terms of unqualified eulogy; but as to its moral worth, either an unfavourable verdict is given, or a cautious silence preserved. Strabo for example speaks of her with reverential awe, as "a wonderful," an almost superhuman being; but in the sequel of the same text, he modifies this praise by a somewhat pointed restriction of it to her poetical gifts. To this romantic veneration for the splendour of the whole portrait, may be ascribed the comparative absence of more definite allusion to its less estimable features by the graver class of authors. The opening which those weaker points afforded was

¹ Plut. Symp. vii. viii.; Maxim. Tyr. Diss. viii. p. 90. ed Davis; Athen. xiv. p. 639., conf. 697.; Ovid, Remed. Am. 761., Art. Am. iii. 331., Trist. ii. 364. sq.; Pausan. i. xxv. 1.; Aul. Gell. xix. ix. 4.; Dio Chrys. ed. Reisk. p. 81.; Themist. Orat. xiii. p. 170. ed. Paris, 1684.; Gregorius ad Hermog. p. 914.; ap. Reisk. Orr. Gr. vol. xiv.

² See Appendix E.

freely laid hold of by the satirist, for the purpose of burlesque exaggeration ; but the respect entertained for her higher qualities inclined her countrymen of a more generous temper, if not to justify, at least to draw the veil over what derogated from her glory. Her case may be illustrated by others parallel in modern times ; by that of Heloïse, or Mary. How seldom, in the popular allusions to these celebrated females, are they mentioned otherwise than as objects of admiration or interest ! It is only in the page of the critical historian or the scandalous chronicler that their blemishes are prominently brought forward. There can also be little doubt that various particulars of the popular history of Sappho, which her modern apologists are most anxious to set aside as injurious to her credit, such as her love for Phaon or her leap from the Cliff, were far from being viewed in the same unfavourable light by her antient admirers. They were considered rather as solid earnest of that ardent enthusiasm and tender sensibility which animate her poems, and in so far, as interesting elements of the whole grand phenomenon of her character. Strabo for example, is not deterred by his expressed belief in those two points of her traditional history from mentioning her in the warm terms of admiration above quoted. The context of the passage would, indeed, rather imply that belief to be an ingredient of the profound veneration with which she inspired him.

How far
represented
by the au-
thents as a
courtesan.

12. By some of Sappho's modern biographers, this romantic estimate of her character seems to be founded in a great measure on the assumption, that by such of her fellow-countrymen as took a less

favourable view of her conduct, she was habitually represented in the light of a professional courtesan¹; and the very reasonable indignation excited by this supposed calumny, has greatly helped to transport her vindicators into an opposite extreme of generous enthusiasm. Whether there be valid historical grounds for the belief that the efforts even of the popular ancient satirists to depreciate the fair fame of the poetess were carried to this extreme, and assuredly unjust degree of severity, is a question to which attention will be paid in the sequel. Upon this, at the best unsound basis have, however, been raised some of the most popular arguments in favour of her immaculate moral purity. "How," it has been pointedly urged, with reference to the affair of Rhodopis above detailed, "could she ever have reproached her brother with his love for a courtesan, had she been herself a member of the same profession in her youth? and would not Charaxus have retaliated upon her with most humiliating effect?"² Let us however restore the case to its real bearings; let us assume that the public opinion of antiquity considered Sappho, not as a professional courtesan, but as a lady of rank who united brilliant talents and elegant taste with licentious freedom of habits; and the inference will also require to be very differently shaped. This is a question more capable of illustration by example than by argument. Were the brother of a modern lady of noble birth and high fashion to select as his paramour a beautiful prostitute of the lowest order; were he to provide her with a

¹ Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 172. sqq.

² Müller, *loc. cit.*; conf. Welck. *op. cit.* p. 114.

handsome establishment, parade her in public, and waste the family estate in ministering to her follies and vices, his sister would hardly be precluded from her right to lampoon him in verse, if disposed and qualified to vent her indignation in that mode, by the consciousness that her own reputation was not immaculate. That such motives were as little likely to interfere in the case of a Lesbian lady of similar character, we are assured on authority whose competency is beyond all dispute. Among classical critics there were few who possessed a deeper insight than Ovid into the spirit and habits of ancient society. He is also the one among extant authorities who, while far from degrading Sappho to the rank of a courtesan, exhibits her moral character in the least favourable light. Yet so little is he alive to the inconsistency which so forcibly strikes the critic of the present day, that he makes no difficulty of introducing her, in the same poem, glorying in her own indulgence in an illicit amour, and alluding in the most natural manner to all the circumstances of her quarrel with her brother.¹ But, it may further be asked, with reference to her poetical pasquinade against Charaxus, would it ever have occurred to a woman of that refined delicacy of moral sentiment of which Sappho is now held up as a pattern, to come forward herself as the instrument of giving publicity to the scandalous and degrading conduct of her own brother, and to the disgrace, consequently, which that conduct reflected on herself and family?

How far Sappho may, by fanciful or satirical au-

¹ Her. xv. 63. sq.

thors, have been represented as a courtesan, is a question obviously of no real importance in any more critical estimate of her true character. The dispassionate inquirer will readily join with her more unscrupulous apologists in repudiating a view as false in itself as derogatory to her honour. That such a colouring should have been given in occasional instances, by popular satirists, to the darker traits of her portrait seems in itself natural and probable. The fact is however, that there is no actual trace of her ever having been subjected in any quarter to so calumnious an imputation.¹

13. It has with more especial confidence, and certainly with some plausibility been asserted, that Sappho was habitually produced on the Attic stage in this degrading capacity by the later comic poets, with whom she was a favourite heroine. Yet, even here, the proof fails altogether. There can indeed be little doubt, by reference as well to the general spirit as to the extant remains of that department of the drama, that she was there exhibited both in a ludi-

How represented in the comic drama of Athens.

¹ Müller asserts that Sappho was represented as a courtesan by "many" antient writers (Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 172.); but cites no authority in support of this assertion. Welcker (Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 123.) quotes a single passage of Seneca, which, however, seems really to imply the reverse of what he and Müller would infer from it. Seneca (Epist. 88.), in alluding to the four thousand treatises of the grammarian Didymus, on a variety of for the most part trivial or nugatory subjects, quotes as specimens of the more absurd part of the collection, one on the question, "Whether Anacreon was more distinguished for drunkenness or lewdness?" and another devoted to the inquiry, "Whether Sappho was in the habit of prostituting her person?" The terms of this citation obviously imply, that the treatise on Sappho, like that on Anacreon, was a mere speculative absurdity of the individual Didymus. Seneca would hardly have alluded in such terms to a serious defence of the most illustrious of Greek females against a widely spread false and scandalous imputation.

crous and an opprobrious light.¹ But neither fragment of, nor citation from, any one of the half-score of comedies for which her history supplied materials (none of which, unfortunately, have survived) has yet been adduced, even remotely implying that she was represented on the Attic stage as a professional courtesan. Nor was it the custom of the Attic comedians to invest the objects of their satire with attributes entirely different from those which belonged to them in real life. The art of those masters, as of all skilful satirists, consisted in exaggerating or caricaturing real failings. The laws of Athenian polite society, so hostile to female independance, and in general to all freedom of intercourse between the sexes, repudiated, even apart from purely moral considerations, the unconstrained habits of the poetess and her sisterhood, as utterly incompatible with feminine decency or propriety. The object therefore of the comic moralist, in the case of such a heroine as Sappho, would be to hold up, in a burlesque or odious light, the consequences of any wide violation of the rules of Athenian domestic manners, even in a female of distinguished birth and brilliant talents. Her transformation into a professional woman of pleasure would have marred

¹ Yet it is certainly somewhat remarkable, that (setting aside altogether the question of her courtesanship), in neither fragment nor citation of the ten comedies above referred to (p. 274. sq.) as having treated in more or less detail of her affairs, does there occur any distinct allusion to the sexual irregularities of her conduct. In the passage quoted by Athenæus (x. p. 450. sq.) from the "Sappho" of Antiphanes, where the heroine is introduced propounding and interpreting epigrammatic riddles, the satire is aimed partly at her own intellectual subtlety, still more perhaps at that of Plato, and other enthusiastic eulogists of her "wisdom." In the "Sappho" of Diphilus she is represented as participating, how far to an intemperate excess does not appear, in the convivialities of her admirers, Archilochus and Hipponax. Athen. xi. p. 487., xiii. p. 599.

both the novelty and the spirit of the caricature. A courtesan was, at the best, a common character at Athens, and a hackneyed one on her stage; nor was it one perhaps, on the whole, so disreputable in Athenian estimation as that of Sappho herself, under the exaggerated colours in which no doubt the latter was represented. To have forced these miserably commonplace attributes on a heroine who, in her own natural character presented so far superior a stock of materials for dramatic treatment, would have been a breach of the fundamental rules, both ethic and poetical, of the Attic drama.¹

The fact however of Sappho having been caricatured on the Attic stage, and the groundless assumption that she was there caricatured in the guise of a courtesan, have supplied the modern vindicators of her morality with some of their favourite weapons of defence. Not only her supposed courtesanship, but almost every recorded blemish or peculiarity of her character, as it appears in the older more authentic portrait of it, has been laid to account of this popular source of pollution, often with singularly incongruous effect. Even the plainness of her person, and her Leucadian leap, have been traced to the malice of those comic calumniators. It is difficult to believe that accomplished Attic dramatists would,

¹ Among the more burlesque details of the popular history of the poetess, there is none which may with greater confidence be laid to the charge of the Attic comedy than that which gave her a husband called Cercolas (Penifer), a citizen of the town of Andros (Virilia). It could hardly, however, have occurred to these authorities to provide a professional courtesan with a husband of any kind, much less with one of whom the followers of her vocation, among all other women, stood least in need. The above etymology of Cercolas is illustrated and confirmed, together with the dramatic origin of the name, by the title of another similar hero of the Attic stage, Misgolas (Concubius), celebrated by Timocles and Alexis ap. Athen. viii. p. 339.

without some precedent in the real history of the individual, have been guilty of so gratuitous and palpable an inconsistency as that of representing the most popular "courtesan" of her age, the beloved of Anacreon and Archilochus, as an ugly woman; denying her in fact the ordinary, the universal, almost the only indispensable requisite of her profession. Nor is it much more likely that they would have figured a prostitute, in the midst of her orgies, as so feelingly susceptible of the power of genuine romantic love, as to commit suicide on account of a disappointment. Even admitting the Comic Muse of Athens to have occasionally overstepped what has above been assumed to be her own more immediate province, by inventing rather than caricaturing the faults and failings of her popular heroes, we must do her at least the justice to believe that her fictions would have been in better keeping than those here imputed to her, with the laws both of Grecian art and of human nature. There can hardly therefore be a shadow of reasonable doubt, that if Sappho was ever represented on the Attic stage as a plain woman or as a self-murderess, she was so represented on the authority of her old traditional biographers. It may also be remarked, that the only distinct allusion by a comic poet to Sappho's Leucadian leap, Menander's well known beautiful description of Cape Leucas¹,

1

οὐ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφώ,
τὸν ὑπέρομπτον θηρῶσα Φάως,
οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ βῆλαι πέτρας
ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς.

Where yonder cliff rears high its crest in air,
White glittering o'er the distant wave,
There Sappho, headlong, in a briny grave
Entomb'd with frantic plunge her love and her despair.

bears evidence, in its plaintive seriousness both of expression and numbers, that the drama of "Leucadia," in which it occurred, treated this part of the poetess's history, not in the purely burlesque style of the old or middle comedy, but in the amatory style¹ of the new comedy, a style which the same Menander enjoys the credit of introducing, or carrying to its greatest perfection.

In so far therefore as extant authorities admit of our judging, the actual courtesanship of Sappho was confined, even in the fiction or fancy of the antient public, to the other proprietrix of the name alluded to in a former page.² That this second Sappho, the "courtesan," was an altogether imaginary personage is not now disputed in any reasonable quarter. She evidently owes her existence to the anxiety of the later Greek sophists to relieve, by this amiable but not very critical expedient common with them in similar cases, the ideal dignity of the genuine Sappho's character from the alloy of vice or weakness with which, either in the authentic tradition or the Attic drama, it was obscured. This popular subdivision however of the poetess's personality, seems to have been as little recognised as her individual courtesanship by the more critical authors of later times, Strabo and Ovid for example, in their allusions to her affairs. Ovid in particular, who expatiates more at length and more severely than any other extant classic on the history of Sappho, and who may be considered as the most authentic organ of that portion of the critical public which took the most unfavourable

¹ This further appears from the extant fragments of the Latin paraphrase of the "Leucadia" by Turpilus, which are of the same plaintive tendency. Meineke, *Fragm. Comm. Græc.* vol. iv. p. 159.

² p. 282.

view of her character, holds it up in substantially the same light as that in which it has been exhibited in these pages. He represents her as an enthusiastic and independant votary of love and pleasure for their own sake ; and who, far from turning the homage of the other sex to mercenary account, was ready to sacrifice every worldly consideration, even life itself, as the price of reciprocity in her objects of affection.

Apology
for her cha-
racter de-
rived from
the free-
dom of
Æolian
habits.

14. The foregoing inquiry into the mode in which Sappho's history may have been handled on the Athenian stage involves, in some degree, another question of still greater importance to a just estimate of her real character : How far, namely, that boundless freedom and independance of social habits by which Sappho and her associates are acknowledged, even by their warmest apologists, to have been distinguished, can, apart from more strictly moral considerations, be admitted to have been compatible, in any part of antient Greece, with purity or respectability of Greek female life.

It has here been urged on the apologetic side, "that it was merely the narrow view entertained by the Athenians of the dignity and rights of the female sex, and their inability to appreciate the distinction drawn by their more liberal Æolian neighbours between rational independance and levity in female conduct, which led, on the extension of the literary and social influence of Athens over Hellas, to a false and injurious estimate of the Æolian poetess's character. A broad line of demarcation must," it is maintained, "be drawn in this particular between the genius of the Athenian and Ionian and that of the Æolian and Dorian races. Among the former, the condition of the woman was little better, worse perhaps in some respects, than that of domestic servants. While the Oriental principle

of seclusion was enforced to an almost Oriental extent, the ordinary education of the females was barely what sufficed to qualify them for the management of their children, slaves, and domestic concerns. For the rest, Pericles himself has pronounced that the best woman was she of whom the least was said among men for good or for evil. In the Æolian states, on the other hand," we are told, "the antient simple habits of the heroic age still prevailed. The women are there found taking an active part in social, and even in public life, enjoying and sharing with the male citizens all the rightful privileges of education, genius, or talent."¹

There can be no doubt that the above picture of the condition of the Attic females is substantially correct; but the wide distinction drawn between them and their Æolian kinswoman is more than questionable. That the women of Lesbos were not subjected to the same restrictions as those of Athens may, perhaps, be granted: but the assumption, that this indulgence was a mark of primitive purity of manners, rather than of the licentious habits of the Æolian republics, is confuted by the oldest and best writers who allude to the social condition of those states. Heraclides Ponticus and Theopompus², in common, it is believed, with all other valid authorities on the subject, describe the Æolian, and especially the Lesbian manners as refined and elegant it is true, but as notoriously voluptuous and profligate. Nor is it easy to recognise any trace of simplicity or purity in the glowing outpourings of uncontrolled passion and refined sensuality by

¹ Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 173.; Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 95. sq.; Bode, Gesch. der Gr. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. II. p. 420. 357.; Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. vol. III. 707.

² Ap. Athen. xiv. p. 624., x. p. 442. sq.; conf. Plehn, Lesb. p. 123.

which those manners are reflected in the page of either Sappho or Alcæus. But whatever amount of rational liberty may have been allowed to the fair sex in Mitylene, it is difficult to believe that the code of public morality in that or any other Greek republic, could have sanctioned such an association as the one over which Sappho presided ; a school not only of poetry and music, but of love and every variety of voluptuous pursuit. Analogy has been sought between this sisterhood and those said to have existed among the Spartan matrons¹; but, instead of a parallel tending to justify the Lesbian association, the contrast might with better reason be appealed to in an opposite sense. The object in the two cases was widely different. With the Spartan females that object was to cooperate in upholding in all their rigour the ascetic institutions of Lycurgus ; with the Lesbians, it was to cherish and promote the opposite extreme of elegant licentiousness. The profligacy of the Lesbian manners has, in fact, been contrasted by Heraclides with the proverbial purity of those of Sparta, in the passage already cited ; and the contrast is curiously illustrated by the tradition which connects the history of the poetess Erinna with that of Sappho. Erinna, a daughter of Dorian parents settled in Mitylene, and a maiden combining, like Sappho, poetical genius with an ardent temperament, is described as having, at the early age of nineteen, pined and died of grief consequent on the interdict placed by her mother on her free participation in the pursuits of the Lesbian queen of love and her joyous companions.

There would be more plausibility in this line of vin-

¹ Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 176.

dication, could it be shown that the Mitylenæan sisterhood consisted but of Lesbian or Æolian members. But the fact, also pointedly pressed by Sappho's apologists¹, that it was composed in great part of "foreigners attracted by the charm of her society from all parts of Greece," and in greatest numbers, it seems, from those where habits the most opposite to this supposed Lesbian liberality were most inveterate, plainly vitiates the whole argument. Among the female associates of Sappho whose names are recorded, the few whose birthplace is also specified, Anactoria of Miletus, Gongyla of Colophon, and Eunica of Salamis, were natives of Ionian or Attic communities; of the very districts where unrestrained freedom of female habits was most strongly discountenanced. Young unmarried women, for as such they are represented, who, in violation of the laws of feminine decency in which they had been educated, had left their native country and paternal mansion, in order to join an association which their friends at home, as also so strongly urged by Sappho's apologists, looked upon as a sisterhood of courtesans, could hardly have been persons of very scrupulous modesty; nor can a more favourable judgement be formed of the matron who had encouraged such conduct.

15. But the best criteria for estimating the moral character of Sappho are those transmitted by herself. In the true spirit of Greek lyric poetry, the whole, or by far the greater portion of her works, were devoted to objects around which her own personal interests and sympathies were concentrated. That the most

Her character as portrayed by herself in her ode to Venus.

¹ Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 113, 114.; Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. II. pt. II. p. 423. sq.; Müller, op. cit. p. 177.

engrossing of these objects was the passion of love is not only stated by those who had access to her entire collection, but is abundantly proved by her existing remains. He must indeed be a singularly lenient judge of human character and conduct, who can figure to himself the leader of such a society spending her whole life in studying, inculcating, and celebrating the joys and the distresses, the longings and the disappointments of sexual intercourse, in the most fervid and impassioned, often licentious strains, without having ever been herself tempted to transgress the limits of pure Platonic attachment. Of conjugal love, though far from excluded from her subjects of poetical commentary, a large portion of her poems being hymenæal odes, there is yet no vestige in any extant passage descriptive of the phases which the passion assumed in her own case. In closer illustration of the spirit of her amorous muse, attention may be directed to the first ode in the existing collection, the longest poem of Sappho which has been preserved, still the most brilliant of its kind in any language, and imitated or paraphrased, as a model of excellence, by erotic poets of every succeeding age. It will therefore be familiar to most readers, and few probably who have perused it with unprejudiced minds, either in original or translation¹, have discovered, in its glowing energy of voluptuous expression, any symptoms of that maiden modesty which the more ardent admirers of its author pronounce to have been one of her most prominent characteristics. The ode

¹ The best English versions of this and of the other entire ode of Sappho quoted in the sequel, are still, the author believes, those by Ambrose Phillips (*Life of Sappho*, 1713). They are cited, commented, and praised by Addison, in the *Spectator* (Nos. 223. 229.), and certainly possess, that especially of the shorter ode, considerable merit.

is conceived in the form of a supplication to Venus to soften the heart of an obdurate lover, and procure the fair complainer relief from her sufferings, in the full gratification of the passion which boils in her frenzied bosom. Her divine patroness is invoked "by the remembrance of the favour formerly vouchsafed in a like emergency, when the goddess had appeared to her suppliant in a chariot drawn by sparrows, and had comforted her distress by tender inquiries who it was that caused her sorrow, and by an assurance of the speedy fulfilment of all her desires: that the object of her unrequited affection would ere long pursue her as ardently as he now coldly avoided her; that he would soon snatch those kisses which he now scorned to accept." And this, we are told, is the language of an innocent virgin, or a virtuous matron. It is further sufficiently clear, from her own confession in the same ode, that this love was not the first of the same kind, the pangs and, under Aphrodite's especial auspices, the full indulgence of which she had experienced. Whether the idolised object was in each case the same or different is not distinctly stated; but according to every natural principle of interpretation the latter view is the more probable.¹

¹ Any very close commentary on this ode were scarcely consistent with decency. The preference of sparrows to doves or Cupids, for the office of drawing the chariot of Venus, can be explained, as it has been by the antient commentators, but in one way. These birds were symbolic of but one species of love, that called *ῥοχεντικός* by Athenæus (ix. p. 391.); who quotes Sappho in this passage among his authorities. Conf. Terpsicl. ap. Athen. loc. cit.; Diphil. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 571.; Aristot. Hist. An. v. ii. 4.; Eustath. ad Il. ii. 311. Nor can the last two lines of invocation addressed to Venus,

ἴσα δέ μοι τελέσσαι
θυμὸς ἰμέρῃ, τέλει σον' σὸ δ' αὐτὰ
σύμμαχος ἔσσο,

refer to any other than a purely sensual object. No apologist of Sappho

In her other
poems.

16. The remains of Sappho's Epithalamia, or nuptial odes, while the portions of the collection in which any broad traits of levity were perhaps least to be expected, are those which offer some of the most striking exemplifications of her peculiar faculty of dressing up meretricious ideas in such elegant forms, or such ingenious disguise, as can leave no room for censure on purely poetical grounds, however irreconcilable with the laws of moral propriety or with female purity of sentiment. One of her antient commentators¹, in alluding to her compositions of this class, remarks that "The office of celebrating the rites of Venus with lyre and song appears, by the common consent of her fellow-poets, to have been made over to Sappho. She penetrates into the arcana of the bridal thalamus. She prepares the nuptial bed and marshals the attendant virgins. She then joins Venus in conducting the bridegroom, escorted by the Loves and Graces, into the presence of the bride; and likens him in the valour of his deeds to Achilles." The existing scattered remnants of her text not only supply an apt commentary on this passage, but indicate, in the sequel, a still more detailed "Homeric" description of the exploits of the hero and heroine. In one fragment² Mars is sub-

has yet ventured fairly to grapple with the terms of this brilliant text. By K. O. Müller in particular, the defence has been carefully restricted to the style of the composition. "The indelicacy of such an avowal of passionate love," he remarks, "is much diminished by the manner in which it is made;" on the tact and grace of which he profusely enlarges. (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 175.) The obvious objection to this line of apology is its superfluity. The elegance of Sappho's mode of expressing even the most meretricious ideas has never been questioned. Müller evades altogether the question, how such expressions are to be reconciled with the virgin purity or matronly modesty for which he gives her credit.

¹ Himerius, *Orat.* i. iv.

² *Frg.* LXXIII.

stituted for Achilles, as the mythical type of the male warrior's prowess:

γαμβρὸς ἐσέρχεται ἴσος Ἄρηϊ.

At the outset of the engagement, the heroine utters the bold exclamation: ¹

ἀεὶ παρθένος ἔσσομαι!

This valorous announcement seems to have been reiterated, though in a somewhat less confident tone, in the sequel: ²

ἦ ῥ' ἔτι παρθενίας ἐπιβάλλομαι.

Her firmness of purpose was however, in the end, obliged to give way, as appears from the ensuing dialogue between herself and one of her principal fellow-combatants: ³

παρθενία, παρθενία, ποῖ με λιποῖς' ἀποίχη!

To which Parthenia replies, that she is "gone! fled! never again to return:"

οὐκέτι ἤξω πρὸς σε! οὐκέτι ἤξω!

The following verses belonged doubtless to the congratulatory pæan, celebrating the ultimate triumph of the hero: ⁴

δαύοις ἀπαλᾶς ἐταίρας
ἐν στήθεσσι.

The subsequent reconciliation between him and his

¹ Frg. XLVII. Schneidew.

² Frg. LII. Schneidew.; conf. LXXI. Neue.

³ Frg. XXI. Gaisf. (Neue, LI.); conf. Demetr. de Eloc. cXL.

⁴ Frg. LXXXVI.

fair adversary may be inferred from the description of her, as ¹

μάλα δὴ κεκορημένα
στοργᾶς.

And the permanence of this friendly feeling on her part is evinced by her expression of mortification, on an ensuing similar occasion, at the unexpectedly prolonged absence of her former enemy: ²

μέσαι δὲ νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχεθ' ὥρα,
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθεύδω.

These illustrations will enable us the better to appreciate the validity of the appeals which have been made ³, on the apologetic side of the question, to the two extant passages allusive to the tender intercourse of Sappho with Alcæus: one from her own pen, the other from that of her admirer. ⁴ In the first, to the poet's announcement that "he had a proposal to make, but that modesty tied his tongue," she replies, that "were his desires limited to what was just, he "would not be ashamed to express them." Little weight can attach to such isolated expressions in the mouths of poets, still less in a case where the ambiguous tenor of the dialogue, and the fragmentary form in which it has been transmitted, preclude all insight into the circumstances which gave rise to it. Taking however its terms in the most favourable sense, as

¹ Frg. xci. Frg. lπ.,

τί με Πανδίωνις ὠρανία χελιδών,

may possibly be her reproachful address at daybreak to the disturbing twitter of the swallow.

² Frg. lv.

³ Welck. Kleine Schr. vol. II. p. 103. sq.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 172.

⁴ Frg. lxi.

indicating that Sappho repelled the advances of Alcæus towards an illicit connexion, all that can reasonably be inferred is that he was not a favoured lover. Her reply is nothing more than the received commonplace of coy woman, declining a proposal which happened not to be to her taste, where the language of modesty is as habitually assumed by the loosest characters for the purposes of coquetry, as it is used in its literal sense by the most virtuous. The same or a very similar expression, used probably on a similar occasion, occurred in a passage of Anacreon¹; nor, if this charitable construction of the phrase be insisted on in the one case, can it, in the spirit of fairness, be denied in the other. The notoriously profligate and licentious Teian poet would then be entitled to rank, according to this novel standard of poetical morality, as the type of male bashfulness and discretion, by at least as good a right as that by which Sappho, on the strength of her dialogue with Alcæus, has been set apart as the type of female purity and modesty. No less fallacious is the inference proposed to be derived from the expression "pure," applied by Alcæus to Sappho in another passage.² Here again, nothing is known of the circumstances under which the epithet was used. As Alcæus was probably her senior, it may have been addressed to her at an early period of her life in which it was quite appropriate. It would be however, in any case, unreasonable to expect that an enthusiastic lover would be deterred from paying such a compliment to an amiable mistress,

¹ καλὸν εἶναι τῷ ἔρωτι τὰ δίκαια. Ap. Max. Tyr. Dissert. viii. p. 96. Dav.

² Alcæi Fragm. xlii. Matthiæ.

merely by the consideration that it might not be merited in a rigidly moral point of view.

That the general tendency of Sappho's poetry was not more favourable to her private character than that of the portions preserved, is equally certain from the testimony of those who had access to her entire collection. The judgement of Ovid, while the most specific that has been transmitted, is here as distinct as it is conclusive. While there are few poets of antiquity who combined in a higher degree than Ovid, brilliant and varied genius with critical taste and discernment, and with extensive knowledge of the antient world, its history and manners, his authority is here of the greater weight, that neither his own moral habits nor those of his muse, were such as to render him a fastidious judge in the case of a fair fellow-minstrel.¹ When, therefore, we find Ovid

¹ Welcker admits that Ovid has preserved the most numerous notices of the real facts of Sappho's history. (*Kleine Schr.* vol. II. p. 81.) He admits that the same Ovid must probably have known her compositions by heart. He even goes the length (to which we are hardly prepared to follow him) of maintaining, on Ovid's authority, against O. Müller, the reality of the name and person of Phaon as the genuine lover of Sappho. (*Op. cit.* p. 124. 136.) Yet after this large recognition of the value of Ovid's testimony, that testimony is summarily discarded as a mere echo of the calumnies of the Attic comedians, in regard to every point where it seriously militates against the modern theory. The principal reason assigned for this uncourteous rejection of any evidence to Sappho's moral character, on the part of a witness so valuable in all other particulars, is that Ovid, as a Roman, was incapable (*op. cit.* p. 120.) of "raising himself above the realities of life to the level of Greek ideal sensibility." This imputed disqualification is precisely what, according to the view here taken of the case, imparts the chief weight to his authority. It certainly enabled him to judge more dispassionately, and we apprehend more truly, of the moral attributes of the poetess, than any such second-rate Platonist as Maximus Tyrius, to whose affected sentimentalities (*Diss.* VIII.) so much importance has been attached. Even the great masters of the Academy were evidently so swayed by their own erotic theories, and so

characterising the amatory poetry of Sappho as "unsurpassed in lasciviousness,"¹ it seems incredible that effusions open to such a censure in such a quarter could have been indited by a really modest or virtuous woman. His verdict is well supported by such other antient critics as have ventured, with equal candour, to draw a distinction between the moral tendency and the poetical power and brilliancy of her compositions.²

17. Another delicate question involved in this inquiry, is that concerning the precise nature of the intercourse between Sappho and her female associates. It will neither be necessary nor agreeable here to dwell at any length on the chapter of Greek scandalous history with which this question connects itself, further than by remarking that the taste for impure intercourse, which forms so foul a blot on the Greek national character, was not confined to the male sex; and that, among the females who had the chief credit of being infected with that taste, the Lesbians were so remarkable, as to have procured for it, under its several varieties, the distinctive title of the Lesbian

Her relations to her female associates.

bedazzled by the brilliant illustrations of those theories with which the muse of Sappho supplied them, as to destroy the whole value of their commentaries, in so far as bearing on the moral element of her character. Their habitual association of her with Anacreon, and other notoriously licentious authors of the erotic order (see p. 294. sq., note), in their commentaries, is in itself conclusive proof that their judgements were regulated by far other considerations than those of female virtue or modesty.

¹ Art. Amat. iii. 331.

² Apul. Apol. p. 11. ed. Casaub. 1593; Martial, Epigr. vii. 68., x. 35.; conf. Athen. xiii. 605.; Epicrates ap. eund. Compare more especially the specimen given by Athenæus (xv. p. 697.) of the "Locrian" style of amorous composition, to which style he alludes (xiv. p. 639.) as identical with that of Sappho.

vice. This certainly affords strong presumption that in a Lesbian female association, the main object of which was the pursuit of love and pleasure, even this eccentric variety of the passion was not likely to be excluded. Here again, as in regard to Sappho's dealings with the other sex, veneration for the general brilliancy of her muse, with the indulgence shown by the Attic, especially the Platonic school of philosophy towards every kind of amatory influence, seems to have checked any more severe scrutiny of this part of her character; and among the few remaining comments on the subject, the authority of her apologists is perhaps equal to that of her detractors. Her extant remains however, which still supply the modern critic with his own means of judging between the two parties, leave no reasonable doubt as to which was in the right. In several places, Sappho addresses certain of her female associates in terms of no less voluptuous passion than those employed towards her male objects of adoration. In one passage¹, equal in power and nearly equal in length to the ode to Venus already cited, her ardour is inflamed by the sight of a rival, a male rival it may be remarked, participating, however slightly, in the privileges to which she herself claimed an exclusive right. She describes it as "a bliss equal to
" that of the gods to sit by the side of her beloved, to
" hear the music of her voice, and gaze on her fascinating smile. At the sight of another enjoying this
" happiness her heart sinks, her tongue falters, her
" lips refuse their office; a subtle fire runs through
" her veins, dimness overspreads her eyes, a hollow
" sound fills her ears; cold perspiration, tremor, and

¹ Frag. II.; conf. note to p. 308.

"ashy paleness pervade her frame, and she feels as "if the last ebb of life was approaching." Elsewhere she describes her sensation towards her beloved under the figure of "Cupid, that bitter-sweet resistless "enemy, creeping over her frame, and relaxing every "limb;" and, on the same, and other occasions, gives equally keen expression to her feelings of mortification and jealousy, towards any supposed rival in the affections of a favourite mistress.¹

The former of these extracts has been cited by Longinus, as the passage which, in the whole volume of Greek erotic literature, offered the most powerful concentration into one brilliant focus, of the various modes in which the overwhelming influence of amorous concupiscence can display itself on the human frame. The modern apologists of Sappho discover in it merely a warm expression of "maternal interest" and "friendly attachment;"² and the passionate tone which it assumes does but reflect "the extreme excitability of the Greek character, and the ardour of the southern temperament, where feelings which among nations of colder blood remain altogether distinct are blended or confounded."

That the warm temperament of the Greeks led them to feel more keenly, and express their emotions more vehemently, than the natives of northern latitudes, may, as a general rule, be admitted. To suppose however that it led them, in embodying those emotions in poetical form, to confound feelings as completely distinct among them as among all other nations; that it ever led them, when their hearts were overflowing with maternal fondness or sisterly

¹ Frg. xxxvii.; conf. lviii. lxxx.

² Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 177, 178.

friendship, to address the object of those affections in the language of ardent sensual passion, were as great a libel on the genius as on the common sense of a race, so deservedly celebrated for discriminating taste and propriety in every branch of literature and art. It will doubtless have already occurred to the critical reader, that in the exact ratio in which such overstrained attempts to explain away or palliate the obvious and natural import of these ardent effusions may tend to vindicate the moral character of the poetess, they must tend to depreciate her poetical genius. There is no escape from one or other alternative. If Sappho did *not* mean or feel what she has expressed in the passages above quoted, then the most brilliant extant specimens of her muse become comparatively unmeaning rhapsodies; if she *did* so feel, her sentiments were not those of maternal tenderness or sisterly friendship.¹

Critical
estimate of
her works.

18. An agreeable change of subject is afforded by the transition from the foregoing impartial, and because impartial, in many respects painful scrutiny of the moral character of Sappho, to the critical estimate of her poetical genius. Upon this head no difference of opinion can be discovered among either antient or modern commentators, none at least disparaging to her fame. Of all Greek lyric poets, she is the one perhaps who, in her own peculiar branch of inspiration, was held most nearly to have attained perfection. The unanimity which pervades the judgements of the leading antient critics has already been pointed out.

¹ The commentary of Longinus, τὰ συμβαίνοντα ταῖς ἐρωτικαῖς μανίαις παθήματα . . . ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς, κ.τ.λ., would also, if that commentator had understood his text in the sense proposed by Müller, be a pure nullity. Conf. Appendix F.

Our means of testing their verdict by internal evidence, though unfortunately but limited, are yet amply sufficient to establish its justice. There can also be no doubt that, in the two longer compositions above appealed to, we possess two of her most brilliant productions; for as such they are quoted and eulogised by the standard authors in whose text they have been preserved.

That the more dazzling characteristics of Sappho's muse were of a licentious, or even meretricious tendency, can in itself form no conclusive argument of her having been, when free from counteracting influences, less feelingly alive in the abstract, than many rival poets of less exceptionable morality, to the truly great and excellent in human character, even to the virtues by which she herself was least distinguished. Such anomalies are familiar in every age, and above all perhaps, as evinced by the case of Archilochus, in the rich variety of ethic studies presented by the literary history of Greece. The works of Sappho, however, supply no evidence of her fame having rested on any more solid basis than her power of portraying the tender passions, coupled with brilliancy of description, purity of style, and harmony of numbers. Her hymenæals, where a wider opening was afforded to a more sober vein of sentiment, are much in the same glowing enthusiastic strain as the rest of her odes. The existing collection comprises, indeed, occasional passages ostensibly of the didactic or gnomic order, embodying maxims for the guidance of female conduct, addressed to her young friends. But these lessons are directed chiefly to the formation of the taste of her pupils in music, poetry, dress, carriage, and other elegant arts and

accomplishments which fell within her own immediate province of academical instruction. The few dogmas of a graver tendency, however beautifully expressed, are but specimens of what may be called the popular ethic commonplace of the lyric literature of the age.¹ It was, therefore, to the spirit of love, tenderness, and ideal beauty, which, free from the alloy of any darker or sterner ingredients, breathed through all her productions, rather than to any depth or precision of the moral feeling with which they were seasoned, that she was indebted for the high encomia pronounced on her intellectual attributes by Solon and Plato, authorities themselves peculiarly susceptible of the former class of influences. Her pathos, even where most overpowering, appeals but to the more delicate sympathies of our nature, to those concentrated around the affections of love, sorrow, mortification, or disappointment. The graver or darker moods of mind, fortitude, endurance, resignation, still less anger, revenge, remorse, seem to have found no place in her system of poetical ethics. Hence the prevailing suavity of her style as often subsides to languor as rises to passion, but seldom if ever sinks below the one or soars above the other. The honour which Longinus awards to one of her odes, of ranking among the examples of that attribute of poetical

¹ Frg. xli. xlv. One of the passages of this kind (frg. x.) partakes much of what is called in modern criticism a "conceit." A question appears to have arisen in Sappho's conversational circle as to the merits or demerits of death. The poetess, in answer probably to some sentimental commonplace of an opposite tendency, argued that "death could not be a blessing, otherwise the gods would die. Their reservation to themselves of the privilege of immortality proved that death was an evil." Sappho was satirised accordingly on the Attic stage for such exercise of intellectual subtlety. Supra, p. 300. note.

power classed by him under the general head of The Sublime, is due solely to the wonderful concentration within those few stanzas of the more striking phases or influences of the passion of love. Nor did she herself lay claim to any loftier vein of inspiration, if we may trust the terms in which one of her antient critics has made her contrast her own muse with that of her countryman Alcæus.¹

Her imagery, in the same graceful spirit of consistency, is borrowed alone or chiefly from the softer more attractive objects of life, real or ideal; the sweetest flowers, the fairest colours, the gentlest animals, the brightest phases of the heavenly bodies. Even the destructive elements assume, at her behest, mildness in the exercise of their powers. "The wind rushing down the mountain gorge, and rending the boughs of the majestic oak,"² as a type of the invincible power of love on the sternest bosom; "the autumnal rain hissing through the branches, and scattering the seared leaves of the ash,"³ as a figure of some cheerless affection of the heart, are the harshest and dreariest images borrowed by her from the phenomena of the material world. Her mythological agents are similarly selected: the "bliss-bestowing Cypris; the bitter-sweet, resistless, limb-dissolving Cupid"⁴; the golden-throned Aurora; the "rosy-armed Graces"⁵; the Muses with their fair "flowing tresses"⁶; Leda with her hyacinthine egg⁷; "Mercury with his ambrosial chalice."⁸ Once alone the dark Hades is invoked, as a terror to the female who "despises the flowers of Pieria."⁹ Such figurative embellishments however are chiefly displayed

¹ Ovid. Her. xv. 30.² Frg. LXXIV.³ Frg. IV.⁴ Frg. XXXVII.⁵ Frg. XXII.⁶ Frg. I.⁷ Frg. XXX.⁸ Frg. LXXIX.⁹ Frg. XIX.

in her lighter passages. Her more vivid outbreaks of passion are distinguished rather by that truthful, unstudied, and unadorned simplicity of expression, which insures their effect on the reader by the testimony it affords to their sincerity in the breast of their author. In the ode, for example, selected by Longinus as illustrative of the amatory sublime, the whole of that electrifying effect which he so well appreciates, depends on the naked reality with which the combined emotions are described. The same remark applies to her complaining ode to Venus, where, with the exception of the agency of the goddess herself, the whole description, however brilliantly worded, is confined to the actual facts and feelings to which it was the main object of the poetess to give expression.

The passage above referred to, in which Sappho taunts a noble Lesbian dame with insensibility to the charm of her own favourite pursuits, shows that she possessed considerable powers of sarcasm when she thought fit to exercise them :

κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσῃ, οὐδ' ἔτι τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν
ἔσσετ' οὐδέποτ' εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις ῥόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας· ἀλλ' ἀφανῆς, κῆν' Αἶδα δόμοις,
φοιτάσεις, πεδ' ἀμαυρῶν νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα. . . .

In the cold grave where thou shalt lie,
All memory too of thee shall die ;
Who, in this life's auspicious hours,
Disdain'st Pieria's genial flowers.
And, in the mansions of the dead,
With the vile crowd of ghosts thy shade,
While nobler spirits point with scorn,
Shall flit neglected and forlorn. . . .

The metres of Sappho are, in their general character,

substantially the same as those of Alcæus; combinations of dactylic, trochaic, and choriambic forms, occasionally sustained by the more emphatic iambus and spondee. The chief difference between their modes of employing the elements common to each is, that while Alcæus avails himself with greater freedom of those of a more masculine cadence, in imparting vigour to the native softness of Æolian harmony, Sappho rather seeks to turn that softness to its full account, in enhancing the tenderness and pathos of her appeals.¹ The melody not only of her numbers, but of her language, and her peculiar faculty of adapting the sound of the words and the structure of the sentences to the character of the idea to be expressed, are especially noticed by antient critics.² By one her whole poetry is described as so perfectly musical and harmonious, that even the harshest voice or most awkward recital could hardly render it unpleasing to the ear.³ Her odes were arranged by herself to the softest of Greek measures, the Mixolydian, of which some authors describe her as the inventress.⁴

¹ This effect may be illustrated, in the conversion of the iambus of the Alcæic into the trochee of the Sapphic strophe, by the transposition of a single syllable common to the leading verse of each :

τὸ | μὲν γὰρ ἐνθ' ἐν κῆμα κῶλον δέταϊ |
| ποικιλὰ θρόν' ἀθῶν' Ἀφροδίτῃ.

For a more detailed analysis of the metres of Sappho, see Neue, p. 12. sqq. ; and Smith, Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biogr. art. Sappho, to which the author is indebted for the foregoing metrical scheme.

² Dion. Hal. de Comp. Verb. xxiii. ; De adm. vi dic. Demosth. p. 1079. Reisk.

³ Demetrius de Elocut. cxxxii., conf. clxvi.

⁴ Aristox. ap. Plut. de Mus. xvi. It is somewhat remarkable that no notice is extant of an edition of Sappho having been prepared by any one of the great Alexandrian critics, or even of her poems having, like the works of Archilochus, Alcæus, and other leading lyric masters of

Branches
of compo-
sition culti-
vated by
her.

19. The entire works of Sappho, as indicated by the grammarians, comprised Love-songs (Erotica), Epithalamia, or Bridal-songs, Hymns, Epigrams, Elegies, and Iambics.¹ The collection was distributed by the same authorities into nine books, with reference more, it would seem, to the varieties of the measure than of the subject of the compositions. Of Iambics in the proper sense no examples remain; and the two or three preserved specimens of Elegiac measure, in so far as entitled to a place in the collection, being upon the whole the least authenticated part of its contents, belong to the previous head of Epigrams. By far the greater portion of her remains are of the two first-mentioned classes, the Erotica and Epithalamia. No passages of so purely convivial a character have been transmitted, as to warrant the belief that the works of Sappho comprised poems of the Bacchic order. The existing collection however, contains many incidental illustrations or allusions of a Dionysiac tendency.² These, although for the most part not only free from any tinge of grossness, but even marked by all her usual grace and delicacy, may yet probably have afforded a handle to the composition of some of those scenes of the comic drama, where she is introduced as boon companion of Archilochus, Hipponax, and Anacreon in their revels. Sappho is also mentioned among the supposed authors of some of the popular Scolia.³

Her hymns were chiefly in honour of Venus and this period, supplied those critics with subject of special commentary. The only authors of commentaries on Sappho whose names have been recorded are Chamæleon, Cullias, and others, who belong to the secondary order of classical grammarians. Conf. Neue, p. 11.

¹ Suid. v. Σαπφώ; conf. Neue, p. 10. sq.

² Fragg. v. VII. XV. XXXIII. LXX. LXXIX.

³ Eustath. ad Il. II. 711.

Cupid. Mention is also made of one to Diana¹; and other deities, it may be presumed, were occasionally celebrated. All these addresses appear to have been in an amorous rather than a devotional strain, dwelling on the lighter adventures rather than on the more dignified functions of the divinities invoked. Threnetic odes are also ascribed to Sappho, among which a lament of Adonis² is alluded to: but these poems are not classed under any separate head; and in an extant passage, she plainly intimates that this gloomier style of composition was little to her taste.³

The Bridal-songs formed a large portion of her works, under considerable variety of character. Sometimes they assumed the form of eclogues, or short dramatic pieces⁴, where bands of youths and virgins pleaded, in heroic measure, for and against the right of the bridegroom to his mistress. A similar altercation took place between the chorus of virgins and the friend of the bridegroom, who acted as porter at the door of the thalamus, and whom the band of fair choristers endeavoured to obstruct in the exercise of his functions. To this poetical dialogue succeeded a chorus in which the contending parties joined, and which was arranged in short lyric strophes, with appropriate epode or burden. Occasionally, as we have seen, the dramatic details of the piece were extended to the inner arcana of the thalamus, in a spirit of minuteness in better keeping with the genius at large of the Sapphic muse, than with the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial

¹ Philostr. vit. Apoll. i. 30.

² Anthol. Pal. vii. 407.; conf. frg. cxxviii.

³ Frg. xxviii.

⁴ Frg. xxxviii.; Neue ad loc.

rite. That such was the plan of these compositions appears from the tenor of their remains, illustrated by parallel notices of antient writers.¹ Other evidence to the same effect is supplied by the analogy of two popular hymenæal odes of Catullus², comprising many of the same metrical forms preferred by the poetess in similar cases, and much of the imagery and language of which is borrowed from still extant passages of Sappho. It is the more to be regretted that no entire specimen of her odes of this class should have been preserved, from their having offered apparently, on a small scale, a nearer approach to pure dramatic composition than had yet been made in any other department of poetry, even in the dithyramb, from which the regular drama derived its origin. The loss is also cruelly embittered by the tantalising brilliancy of some of the passages which have reached us, either in the original, or as paraphrased by the more tasteful antient commentators. In one³ place, she described “the bridegroom as conducted by Venus in the chariot of the Graces, and escorted by “a chorus of Nymphs and Cupids. The hair of “the goddess was bound with hyacinthine fillets, except in front, where it sported freely in the breeze. “The Cupids, their locks entwined with gold, and “waving torches in the air, ran before the chariot. “The bride was likened to a delicious fruit, the “sweets of which had been matured on the topmost “branch of the tree, coveted by all, accessible to “none but to the single happy youth destined, in “their full ripeness, to pluck and enjoy them.”

¹ Demetr. de Eloc. CLXVII.

² Carm. LXI. LXII.

³ Frg. CXXXIII.; Himerius, Orat. I. iv. sqq., conf. frg. XXXV.; Catull. LXII. 39.

DAMOPHYLA. ERINNA. 600 B. C.

20. The only other poetesses to whom tradition Damophyla. assigns a place in this period, Damophyla and Erinna, were both, in the same tradition, pupils of Sappho. Their history, therefore, appropriately connects itself with that of their illustrious friend and preceptress. Damophyla was a native of Pamphylia, a district of Asia Minor colonised by Æolian Greeks. The precise spot of her nativity is not recorded. Neither she nor her poems appear to have enjoyed any great degree of celebrity; nor is her name included in the list of the nine standard lyric poetesses, or mortal muses, of the Alexandrian canon. She composed, like her mistress, love-songs and hymns, none of which have been preserved. Among her compositions of the latter class, one in honour of Artemis is described as a close imitation of similar odes of Sappho.¹

Greater interest attaches to Erinna, as well from Erinna. the excellence of her genius, as from the singularity of the few details of her history which have been recorded. The popular account of her having been a contemporary of Sappho rests but on the testimony of two Byzantine compilers, Suidas² and Eustathius³, who appear however to have had access to authentic sources. Eusebius⁴ on the other hand, on less sufficient authority⁵, brings her epoch down

¹ Philostr. vit. Apoll. i. 30.² v. "Ἑρυνα.³ Eustath. ad Il. ii. 711.⁴ Ap. Hieronym. ad Ol. 106.⁵ That possibly of Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. viii., who has evidently confounded the name of Myron, the sculptor of the LXXXVth Olympiad, with that of Myro, a female friend of Erinna herself. Conf. Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. ii. p. 147.

as low as the cvith Olympiad, about 350 B. C. Some commentators would reconcile these conflicting data by the common, but in this instance, as in almost every other, unwarranted expedient of assuming two Erinna's ; one in the age of Sappho, the other in that of Alexander the Great. The general tenor of the allusions both to herself and her works, especially in the popular anthologies where she is a frequent subject of celebration, is certainly favourable to the tradition of her greater antiquity, and of her connexion with Sappho and her school. Nor indeed is it likely, that had so distinguished a female lived in the age of Alexander the Great, the facts of her history would have been involved in so much obscurity. Upon the whole therefore, the balance of circumstantial evidence is in favour of the more antient date.

Erinna is familiarly called by the antients a Lesbian or Mitylenæan. These titles however seem to refer merely to her habitual residence in Lesbos ; for in other more specific notices her nativity is ascribed to Telos, a small island of the Ægæan in the neighbourhood of Rhodes, and a member, it would appear, of the Rhodian confederacy.¹ The preference of Mitylene as her place of abode connects itself with the legend of her intimacy with Sappho, to join whose attractive circle she has very naturally been supposed, like other youthful votaries of love and art, to have removed from her paternal mansion. This view however is little consistent with the subsequent, and appa-

¹ Suid. et Eustath. locc. citt. ; conf. Steph. Byz. v. Τήρος ; but the name of this latter island, like that of Teos, in the notice of Suidas, appears to originate in a corruption of, or confusion with, Telos. Welck. op. cit. p. 146.

rently authentic details of her history. She is there described as dying at the early age of nineteen, a victim to the combined effects of an excited imagination, and of the restraints imposed on its indulgence by her parents, who had no sympathy with her favourite pursuits, and kept her closely engaged at the loom and other household avocations.¹ Her removal to Lesbos could, under these circumstances, only have been consequent on a general change of residence, from whatever cause, by her family.

This story therefore seems, as remarked in a previous page, to illustrate the view above taken of the real character of Sappho's circle of female associates, of their habits, and of the estimation in which they were held by the more orderly and respectable classes of Hellenic society. It was very natural that a pair of honest Dorian settlers in Mitylene, should guard against all risk of their daughter's being drawn into the vortex of refined dissipation on the verge of which they had placed her. It was equally natural that a maiden of fervid temperament, conscious of her capacity to shine among the most brilliant members of the Sapphic sisterhood, and exposed on every side to its seductive attractions, should pine and languish under the disappointment.²

The most celebrated work of Erinna, entitled *Ela-*

¹ Suid. et Eustath. locc. cit.; conf. Anthol. Pal. vii. 11., ix. 190.

² The following passage of Sappho (frg. xxxii.), whether originally so intended or not, has much the appearance of a remonstrance, placed in the mouth of Erinna, against her mother's interference with her freedom of conduct :

γλυκεῖα μήτερ οὔτοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἱστόν,
πόθρ δαμείσα παιδός, βραδυνὰν δι' Ἀφροδίταν.

O mother dear, no longer the spindle I can turn,
Such fires for my beloved youth in this sad bosom burn !

catē, or "the Spindle," appears to have been a metrical complaint of the hard destiny which chained her to the loom, and cramped the exercise of the more brilliant talents with which nature had endowed her. The poem embodied probably, like other parallel compositions of the period, such as the *Nanno* of *Mimnermus*, a variety of plaintive notices of, or allusions to, her own affairs and objects of interest. It comprised three hundred hexameter lines, in a dialect described as a combination of *Æolic* and *Doric* elements.¹ The more extended celebrity or popularity of this poem appears, judging from extant sources, to have been limited very much to the lower ages of classical literature. No allusion occurs either to *Erinna* herself or to her "Spindle" until towards the close of the *Alexandrian* period, when both her history and her works became favourite subjects of comment with the popular epigrammatists. By several of these commentators, the Spindle is described in terms of boundless eulogy, as placing its author, in the art of hexameter composition, on a level with *Homer*, and as far above *Sappho* as *Sappho* was superior to *Erinna* in lyric song²; but in other more fastidious quarters, it is characterised as distinguished rather by that negative kind of merit which consists in the absence of faults, than by any very striking excellences.³ Of the two hexameter couplets which have been transmitted in connexion with the name of *Erinna*, one⁴ has, with apparent reason, been considered as a fragment of her *Elacate*. These verses would seem to have formed the close of a dirge or lament on the

¹ *Suid.* loc. cit.; *Eustath.* loc. cit.

² *Eustath.* loc. cit.; conf. *Anthol. Pal.* ix. 190.

³ *Antiphan.* in *Anthol. Pal.* xi. 322.

⁴ *Ap. Schneidew.* *Delect. Poes. Gr.* iii. p. 323. frg. i.; *Stob. Floril.* cxviii. 4.

death of a friend, or possibly on her own anticipated fate, and are in an elegant but somewhat enigmatical strain of plaintive expression. "Soon shall this "faint echo," she sings, "be wafted to Hades, and "all will then be silent in the grave; for the darkness "of death steals over the eyes:"

τοῦτο μὲν εἰς Ἀἴδαν κενεὰ διανήχεται ἄχῳ,
σιγὰ δ' ἐν νεκύεσσιν· τὸ δὲ σκότος ὅσσε καταρρεῖ.

Erinna is also described by her biographers as having composed epigrams.¹ In the popular anthologies, accordingly, various specimens of this kind of composition are attributed to her. Two² are sepulchral elegies in honour of a female friend named Baucis. A third³ is in praise of a work of sculpture. A fourth⁴, in two hexameter lines, expresses anxiety for the return of another friend from a voyage. There seems no serious ground for questioning the genuine character of these compositions; and several of them possess considerable merit, especially one of the epitaphs on Baucis. All are perhaps tinged with the sententious mannerism of the later epigrammatic school, a quality which may not seem favourable to the antiquity claimed for their author. That style however must have had a beginning; and symptoms of it are not wanting in the collections of Simonides, and of other popular poets of an age equal to, or little removed from, that ascribed to Erinna.

¹ Suid. v. Ἑριννα. The Ode to Rome, which vulgarly passes current as a work of Erinna, has been ascribed with better right to Melinno, an otherwise obscure poetess of the early part of the Roman period. Welck. Kl. Schr. vol. II. p. 160.

² Anthol. Pal. VII. 710. 712. The genuine character of the latter of these two epitaphs seems to have been recognised by Leonidas of Tarentum, a fellow-epigrammatist, in the third century B. C. Conf. Anthol. Pal. VII. 13.

³ Anthol. Pal. VI. 352.

⁴ Ap. Athen. VII. p. 283.

CHAP. VI.

MIMNERMUS. SOLON. "SEVEN SAGES." PITTACUS. PERIANDER. CLEOBULUS. CHILON. BIAS.

1. MIMNERMUS. HIS AGE, BIRTHPLACE, CHARACTER.—2. HIS WORKS. STYLE OF ELEGIAC POETRY.—3. SOLON. HIS AGE, BIRTHPLACE, FAMILY.—4. EARLY LIFE. SALAMINIAN WAR. SACRED WAR. LEGISLATIVE CODE.—5. TRAVELS. INTERVIEW WITH CRÆSUS. NARRATIVE OF HERODOTUS.—6. RETURN TO ATHENS. DEATH. PRIVATE CHARACTER.—7. POETICAL COMPOSITIONS. GNOMIC SCHOOL OF POETRY.—8. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF SOLON'S POETICAL GENIUS AND WORKS.—9. POEM AND LEGEND OF ATLANTIS.—10. ITS ORIGIN AND IMPORT.—11. A PURE PLATONIC ALLEGORY.—12. "SEVEN SAGES." PITTACUS.—13. PERIANDER.—14. JUST ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER.—15. CLEOBULUS. CLEOBULINE.—16. CHILON. BIAS.

MIMNERMUS.¹ 600 B. C.

Age, birth-
place, cha-
racter.

1. THE age of Mimnermus nearly coincides with that of Sappho, as also with that of his own illustrious friend and correspondent Solon. His youth extended over the latter part of the seventh century B. C. ; his manhood over the first half of the sixth.² Of the date of his birth or death no specific notice has been preserved ; but he seems to have been somewhat senior to his two distinguished contemporaries. In the best accredited notices ³ he is described as a native of Colophon. Other less valid authorities

¹ Conf. Bach, *Mimnermi Carmina*; Gaisf. *Poett. minn.* ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 217. ; Bergk, *Poett. lyrr.* p. 314. ; Schneidewin, *Delect. Poes. Gr.* pt. I. p. 12. The remains are cited according to the arrangement of Bach, unless where another collection is specified.

² Bach, *op. cit.* p. 4. ; conf. Clint. *F. H.* vol. I. p. 206. 366.

³ Strabo, xiv. p. 643. ; Procl. *Chrestom.* Gaisf. p. 379. ; conf. Suid. v. *Μίμνερμος*.

make him a Smyrnæan.¹ The distinction involved is of little importance as affecting his real origin. The later Ionian Smyrna was a distinguished Colophonian colony, as Mimnermus himself informs us; and as he, in several extant passages, alludes with pride and interest to the destinies of that city², it might naturally occur to speculative critics, amid any uncertainty on the subject, to assign the honour of his birth to the daughter rather than to the parent state. The surname Ligyastades³, also written Ligystiades, Ligyrtiades, by which he is occasionally designated, might seem to imply that his father's name was Ligyastes, or Ligyrtes. The title may however with better reason be interpreted, and has been interpreted by the antients, as a mere figurative patronymic, indicating the "Plaintive" style of his poetry.

The only clearly ascertained fact in the life of Mimnermus is his passion for a female flute-player named Nanno⁴; a passion supposed by some commentators to have been unrequited, and to have been the chief source of that repining morbid spirit which pervades his poetry. But of disappointed love no trace appears, either in his remains, or in the notices of those who possessed his works entire. Among the various charges of cruelty preferred by him against destiny, not one is urged on any such ground; and the somewhat vague allusions of the antients to his connexion

¹ Suid. loc. cit.; who also vaguely mentions Astypalæa, as laying claim to his nativity. This name is common to various unimportant communities in Attica, Ionia, and the isles of the Ægean.

² Strab. xiv. p. 634.; Paus. ix. xxix.; frgg. xi. xii. xiii.

³ Suid. loc. cit.; Solon ap. Diog. Laert. in vit. Sol.; conf. Bach, p. 7.

⁴ Hermesian. ap. Athen. xiii. p. 598.; Athen. xiii. p. 597.; Posidipp. in Anthol. Pal. xii. 168.

with Nanno, while indicating that he had rivals, would rather imply that he was the successful lover, and as such an object of persecution to less favoured suitors.¹ It is also evident, from the general tone of his verse², that his attachment to Nanno was of no such engrossing nature as to prevent his following up his amours freely in other quarters. His more especial devotion to this heroine seems, in fact, to have gone little further than her selection by preference as a poetical centre, or bond of unity, for a compilation of his miscellaneous pieces; for such appears to have been the work which, whether from its having been addressed or merely dedicated to her, bore the title of "Nanno."³

The compositions of Mimnermus are more rich in illustrations of the prominent features of his temper and character than of the events of his life. He appears in his own page as an enthusiastic, though far from joyous, votary of pleasure. The ardour of his voluptuous career is tempered throughout by a spirit of peevish discontent, originating, to all appearance, more in a natural melancholy of disposition, and in a keen sense of the ephemeral nature of his favourite enjoyments, than in any real morti-

¹ Another more delicate cause of the supposed coldness of Nanno, has been discovered in the poet's physical disqualification for the duties of a lover by the mutilating effects of a wound. But this view rests solely on an obscure allusion of Ovid (*Ibis*, 550.), where even the name of the person referred to is of doubtful reading. The tenor of the Colophonian poet's own text is certainly far from favourable to this supposition. Such a cause must have precluded, not merely the success, but the urgent pressure of his suit. The complaints also which he so frequently emits against the influence of old age, and of other natural causes, in destroying the taste or capacity for his favourite enjoyments, would, upon this view, be pointless and unmeaning.

² *Frg. i. alibi.*

³ *Frgg. III. v. IX. XII. XIII.*

fication to which he was subjected in the pursuit of them. Modern critics¹ indeed, would discover a more honourable source of this morbid querulous tone of sentiment, in the poet's feelings of distress and humiliation for the declining fortunes of his native Ionian confederacy, exposed to the aggressions and encroachments of the Lydian monarchs. Appeal has been more especially made to the conquest, by those monarchs, of various flourishing Ionian cities, during or shortly before the age of Mimnermus; to that of Colophon his own residence, by Gyges in the previous generation; and to that of Smyrna, Colophon's most distinguished colony, possibly his birthplace, taken and destroyed by Halyattes during the poet's lifetime. But plausible as this mode of explaining the peculiarities of his style may be in theory, it is certain that neither his remains, nor the notices of the antient commentators, afford the least ground of belief that patriotism, or politics in any shape, exercised a serious influence on the tone either of his mind or of his poetical composition. The few passages allusive to his national history are, in fact, among the least gloomy or repining in the whole collection. While no where adverting to the disasters of either Smyrna or Colophon, he refers² with apparent pride and satisfaction to the exploits of his Ionian ancestors, who "crossing from Pylos into Asia, settled at the charming Colophon; whence issuing, under divine auspices, they seized and possessed the Æolian Smyrna." In another passage³ he describes, also in terms of evident exultation, the valour displayed by a warrior

¹ Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. xl. viii. p. 115.

² Strab. xiv. p. 634.; frgg. xii. xiii.

³ Frg. xiii.

of Smyrna, in the course of some early war of that state against the Lydians. He seems also, in several incidental texts, to intimate with some plainness, that however alive to the traditional glories of his forefathers, he cared comparatively little for the present condition or concerns of their descendants, his own contemporaries.¹ His outbreaks of melancholy or doleful feeling, on the other hand, are all concentrated around his own selfish, and in great part trivial or imaginary, griefs and annoyances. His sensibility is that of the sensualist, not of the patriot; of the martyr, not to the real calamities of human life, but to those petty ills, if such they can be called, which are in a great measure inseparable from human existence. His most hateful enemy is, not the Lydian with his battering-ram or fetters, but the dæmon of old age, despoiling him of the vigour which enables him freely to participate in his favourite enjoyments, and of the beauty which renders him pleasing to those qualified to bestow them. "He shudders, and
" a cold sweat pervades his frame, when he thinks how
" transient are the flowers of youth, and contemplates
" them fading on his own brow. Death is pronounced
" far preferable to life, as soon as the fatal bourn is
" overstepped which separates manhood from old
" age."² Upon these and similar images he dwells with a frequency, a copiousness, and an earnestness, occasionally even a monotonous sameness of repetition, which stamp them as representing his dominant objects of interest. Mimnermus was in fact a professed man of pleasure; nor is there reason to believe that he was any thing more. The main

¹ *Frg.* vii.² *Frgg.* i. iii. v.

difference between him and the ordinary race of Greek debauchees, as represented for example by his fellow-poet Anacreon, was that the Teian bard was a joyous, Mimnermus a discontented voluptuary. Anacreon cared not for old age. The spirit which, in spite of all such impediments, enabled him to prosecute his jovial career, rather adds zest to his indulgence; and when Venus proves niggardly of her gifts, he finds ample consolation in the never-failing bounties of Bacchus. To the morbid but more refined sensibility of Mimnermus, the enjoyments of the table appear to hold out comparatively little charm. His pursuits and desires are chiefly of the amorous kind; and even these, unless they can be indulged with a certain vigorous freshness, prove a source of discontent rather than of gratification.

These peculiarities of his character are comprehensively and vividly shadowed forth in the wish expressed by him, in an extant and highly characteristic passage of his works, "that his life might be free " from disease or sorrow, but might not be prolonged " beyond his sixtieth year:" as the period obviously, at which the physical powers, even without disease, begin seriously to decay. To this sentiment Solon, a contemporary and acquaintance, retorted in another epigram, "that the number sixty, under these conditions, might well be corrected into eighty:"

Μιμν. αἱ γὰρ ἄτερ νόσων τε καὶ ἀργαλέων μελεδῶνων
ἐξηκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

Σολ. ἀλλ' εἴ μοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι πείσεις, ἔξελε τοῦτο,
μηδὲ μέγαιρ' ὅτι σεῦ λώϊον ἐφρασάμην·
καὶ μεταποίησον, Λιγυστάδῃ, ὥδ' ὃν ἄειδε,
ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου.

Mim. Oh that my days, free from disease or woe,
On placid waters down life's stream may flow ;
And when their course shall reach its sixtieth year,
Death's friendly sleep may close my sojourn here !

Sol. Bear with me, gentle Colophonian friend,
If I one sentence of thy wish would mend :
The life of man, on terms like these begun,
Its prosperous course full eighty years may run.¹

A large portion of his remains are, accordingly, little more than running commentaries on the above text, deprecating the approach of old age, and invoking death as a friendly ally and deliverer from the insidious assaults of this his chief or only formidable enemy.

But, although Mimnermus was a morbid and effeminate, and in so far a contemptible voluptuary, he must not be denied the honour which justly belongs to him, of a degree of refinement and delicacy, even purity of taste, in the choice and pursuit of his

¹ *Erg.* vi. ; *conf.* Bergk, *Poett. lyr. Fragm. Mimn.* 6. p. 316., *Fragm. Solonis*, 22. p. 331. Several modern commentators (*Gaisf. Sol. frag.* i. ed. Lips. p. 134. ; *Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit.* xi. viii. p. 115.) have taken the very strange liberty of corrupting the terms and perverting the sense of these two passages, by placing the number eighty in the mouth of Mimnermus, and sixty in that of Solon. The motive for this proceeding appears to have been the assumption, that as Solon, in another familiar text, fixes the ordinary and natural duration of human old age at seventy years, it was not likely that he would be desirous of prolonging the life of a friend to eighty. But is it not, on the other hand, quite as unlikely that he would be desirous of depriving a friend of ten full years of his natural life ? We must not, however, overlook the condition by which the wish of Mimnermus was accompanied, "that the prescribed period should be free from disease or sorrow." With this condition, even the infirmities of octogenarian life, however distasteful to the Colophonian sensualist, might be quite palatable to the Athenian philosopher. The improbability, to say the least, of Mimnermus ever having expressed a wish for octogenarian honours, is abundantly proved by other passages of his remains, in which he declares he would far rather die than outlive the vigour of his physical faculties.

sensual delights ; a combination of qualities of which it might perhaps be difficult to discover another example in the annals of Greek luxurious life. That he had no turn for intemperate revelry, or, in so far as existing evidence admits of our judging, for any species of Bacchic enjoyment which exceeded the bounds of elegant social conviviality¹, has already been remarked. As little trace is there, either in his own remains or in the authentic notices of his life, of his amorous inclinations, however uncontrolled within their own immediate sphere, having ever been directed towards those more degrading walks of sensuality, a taste for which was the boast, as it must ever remain the indelible shame and disgrace, of many even of the more enlightened votaries of pleasure among his fellow-countrymen.²

2. Mimnermus seems to have composed exclusively in elegiac measure. He also established a certain claim to originality in the cultivation of this order of composition. Although the elegy had, from its first beginnings, a mournful tendency, and had been awarded a preference in odes of a funereal or melancholy character by Archilochus and other early poets, Mimnermus is the first author who peculiarly and systematically adapted it to the more tender class of plaintive subjects. So highly appreciated were his claims to novelty, if not to absolute originality, in this respect, and so marked the terms in which they were asserted by his admirers, as to have led superficial critics, both antient and modern, to admit him, in the

Works.
Style of
elegiac
poetry.

¹ Conf. Horat. Epist. i. vi. 65.

² On the corrupted passage of Athenæus (xv. p. 699.), which some commentators would interpret in this unfavourable sense, see Bach, p. 15.

face of insuperable chronological difficulties, to a competition with Callinus and Archilochus for the honour of "inventing" the elegiac measure itself. Setting aside this more fanciful title to priority, Mimnermus enjoys, perhaps deservedly, the same preeminence among amatory poets of the elegiac order, as Sappho among the cultivators of the melic branches of erotic poetry. Propertius¹ pronounces his amorous muse, by a not certainly very apposite parallel, superior even to that of Homer; and Horace², with more propriety, awards him a like preference to Callimachus. His works were also honoured, like those of Archilochus and other distinguished predecessors, with public recitation by professional rhapsodists. Their value, it may be presumed, was greatly enhanced in the estimation of the contemporary audience, by the musical accompaniment with which they were provided by their author; Mimnermus being no less distinguished as a musician than as a poet. The instrument on which he chiefly excelled was the flute³, the one more immediately proper to the Elegiac Muse; and he is also mentioned as the author of several popular and apparently able and elaborate musical compositions.⁴

If, as the tenor of the extant notices imply, the bulk of his collective works were love-songs, but a very disproportionate sample of them is afforded by the preserved passages, to scarcely a single one of which can the above description be considered strictly

¹ I. ix. 11.

² Epist. II. ii. 101.; conf. Alex. Ætol. ap. Athen. xv. 699.

³ Hermesian. ap. Athen. XIII. p. 598.; conf. xv. p. 620.; Suid. v. Μίμν.; Plut. de Mus. ix.

⁴ Among others, of the dirge called *κραδίας νόμος*, performed at the procession of the human victims of Apollo, in the Thargelia and other barbarous rites of the same description. Plut. de Mus.

applicable. Among those of sufficient compass to afford any distinct criterion of the nature of their subject, seven are engrossed with his favourite complaints of the ephemeral nature of worldly enjoyment; two contain the notices above referred to, of his native republic Colophon and its colony Smyrna; as many are devoted to incidental points of mythology; while the remainder consist of casual remarks on men and things. The whole comprise about eighty verses.

The most celebrated, as it was probably the most bulky composition of Mimnermus, was that bearing the name of his mistress Nanno, in two books; and from it are derived the greater number of passages in the preserved collection. The precise character of this poem is doubtful. It appears to have been too long for mere love elegy or encomial address. Nor do the extant citations betray symptoms of the style proper to such productions. The most probable view is that already noticed, that, like the Lyde of his countryman Antimachus, the Bittis of Philetas, and the Leontium of Hermesianax, all modelled probably on the Nanno, it was a collection of poems concentrated by means of a dedication, or perhaps by some internal link of connexion, around the person of the one more engrossing object of the poet's gallant devotion.¹

The poetry of Mimnermus, as might be expected from his own refined effeminacy of character and from the tenor of his favourite subjects, is more remarkable for elegance of expression than for other more sterling qualities. There is something, indeed, in the querulous selfishness of the discontented voluptuary which, in spite of his acknowledged graces, of diction and style, can hardly fail to render

¹ Conf. Bach, p. 21.

many parts of his collection unpalatable to the reader of refined taste or judgement. The moral precepts which occasionally beam through this not very favourable medium, inculcate at best but a meagre as well as morbid system of ethics. Nor are the few graver dogmas of poetical philosophy which he inculcates greatly distinguished for either point or originality. One of the most effective among them is a paraphrase¹ of a familiar commentary of Homer on the vanity of human life. Much indeed of the charm of several others of his best passages, consists in an elegant adaptation of popular Homeric ideas and phrases to his own elegiac measure and tone of expression.² In regard to all the subordinate details of poetical mechanism, his style may be pronounced unexceptionable. His versification is throughout flowing and harmonious; and his language, though at times highly ornate and abounding in epithets, is free from bombast or affectation. That he was well qualified to treat subjects of a higher order, where circumstances occurred to stimulate his muse beyond its usual feeble range of efforts, is evinced by the passage³ above referred to, describing the exploits of the antient Smyrnæan warrior. This is certainly the most creditable specimen of his art, both in conception and style. Homeric in diction, but without servile imitation, and breathing a masculine energy and a patriotic fire worthy of Tyrtæus, it may claim to rank among the noblest applications of the elegy to heroic subjects. The pleasure derived from its perusal is in some degree alloyed, consequently, by the reflexion

¹ Frg. II. ; conf. II. vi. 146., XXI. 464. alibi.

² Conf. also frg. II. 9. with Hesiod. Opp. 155.

³ Frg. XIV.

that it displays a mind endowed with powers of the highest order, trammelled in their exercise by the baser sensual influences to which their possessor had voluntarily subjected himself.

In his mythological allusions, Mimnermus shows a natural partiality for the popular, sometimes fantastic, novelties of the lyric school of art. Like Alcman, he admitted an older race of Muses, daughters of Uranus¹, and distinct, consequently, from the daughters of Jove and Mnemosyne, who alone figure in the primitive Homeric and Hesiodic systems. He gave twenty children to Niobe, instead of the more classical number of twelve, to which Homer restricts her offspring. He also followed, or coincided with, Pisander and Stesichorus, in describing the chariot of the sun as a golden drinking-goblet, the workmanship of Vulcan; a not very genial, nor indeed very intelligible specimen of mystical allegory, upon which he expatiates in one of his most beautiful descriptions.² In his version³ of the Argonautic legend, also cited by Strabo as an innovation, here a very elegant one, on the popular fable, Jason appears to have sought and found his golden prize, not in the gloomy Scythian regions of the Euxine Sea, but on the sunny banks of the Eastern Ocean.⁴

SOLON. 634—554 B. C.

3. There may be some readers to whom, more familiar perhaps with the political than with the literary Solon.

¹ Frg. xi.

² Frg. ix.

³ Frg. x.

⁴ Although Mimnermus occupies a high, perhaps, in the actual mechanism of his art, the highest rank among Greek elegiac poets, there is no notice of his works having been made the subject of specific commentary by any of the leading ancient grammarians.

annals of Greece, the life and actions of Solon, the distinguished philosopher, statesman, and legislator, the framer of an elaborate statutory code which formed the foundation of the whole subsequent written law of Europe, may scarcely appear to furnish a chapter in the purely poetical history of his country. The more practised Hellenist however, will not fail at once to recognise, in the section devoted to this remarkable man and to his fellow sages of similar character, a necessary as well as appropriate and instructive conclusion to the history of this period. Solon's life and times may, in fact, be considered as forming in themselves both a line of demarcation and a link of connexion between the poetical and the intellectual age of Greece: in the more strictly political capacity in which he is familiarly viewed, he belongs solely or chiefly to the latter; in the capacity in which he will here also be contemplated, as a votary of elegant pursuit, he is claimed with equal justice by the former. This peculiarity acquires an additional interest from the mode in which the two apparently distinct elements of his genius are blended into one in their active exercise. Great as was his political influence on the destinies of Athens and of Greece, his earliest, and at all times his favourite medium for the exercise of that influence was strictly poetical. Instead of that torrent of forensic eloquence by which Pericles and Demosthenes swayed the will of their fellow-citizens to their purpose, Solon resorted with equal confidence and success to the eloquence of his muse. But, although flourishing prior to the epoch at which prose composition had obtained the rank of a cultivated branch of literature, he may also in so far be considered as in advance of his age,

that, if not the first Attic statesman who resorted to this more practical and less imaginative mode of perpetuating facts or doctrines, he was the first whose attempt is known to have acquired general or permanent authority. He might thus, in right of the scanty but apparently authentic remains of his code, rank, if not as a popular prose writer, as at least the first extant author of Attic prose composition. Closely identified however, as are the political and the literary element of his character, the former, it is obvious, opens up a wide field of commentary, which does not properly fall within our present limits. Our remarks on his life and influence as a statesman, will therefore be restricted to such as are necessary to a just estimate of his genius as an author.¹

That Solon was a native of Athens, or at least of Attica, was the prevailing opinion of the antients, confirmed by the indirect notices contained in his own text.² Some however describe him as born in the isle of Salamis, and as hence by courtesy alone styled an Athenian. But this view is scarcely compatible with the fact which assumed so prominent an importance in his biography that Salamis, at the period of his nativity, was not a province of Attica, having been first annexed to that state by himself. In regard to his age, the only point very clearly ascertained is the date of his legislation, which is placed by the concurrent testimony of the best authorities in the XLVth Olympiad, or 594 B.C. Assuming

Age, birth-place, family.

¹ Conf. Bach, *Solonis Carmina*, &c. Bonn, 1825; Gaisf. *Poett. minn.* ed. Lips. vol. III. p. 130.; Bergk, *Poett. lyr.* Gr. p. 320.; Schneidewin, *Delect. Poes. Gr.* pt. I. p. 17. The remains are here quoted according to the arrangement of Gaisford, unless where another collection is specified.

² Diog. Laert. in vit. Sol. I. II. 45.; Diod. Sic. IX. I.; Conf. Bach, *præf. ad Sol. Fragm.* p. 1. sqq.

him to have been about forty years of age at this epoch, and to have lived to the age of eighty, as stated by Diogenes Laertius¹, his birth would fall about 634, his death in 554. That he survived the usurpation of Pisistratus, which took place in 560 B.C., is admitted by all authorities; but by several of the more trustworthy he is said to have died but two years subsequent to that event.² Little attention is due to the account of Lucian, that he lived to the age of a hundred.

The family of Solon was among the most illustrious of Athens, tracing its descent from the antient royal blood of the Codridæ.³ His father was a citizen of but moderate fortune, whose name is stated by the greater number of authorities to have been Execestides⁴: by others he is called Euphorion.⁵ The latter is probably the real name, the former a figurative surname allusive to the "healing" legislative reforms of the owner's son, and finds its parallel in the similarly significant patronymics of Cycleus and Ligyastades, above alluded to in the lives of Arion and Minnermus. Solon's mother was first cousin to the mother of Pisistratus⁶; and his personal connexion with that celebrated usurper, which in later life assumed so great public importance, is said to have been in his earlier days of the most affectionate, not perhaps of the most innocent nature.⁷ While yet a young man, he was induced to travel upon mercantile speculation; according to some accounts, with a view

¹ In vit. 62.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. pp. 227. 231.; Bach, op. cit. p. 2. sqq.

² Plut. in vit. xxxii.

³ Plut. in vit. i.; Diog. Laert. vit. Plat. init.; Suid. v. Κοδρίδης.

⁴ Plut. loc. cit.

⁵ Didym. ap. Plut. loc. cit.

⁶ Heraclid. ap. Plut. in vit. i.

⁷ Plut. loc. cit.

of bettering his family affairs; in other accounts, curiosity and thirst of knowledge are assigned as his motive.¹

4. Solon's first efforts in poetry are described by his antient biographers as light fancy pieces, of an amorous or convivial tendency, composed for his own amusement or that of his friends.² His compositions of this kind however, as their existing remains prove, were not confined to his youth. At a more mature age, the political vicissitudes of his country led him to direct his genius to nobler purposes. Athens had long been involved in a severe contest with the neighbouring Dorian state of Megara, for the possession of the isle of Salamis, which lay contiguous to the coast of both countries. The Athenians having, after many sufferings and sacrifices, been worsted in the struggle, and seeing little prospect of its ultimate success, determined to abandon it altogether, and passed a law denouncing the penalty of death against whosoever should propose the renewal of hostilities. This self-imposed humiliation of his country was deeply felt by her future legislator, in common with many other men of spirit among his fellow-countrymen. For long the terror of the decree prevented any public declaration of their sentiments, until the boldness and ingenuity of Solon struck out an expedient for evading the law, and rousing the more apathetic citizens to a sense of their disgrace. Shutting himself up in his house, he caused it to be reported that he had suddenly become deranged. In his retirement he occupied himself in composing an ode adapted to his purpose, which he committed to

Early life.
Salamian
war.

¹ Plut. in vit. II. III.

² Plut. loc. cit.

memory. Having fully matured his design, in concert with a chosen few of the friends who shared his patriotic feelings, and among whom, according to some not very valid authorities, was the youthful Pisistratus, he selected for its execution the day of a great public assembly. Rushing into the agora with wild gestures and disordered attire, he appealed to the multitude in the assumed character of a herald from the "Sacred Island" to the Athenian people, exhorting them, in an address of a hundred spirited lines, to make another attempt at reasserting their meanly relinquished rights. The stratagem was completely successful. His own confederates loudly applauded his proposal, and were backed by the popular voice. The repeal of the law was carried by acclamation. In the sequel, by a series of successful measures, also planned and executed by Solon, the island was conquered, and, under the auspices and arbitration, as is said, of the Spartan government, was permanently annexed to the Athenian dominions.¹

Sacred war.

Solon next appears as a leading promoter of the "Sacred war,"² carried on by the Amphictyons against the Cirrhæans, on account of their sacrilegious usurpation of the privileges and funds of the Pythian sanctuary. Another transaction of importance in which he engaged, and which has already been noticed in the life of Epimenides, was the purification of Athens from the stain of blood and sacrilege, called the "Cylonian curse." For the successful performance of this duty, as also for various provisions embodied in his legislative code, tradition reports him

¹ Plut. in vit. viii. sq.; Diog. Laert. in vit. 46. sqq.; conf. Aristot. Rhet. i. xvi.; Herodot. i. lix.

² Plut. in vit. xi.; Aristot. ibid.

to have been greatly indebted to the advice and suggestions of the Cretan sage.¹

The removal of these impediments to the prosperity of the republic, instead of conducting to its tranquillity, appears rather to have had an opposite effect, by affording fresh opportunity for the prosecution of those internal feuds, which pestilence or foreign war had for a time at least the advantage of suspending. The old contentions of the "Mountain," the "Plain," and the "Shore," the pastoral, agricultural, and maritime classes of the citizens, again broke out with renewed virulence.² The evils of faction were aggravated by the distressed condition of the lower order of citizens, overwhelmed with debts to their wealthier neighbours. The unhappy condition of the republic at this period, has been eloquently described by Solon in extant passages allusive to his own reforms.³ The burthens of the poorer class were rendered the more intolerable by the severity of the law of creditor and debtor, which entitled the former to rights of vassalage over the defaulting client, or even to sell him abroad into slavery, if permanently unable to fulfil his engagements. In this emergency, a general desire arose for a new and more equitable system of laws, by which the poor hoped to be relieved of a portion of their burthens, and the rich to have the power of enforcing their obligations placed on a more definite and less invidious footing. Solon was by common consent intrusted with the important duty of compiling the improved code, and was appointed archon, with enlarged authority for carrying his ordinances into effect. His own parti-

Legislative
code.

¹ Supra, B. II. Ch. xxi. § 6.

² Plut. in vit. XIII.

³ Fragg. xv. xxviii.

sans are said to have strongly urged him to put an end at once to the evils of anarchy by a permanent usurpation of supreme power.¹ But his virtue was proof against this temptation, as well as against the ridicule to which, as appears from still extant passages of his works, his patriotic scruples exposed him.² Aware of the fickle temper of his countrymen, he took the precaution, before promulgating his code, of exacting from them an oath to maintain its enactments inviolable during a period of at least ten years. The wisdom of this measure was afterwards fully justified.

It would be transgressing the bounds of Solon's literary biography, to enlarge on the merits, defects, or peculiarities of his legislative system. With many excellences, amply approved by the subsequent experience of Greece and Europe, that system combined, like all human productions, an alloy of faults and anomalies. Some of these were acknowledged and defended by their author³, on the ground that his policy had been to give the Athenians, not theoretically the best laws, but the best which, under the circumstances, they were qualified to enjoy. In one of his political elegies⁴, he himself describes the ordinances of his code as extending in much detail to all the relations of civil and social life. Among the chief defects accordingly, imputed to his laws, was a want of precision in these details, and the consequent wide opening which they afforded for litigation; defects to which probably all elementary codes must, in the ordinary complications of society, be more or less liable.

¹ Plut. in vit. xiv.

³ Plut. in xv. sqq.; conf. frg. vii.

² Frgg. xxv. xxvii.

⁴ Frg. xxviii. v. 16. sq.

5. The consequence however of this ambiguity, Travels. whether the fault of the legislator or of the materials with which he had to deal, was, that no sooner had the system been brought into full operation, than he was appealed to on all sides for counsel and guidance in obscure or doubtful questions.¹ Apart from the constant interruption of his leisure to which he was thus exposed, the difficulty, in more subtle cases, of satisfying the applicants, gave plausible opening to the charge of inconsistency, ignorance, or breach of his own statutes. Under these circumstances he again, on pretext of commercial pursuits, quitted Athens², with the intention of sojourning abroad during the remainder of the ten years of unconditional observance of his code for which he had stipulated on the part of the citizens; in the hope that the new institutions might, during his absence, acquire the force of custom in addition to the solemnity of law. He first visited Egypt, and conferred with the priests of that country relative to the early history, physical and political, of his native Greece. The nature and results of his intercourse real or fabulous with those learned persons, will supply matter for further consideration in the sequel.

From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, where he was hospitably received and entertained by Philocyprus³, a prince of the island, who was indebted to his guest for various useful suggestions as to the better government of his own territory. In commemoration of these benefits and of the legislator's visit, the capital city of the district, when removed by Solon's advice.

¹ Plut. in vit. xxv.

² Plut. in vit. xxvi. sqq. ; conf. Herodot. i. xxix.

³ Plut. in vit. xxvi. ; conf. Herodot. v. cxiii.

Interview
with Crœ-
sus.

to a better situation, is said to have been named Soloi. The distinguished traveller afterwards passed into Asia Minor, and visited Sardis the Lydian capital, where, if Herodotus may be trusted, he met with an honourable reception from Crœsus, the last and most celebrated sovereign of the Lydian monarchy. The narrative of this visit, familiar as it is to every classical reader, as one of the most popular episodes in the work of the most popular Greek historian¹, can yet hardly with propriety be omitted in a chapter of literary history devoted to the life and character of Solon :

Narrative of
Herodotus.

“ After several days of hospitable entertainment, the king, conducting his guest through the palace, and displaying its accumulated treasures, asked him, nothing doubting of the reply, whether, in the course of his long and varied experience of life, he had ever met with so fortunate a man as the possessor of these vast riches. To this question Solon, more studious of truth than flattery, answered in the affirmative, mentioning the name of Tellus the Athenian. On being asked in what respect he considered this man's lot preferable to that of the Lydian monarch, he replied, ‘ that Tellus was blessed with a fine family of children, all of whom he lived to see parents of an equally excellent progeny ; that in the midst of this domestic happiness he had, in a battle between the Athenians and Eleusinians, after putting the enemy to flight by his valour, met his death in the moment of victory.’ Crœsus then inquired of him, whom, after Tellus, he considered the most fortunate, trusting confidently to obtain at least the second place ; but he was again disappointed. The next in the philosopher's list were ‘ Cleobis and Biton, two noble youths of Argos, not less distinguished for the virtues of their mind than for their athletic powers. On occasion of the feast of Juno, the oxen failing to arrive from the country, they yoked themselves to their mother's car, and drew her a distance of forty-five stadia to the sanctuary. While the assembled Argives extolled the Herculean strength and filial piety of their young fellow-countrymen, the grateful mother besought the gods to reward them with the

¹ Herodot. i. xxx.

choicest blessing they had to bestow. Her desire was speedily fulfilled. Her sons, after participating in the sacrifice and feast, lay down side by side in the temple to repose from their toil, and, falling asleep, never again awoke. The Argives, esteeming them among the most excellent of their citizens, dedicated statues to their honour in the Delphic sanctuary.'

"At this the king, much mortified, asked 'if no place whatever was to be allotted to himself by the side of these private citizens, in the scale of human happiness.' Solon replied, 'that he was no doubt at that moment a wealthy and flourishing monarch; but that to confer on him or any other mortal the title of Happy would be premature, before his claim to it had been ratified by a death corresponding to the previous prosperity of his life; that, in the vicissitudes of human existence, the brightest sunshine of youth and manhood was often but a prelude to a cloudy and calamitous old age.' These remarks at the time did but excite the contempt of Cræsus for the folly of the man, who was thus unfitted to appreciate present good by morbid anticipations of future evil. But when, not long after, the Lydian monarchy was subdued by the Persians, and Cræsus himself became the prisoner of Cyrus, the warning of the Athenian sage, recurring to his recollection, proved the means of delivering him from a cruel death prepared for him by his conqueror."

The sequel of the story belongs not to the history of Solon but to that of Cræsus.

The details of this pleasing and impressive narrative, though closely interwoven with the conviction of the Hellenic public, savour greatly, it must be admitted, of that superstructure of didactic embellishment which, in the popular Greek tradition even of historical ages, is often apt to be reared on a comparatively slender basis of fact. The very appositeness of the contrast, so eloquently drawn by the historian, between Greek republican simplicity and Oriental pomp, between the calm philosophic foresight of the European sage and the vainglorious self-sufficiency of the Eastern despot, might tend to

awaken suspicion as to the historical value of the details, at least, of the narrative. But the whole account, even of the legislator's visit to Sardis, has been further impugned, and with some force, upon chronological grounds. According to the well authenticated order of succession in the Lydian royal family, the death of Alyattes, father of Cræsus, with the latter monarch's accession to the throne, did not take place until 560 B. C., the year of the usurpation of Pisistratus. This latter event is equally well ascertained to have been posterior to the philosopher's return from his travels, and resettlement in Athens after his voluntary expatriation. Cræsus, consequently, could not have been the reigning sovereign of Lydia at the epoch assigned by Herodotus to Solon's visit to the court of Sardis. It has been attempted to evade this difficulty, and save the credit of the historian, by assuming Cræsus to have been associated with his father in the government at an earlier period, to which the narrative of Herodotus may refer. This apology however, at the best somewhat far-fetched, is precluded by the tenor of the historian's own text. Alyattes is there plainly represented as already dead; and Cræsus, not only as reigning in an independant capacity long after the death of his father, but as having, in the interval between that event and the philosopher's visit, had time to achieve the conquest of the greater part of Asia Minor. Any attempt, therefore, to adjust the narrative of Herodotus to the chronology of the period were fruitless. There appear but two modes of upholding the truth of the substantial facts of the story, both involving a sacrifice of the historian's credit in regard to its particulars. The first would

be, to adopt the version transmitted by Diogenes Laertius¹, which connects Solon's visit to Lydia with a second retirement from Athens, after the failure of his efforts to counteract the schemes or overthrow the usurped dominion of Pisistratus. The other hypothesis would be, that Solon really had been the guest of Cræsus during the lifetime of that prince's father, but that Herodotus, in deference to the popular tradition, or following the dictates of his own taste, had worked up the anecdote into the form best suited to his object of contrasting with each other the genius of the two men, and of the state of society which they respectively represent.² It is probable that Solon, on his first visit to Asia, may have formed the acquaintance with Mimnermus, which led to the poetical correspondence between them adverted to in a previous section.

6. During the absence of their legislator, the levity of the Athenians broke through all the restraints which his wisdom or authority had imposed on their factious spirit, and the strife among the parties of the Mountain, the Plain, and the Shore soon raged with its former virulence.³ His return took place when the disturbance was at its height, and all his influence was exerted, though vainly, to promote an accommodation. He succeeded however in penetrating, though not in counteracting, the insidious design formed by his own cousin and friend Pisistratus, leader of the democratic party, to con-

Return to
Athens.
Death.

¹ In vit. Sol. 50.

² Plutarch (in vit. xxviii.) enlarges here, as in some other similar cases, the element of fable, by the introduction of *Æsop*, as the court wit of the Lydian king, reproving the philosopher for the morose unmannerly boorishness of his demeanour towards royalty.

³ Plut. in vit. xxix. sq.

vert the political restlessness of his countrymen into the instrument of his own aggrandisement, and of the overthrow of their liberties. Solon left no means unemployed to divert him from his mischievous purpose, whether by friendly expostulation or open opposition. Even after the establishment of the "Tyranny" he continued to protest against it, and to endeavour, by arguments, entreaties, and reproaches, to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their degradation. They, on their side, unable either to meet his remonstrances or to justify their own conduct, had recourse to their favourite expedient in such emergencies, of giving the affair a burlesque turn. They directed against him the stratagem he had formerly employed for their own benefit, and pronounced the enthusiasm of his opposing eloquence to be a return of his old Salaminian fit of insanity.¹ At length, when no hope remained of restoring the constitution, collecting his arms, he deposited them in the vestibule of his house, towards the street, as a symbol that he had not given up the cause of liberty until utterly desperate.² In the sequel, according to the more accredited accounts, unable to prevent the evil, he did his best to mitigate it. With this view, during the short remainder of his life, which closed, according to the more authentic accounts, but a few years after the establishment of the "Tyranny," he adopted a conciliatory line of conduct towards the usurper.³ Pisistratus on his part, who possessed every quality which can adorn the Attic citizen but that of disinterested regard for republican liberty, willingly renewed, upon this

¹ Diog. in vit. 49.; frg. xvii.

² Plut. in vit. xxx.; Ælian. V. H. viii. xvi.

³ Plut. in vit. xxxii.

footing, the antient friendly relations with his distinguished kinsman, and cooperated with him in enforcing and improving the new system of legislation, in all points not immediately interfering with his own usurped power.¹ Other less valid authorities represent the legislator, on the overthrow of the republic, as again retiring from Athens, and settling at the court of Cræsus. Some describe him as returning to Cyprus, and ending his days as the guest of his former host Philocyprus.² Diogenes³, on the authority of Aristotle and of Cratinus the comic poet, relates that his ashes, in terms of his own testamentary injunction, were conveyed to Salamis, and scattered over the surface of that island, around which so many glorious associations of his early life were concentrated. This tradition however is ridiculed, in a somewhat flippant tone, by Plutarch⁴; and Ælian⁵ describes the philosopher as buried at Athens, near the wall of the city, on the right hand of one of the principal gates.

Private
character.

The character of Solon appears in a more unexceptionable light as contemplated in his political than in his private and social relations. In his public conduct, disinterested patriotism, military prowess, and honesty of purpose appear combined with deep knowledge of human nature, penetrating judgement, and conciliatory temper. In his social life, the dignity of the philosopher and statesman was sullied⁶ by habits of sensual indulgence, inclusive even of certain of the more scandalous vices which disgraced his age and country, but his propen-

¹ Plut. in vit. xxxi.

² Diog. Laert. in vit. 62.; Suid. v. Σόλων.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ In vit. xxxii.

⁵ V. H. viii. xvi.

⁶ Plut. in vit. i. alibi.

sity to which he seems himself to have considered as an honourable trait of his character rather than as a ground of reproach. This latter inference is warranted, not only by the remains of his lighter compositions¹, where a taste for degrading sensualities is very plainly, or even coarsely, expressed, but by certain provisions of his code², regarding the class of persons to whom, or the circumstances under which, a participation in such excesses was to be conceded. In one of his epigrams he couples these less honourable sources of gratification with athletic exercises, horsemanship, the chase, and the rites of hospitality.

Solon was never married³, and seems in no way to have appreciated the value of domestic life. Even in his old age he describes Bacchus and Venus as the best coadjutors of the Muses in mitigating the cares,

¹ Frg. II. sqq.

² Plut. in vit. I. There can be no reasonable doubt that the expression νόμος, used by Plato in his Symposium with reference to the Attic Pæderastia (p. 182. sqq., and especially p. 196 c.), and which has been loosely interpreted by the commentators "custom or usage," really applies to a law of the state, probably of Solon. The law, indeed, is quoted in the legislator's own words by Æschines (contr. Timarch. p. 19.); and additional details of this strange chapter of his code are given by other authorities: ὁ δὲ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς νόμοις καὶ πόσους πήχαις ἀπέρχοντα ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἐραστὴν τῷ ἐρωμένῳ δεδήλωκε, καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τετήρηκε, κ.τ.λ. Anon. ap. Bach, p. 13. It is also remarkable, that throughout the poetry of Solon, among his numerous allusions to the sensual pleasures of life, there is not one to inter-sexual love. The attempts of Plato (De Legg. viii. p. 839.), Plutarch, and others, to explain away the more licentious tendencies of the legislator, as mere ebullitions of the fervour of his youthful passions, are completely set aside by an extant passage of his own poems (frg. II.) descriptive of the favourite occupations of his old age.

³ Plutarch's story (vi.) of the trick played by Thales on the legislator, in which a son of the latter is made to take part, is evidently a fable. It is given by Plutarch accordingly, on the very appropriate authority of a certain Patæcus, who boasted that his body contained the soul of Æsop.

or soothing the privations, with which the decline of life was attended. The genius of this remarkable man may thus, both in its excellence and in its defects, be considered as a type of that of his race. The virtue of the Athenian citizen neither was, nor as among their Spartan neighbours affected to be, exempt from the weakness of the man ; and firmness, prudence, and integrity in the business of life, were often combined with a vicious susceptibility of its enjoyments.

The merits of Solon as an encourager of literature, are chiefly concentrated around his regulations for the more orderly recital of the Homeric poems in the public festivities.¹ He has also the credit of having interpolated verse 558. of the Catalogue of the Iliad, in support of the claims of Athens to the possession of Salamis. That the story of his opposition to the dramatic entertainments of Thespis is a fable, is sufficiently clear even upon chronological grounds. The first introduction of those entertainments into Athens (535 B.C.) took place twenty years after the death of Solon.² The fabulousness of the story is further proved by its absurdity, as narrated by the popular authorities. Plutarch makes the philosopher inveigh, in a highly poetical strain of rhetoric, against the immoral tendency of exhibitions which represented falsehoods in the disguise of truth ; as if there was any greater falsehood in the mythical adventures acted by Thespis, than in many of those “ rhapsodised ” under Solon’s

¹ See Vol. I. p. 204.

² The author has observed with some surprise, that both in Grote’s *History of Greece* (vol. III. p. 194.), and in the article Solon of Smith’s *Dict. of Biogr.*, this fable has been allowed a place among the ascertained historical facts of Solon’s life.

own auspices.¹ Diogenes² goes still further, and asserts that Solon attributed the success of the plot of Pisistratus against the liberties of the state, to the lessons of intrigue which the usurper had learnt from the exhibitions of the Thespian stage.

Works.
Gnomic
school of
poetry.

7. The collective works of Solon comprise, in the summary of the popular grammarians³, Laws, Orations, Reflexions or Commentaries on his own affairs, Elegies, the Salaminian ode, Reflexions or Commentaries on the Athenian state in five thousand verses, Iambic pieces, and Epodes. The Orations comprised in the above list, if assumed to be, in the stricter sense of the term, specimens of prose oratory, were probably spurious, as are doubtless the epistolary compositions given by Diogenes as extracts from the philosopher's private correspondence. The poetical works forming the remainder of the catalogue appear from the above description, as well as from the portions of them still extant, to have been almost exclusively of the ethic or didactic order. Solon is, in fact, the earliest known author who can properly be classed under the title of "gnomic" poet. The term Gnomic appears to have been originally invented, as it was exclusively employed, to denote a school of elegiac poetry, the object of which was to inculcate moral doctrines rather than express mental emotions; to enforce maxims of worldly wisdom, in their more immediate bearings on objects of special interest to the author or his public. The characteristic, consequently, of the "gnomic" style was a sententious gravity, savouring often more of philo-

¹ Plut. in vit. xxix.; conf. Sol. frg. 28. Bergk, where Solon himself admits the falsehood of this latter class of mythical authorities.

² Diog. in vit. 60.

³ Diog. in vit. 62.

sophy than poetry. It is true that, by reference to this definition, portions of the works of various preceding poets, of Archilochus for example or Tyrtaeus, might rank as gnomic. There is however this distinction between the cases, that, in the poems of those authors, the purely ethic or didactic element is not only comparatively limited, but altogether subordinate to the general scope and tendency of their muse; in Tyrtaeus, to martial and political enthusiasm; in Archilochus, to satire and sarcasm. The elegies of Solon, Xenophanes, Theognis, on the other hand, are for the most part essentially of the gnomic order, while all may be said to partake more or less of the same character.

The spread of this style of composition in the age of Solon, connects itself with the rise of what may also be called the gnomic School of philosophy; if it be permitted to apply so dignified a title to so primitive a fraternity, whose doctrines consisted chiefly of desultory maxims or moral precepts in prose and verse. The more remarkable members of this school are familiarly known by the title of the "Seven Sages." Among these Solon himself was the most distinguished; the others were in great part, like himself, persons versed in the business of public life; several of them, also like him, political leaders. This school therefore, as comprising Thales, the earliest professional mathematician of whom Greece can boast, might, in contradistinction to the mystical or cabalistic school represented by Epimenides and Pythagoras, claim with some propriety the title of first practical school of Greek philosophy. Amid the still slender popularity of prose composition, the masters of the latter school were naturally led, in

order to secure attention or permanence to their doctrines, to embody them in a poetical, chiefly an elegiac form.

Critical
estimate
of Solon's
genius and
works.

8. It results in some degree from what has been said, that while there is no style of Greek poetry more closely connected than the gnomic with the interests of real life, there is none which, if it does not altogether exclude, so little implies or requires in its cultivators, any fervid glow of poetical inspiration or lively play of fancy. Nor can Solon be said to form an exception to this rule. It would indeed be doing him injustice, to deny that he was a poet by nature as well as by art or study; and had his lot been cast in other times, in another station of life, or under other circumstances, the power of native inspiration might have shown itself more extensively and under more genial forms in his productions. In his Salaminian ode¹ accordingly, dictated as it was by a powerful impulse of patriotic enthusiasm, his elegiac style appears, even from the few preserved lines, to have risen much above its usual height, towards the level of Tyrtaeus or Simonides. His other compositions also contain some spirited and original passages. But, as a general rule, the poet is absorbed in the philosopher and statesman; and the intrinsic value of his collective works consists rather in their intellectual than in their imaginative attributes; in just and striking sentiments, correctness of expression and versification; in the qualities proper as much perhaps, or more, to elegant prose than to genial poetry. It may also be owing to the comparatively limited range afforded by the gnomic style to individuality of poetical character,

¹ Frg. xvi.

that so frequent a correspondence, or even sameness, is observable in passages of Solon, Mimnermus, Theognis, and other poets of the same order; and hence that the texts belonging to these different poets, have been so frequently confounded with each other in their citation by the antient commentators. There can be little doubt, as has been observed in a former page, that there existed, from the days of Callinus and Tyrtaeus downwards, in the elegiac school of composition, especially in its gnomic element, as in the old epic minstrelsy, a certain ingredient of poetical commonplace, extending from individual phrases and expressions even to entire sentences, and to the doctrines or illustrations which they embody.¹

It seems doubtful whether any poem of Solon has been transmitted entire, with the exception, it may be, of the short elegy descriptive of the septennial periods of human life²; but several of the longer extant passages, as illustrative of the genius of their author, possess, in their existing integrity of subject and style, a value equal or little inferior to that of entire compositions. The whole number of extant verses is about two hundred and seventy-five. Of these upwards of two hundred are in elegiac measure; between thirty and forty are iambic trimeters. Of the remainder, sixteen are trochaic tetrameters; five alone are in purely melic style. The two hexameter verses which make up the sum total of the collection

¹ Conf. Bergk, *Poett. lyrr. nott. ad Mimnerm. frgg. v. vii.*, nott. ad Solon. frg. xii. 65. sqq. 71. sqq., frgg. xv. xvi.; Bach ad Callin. frg. i. 15., ad Tyrtaeum, frg. vi. 8. 29. 31., ad frg. viii. 1. sqq. 27. 39. alibi.

² The arguments urged by Porson against the genuine character of this elegy have been well met by Bach, p. 14. sqq.

are of questionable authenticity. They are cited by Plutarch in reference to a tradition of which he himself appears to make but little account, that Solon had originally intended to draw up his code in a metrical form; and of this legislative poem they profess to be the exordium.¹

The longest passage of the collection ², comprising seventy-six elegiac verses in essentially gnomic style, may be considered as a fair and favourable sample of the general character of Solon's poetry. It contains a summary of his views relative to the tenor of his life and conduct, forming evidently a portion of his "Reflexions on his own affairs." The doctrines inculcated are sound, often original and striking; are expressed with a vigour and terseness sometimes bordering on abruptness, and are illustrated by some spirited imagery. He comments, in equally emphatic but less querulous terms than Mimnermus, on the ephemeral nature of human enjoyments; dwells on the blessings of a clear conscience and a contented mind; condemning the insatiable thirst of mortals for the possession of a happiness beyond their reach, and their wayward caprice in its pursuit. Riches acquired with the favour of the gods are pronounced a blessing; but ill-gotten wealth a curse, to the possessor. The whole is pervaded by a deep tone of religious feeling, by an humble sense of the dependance of earthly destiny on the divine will, and by a pious recognition of the often slow, but always sure course of heaven's retributive justice. His description of Ate, as the figurative personification of the penal or vindictive agency of divine retribution, is borrowed

¹ Plut. in vit. iii.

² Frg. v.

from Homer¹, and various other passages show his familiarity with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the influence of Homer's philosophy on his own theory of moral sentiments.

Another bulky text, or series of texts², of a more strictly political tendency, composed, it would appear, about or shortly prior to the epoch of his legislative undertaking, describes, in the same elegiac measure, and in equally spirited language, the evils which led his fellow-countrymen to resort to his healing interposition. He dwells on "the usurpations and impieties of the rich and noble, the cruel oppression and degradation of the poor, and the consequent wretched state of the whole community. But he expresses a firm reliance on the power and will of the protecting deities of the republic to put an end to these calamities, were the citizens but willing to cooperate in providing the only sure remedy, orderly government and equitable laws." Several of these passages offer a near resemblance to parallel portions of the *Eunomia* of Tyrtaeus, on which work this entire composition of Solon appears to have been modelled.

Of the Salaminian ode, the most remarkable of all Solon's productions, but eight elegiac verses are extant, in a spirited vein of patriotic enthusiasm. He protests, "that he would rather be a denizen of the most contemptible community in Greece than a citizen of Athens, to be pointed at as one of those Attic dastards who had so basely relinquished their right to Salamis." In several of the shorter pieces allusion is made to the less prosperous events of his

¹ Frg. v. 13. sqq., 75. sqq.; conf. II. ix. 505., xix. 92.

² Frgg. xv. xxviii.

political career, to the intrigues and usurpation of Pisistratus, and to the servile submission of his fellow-citizens to the despotic sway. The following lines are a fair specimen of his mode of availing himself of the popular vein of poetical imagery, in giving effect to his ethic commentaries :

ἐκ νεφέλης φέρεται χιόνος μένος ἡδὲ χαλάζης,
 βροντὴ δ' ἐκ λαμπρᾶς γίγνεται ἀστεροπῆς.
 ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταρασσεται· ἦν δέ τις αὐτὴν
 μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοτάτη.
 ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὀλλυται· εἰς δὲ μονάρχου
 δῆμος αἰῶρις ἐὼν δουλοσύνην ἔπесε. . . .
 εἰ δὲ πεπόνθατε δεινὰ δι' ὑμετέρεην κακότητα,
 μή τι θεοῖς τούτων μοῖραν ἐπαμφέρετε·
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ τούτους ἡϋξήσατε, ῥύσια δόντες,
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κακὴν ἔσχετε δουλοσύνην. . . .

As wintry skies bring storms of sleet and hail ;
 As from the lurid cloud forked lightnings play ;
 As the sea rages when rude winds assail,
 Though calm by nature on a tranquil day ;
 So man's ambition with destructive feud
 This state hath torn, its equal laws o'erthrown,
 And driven at last the brainless multitude
 To fly for refuge to the tyrant's throne. . . .
 And will ye now, by stern oppression tried,
 The gods as partners of your guilt invoke ?
 Ye, who yourselves the despot's rod supplied,
 And bowed your backs submissive to his stroke.¹

In other passages ² he dwells with honest pride on the purity of his public conduct ; on the value of the institutions bestowed by him on a country so little able to appreciate them ; on his own disinterested patriotism in abstaining from grasping or perma-

¹ Fragg. xviii. xix. Gaisf.

² Fragg. xx. xxi. xxvii. xxviii.

nently wielding the royal sceptre which his fellow-citizens had placed within his reach; and on their ungenerous requital of his public-spirited conduct.¹ There are also various sonnets or epigrams addressed to friends, in familiar epistolary form. In one he takes leave of the Cyprian prince by whom he had been hospitably entertained on his travels.² A second³ is to his own nephew Critias, ancestor of another Critias illustrious as a favourite disciple of Socrates, infamous from having, in his capacity of one of the worst and cruelest of the "Thirty tyrants," taken part in the persecution of his old friend and master. A third, addressed to Mimnermus, has already been noticed. The single short fragment of the melic order, inculcates caution against a too ready confidence in professing friends or favourable appearances. It has been supposed, perhaps with reason, to have been part of a scolion or convivial catch. The measure is the Stesichorean mixture of dactyl and trochee; the language in a strain of florid and somewhat far-fetched imagery. Solon's poetical dialect is the same elegant modification of the old Homeric, common to the Ionian elegiac poets of the previous generation. His poems, those it may be presumed of the more strictly national or patriotic order, were recited in Plato's time by the Athenian youth on public or festive occasions.⁴

9. Plato, in his usual indirect mode, by the mouth of his fellow-disciple Critias, partly in the dialogue which takes its title from the same Critias, partly in

Poem and
legend of
Atlantis.

¹ Fragg. xix. xxvi.

² Frg. xxiii.

³ Frg. xxxii.

⁴ Plato, Tim. p. 21. Of Solon's epodes no trace remains; nor perhaps is the authority of Diogenes, by whom alone they are mentioned, a sufficient guarantee of their genuine character.

the preceding dialogue of Timæus, describes Solon as having, in the latter years of his life, undertaken the composition of a great epic poem entitled the "Atlantis," recording, in elaborate detail, the glories of Athens in the age prior to the flood of Deucalion. The completion of the work, it is further stated, was prevented by the death of the author. The whole account of this poem, of its supposed contents, and of the circumstances which led to its composition, is so strange and problematical, as to have given rise to much speculation among commentators, both as to the actual existence of any such poem, and as to the degree in which Plato himself on the one hand, or his spokesman Critias on the other, is to be held responsible for the authenticity of the notices concerning it. For the better understanding of the whole bearings of the question, it will be proper to subjoin an abstract of the legend of the Atlantis, as embodied in the two treatises above referred to :¹

Solon, when in Egypt, visited, among other remarkable places, the city of Saïs, the seat of the chief sanctuary of the goddess Neit, whom the Athenians called Athena. The priests of the temple, in conversation with their guest, proudly contrasted the antiquity and permanence of Egyptian civilisation with the recency and instability of that of Greece; boasting that they possessed the records of human affairs extending in regular succession over a period of nine thousand years, and amongst other chronicles, those of the ancient republic of Athens as it existed before the flood of Deucalion. From this disaster Egypt had been preserved by the favour of its climate, where rain is unknown. At each successive return of such calamitous inundations, described by the same authorities as taking place periodically, the civilised communities of other parts of the earth, with their written registers, are swept away. The barbarous mountaineers alone survive, who are thus, when the waters subside, under the necessity of commencing the process of improvement anew upon the plains. In Egypt alone the race

¹ Critias, p. 108. sqq.; Timæus, p. 20. sqq.

of men with the succession of chronicles, is carried on in uninterrupted order.

The primeval Athens, both as to its city and its territory, was far superior in extent to the existing republic. The city was also much stronger, the soil more fertile, than in the postdiluvian period. The earth was in those days divided into two great political systems or confederacies, one of which comprised all Asia, with the eastern regions of Europe and Libya. Of this confederacy, Athens was the state most distinguished for the excellence of its institutions, and for the talents and bravery of its citizens. It was also the most antient seat of the goddess Athena, and preferred by that deity to all other regions. From this her original sanctuary the worship of Pallas had been carried over to Sais, where it was preserved during the deluge, and reimported into Athens when the city was rebuilt after that catastrophe. The other division of the then habitable world formed one vast empire, the metropolis of which was in a great island called Atlantis, in the Western Ocean, beyond the Pillars of Hercules; an island surpassing in extent the whole eastern portion of the earth above described, and inhabited by a race infinite in numbers, and spreading over the adjacent continent of Libya as far as Egypt, and of Europe as far as the Adriatic. In their earlier and better days the Atlantides fell little short of their Attic rivals in the virtues of the warrior and citizen. But in course of time, wealth and luxury generated ambition and pride; and, under the influence of these fatal passions, they undertook a mighty expedition for the conquest of the rival confederacy. Such was the terror inspired by their power and resources, that all the eastern states, with the single exception of Attica, shrunk from the contest. The Athenians alone, partially supported by their Hellenic kinsmen, stood forward in the common defence, and, after enduring numberless hardships, succeeded in totally defeating their overbearing enemy. Before however they had time to follow up their victory, or restore order to the distracted affairs of their own confederacy, the great flood of Deucalion supervened, by which the island and race of Atlantis were swept off the face of the globe, and the Greeks themselves were exterminated, with the exception of a few pastor tribes on the loftiest mountain regions, ancestors of the subsequent race of Hellenes.

Such were the materials of the great epopee devoted.
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scribed by Critias the ostensible narrator of the tradition, on the authority of his grandfather the friend and cousin of the legislator, as having been undertaken by Solon, and a portion of which, in the manuscript of the author, the same Critias asserted to be still extant in his own possession.

Its origin
and import.

10. It may be presumed, that no one competently versed in the comparative mythology of the two nations can believe, that any such legend as the above was ever seriously narrated by an Egyptian priest to a Greek philosopher. That the Egyptians, whose great boast was the superior antiquity of their gods, their race, and their civilisation, should, under the semblance of such a mere shadow of this proud privilege, so completely abandon its substance, is incredible. Little more likely is it, even had they been willing to relinquish the palm of antediluvian splendour in favour of any other race, that they would have handed it over to one whose existence was scarcely known to them a century before Solon's time, to one whom they still considered as but a petty mushroom tribe of barbarians, inhabiting a distant barren rock on the rugged shores of the north, and acknowledging themselves indebted to Egypt herself for whatever advance they had been able to make in the arts of civilised life. Above all incredible is it, that Egyptian antiquaries would have represented their own country, under her antient glorious dynasty of gods or heroes, as skulking from a contest with an enemy whom a neighbour and ally boldly engaged and defeated single-handed ; and as indebted for her own preservation to the valour of that neighbour whom she had so basely deserted in the hour of need. Nor is there a whisper of any tradition

remotely resembling the Atlantis in the more authentic standards of Egyptian mythology. The legend, even in its geographical and maritime details, clearly betrays a Hellenic, or rather perhaps a Græco-Phœnician origin. It appears, indeed, to connect itself very palpably with the Homeric fable concerning Calypso, the daughter of Atlas, and her island in the far west. The name of this fairy "Atlantid" goddess, signifying literally "hidden," "covered over," bears a palpable reference to the mysterious disappearance of the Atlantid island in the legend; and the other Homeric and Hesiodic tradition of the Elysian plains, or Islands of the Blessed, in the same western ocean, is probably but a variety of the same fable. The Egyptians may possibly, in the time of Solon, have had some knowledge of this chapter of Greek mythology, and may have alluded to it in their conversations with the philosopher; but that they should ever have embodied it in the form of the Platonic Atlantis cannot for a moment be admitted.

Two other explanations present themselves: first, that Solon, either with or without a hint on the part of his reputed Egyptian authorities, had really proposed working up the Atlantid legend of the Homeric age into an elaborate epic poem of the didactic order, and that his unfulfilled idea had been taken up by Plato. The other alternative would be, that the whole narrative, both as regards the composition of the poem and the conversation of Solon with the priests, is a mere invention of Plato¹, who avails him-

¹ It seems strange that so intelligent a critic as Bach (Sol. Carm. p. 48. sq.) should have allowed his judgement on this point to be influenced by a fastidious tenderness for Plato's character for truthfulness. He indignantly pronounces that philosopher incapable of such "impudent

self of Solon and the Saitic hierarchy, as he does elsewhere of his own contemporaries, as organs for inculcating his philosophical doctrines, through one of those brilliant allegories in which he so greatly delighted.

Its purely
allegorical
character.

11. The latter view is in every respect the more probable. The whole narrative, while repugnant to all that is known of the genius of Solon, bears broadly the stamp of that of Plato. Even were it necessary to recognise in that narrative a small basis of original matter derived from Solon or from Egypt, the style of the superstructure sufficiently vouches for an identity between the hand which reared and that which describes the entire fabric. The obviously allegorical tendency of the fiction supplies in itself conclusive argument in favour of this opinion. The symbolic mode of conveying instruction was as foreign to the taste of Solon as congenial to that of Plato. Nowhere is there any appearance of an approach to that mode on the part of the former ; no trace even of one of those

mendacity" as would be implied by any such explanation of the Atlantid story as that proposed in the text. It is to be feared that this mode of vindicating Plato's veracity would be subversive of all hitherto received rules of Platonic criticism. We should, upon this new principle, be bound to believe that Critias, Timæus, Socrates, and all the other companions of the philosopher, actually uttered to the letter, and in good faith and sober earnest, all the statements or opinions which Plato puts into their mouths. It would be necessary to believe, for example, not only that Socrates, in a conversation with his pupils, had really promulgated the visionary theory of a Republic which Plato attributes to him, but that the constitution of that republic also turned out, as Critias says, "by a miraculous coincidence," to be an exact counterpart of that which the Egyptian priests had described to Solon as really existing in an antediluvian Athens! Even Professor Bach will hardly carry his advocacy of the philosopher's veracity to this extremity. If, however, Plato be admitted to be mendacious to the extent of putting into the mouths of his own friends and contemporaries words or doctrines which they never uttered, his honour will not be greatly tarnished by his being assumed to have taken the same liberty with Solon and the priests of Sais.

familiar fables or parables with which his lyric contemporaries were used to season their didactic muse. The authentic notices of his life and conversation, of his interview with Cræsus for example, exhibit him studious in all cases of the simplest and most direct methods of appealing to the judgement or the sympathies of mankind. But, if the merely allegorical character of the legend forms in itself an obstacle to a literal construction of the narrative of Critias, still stronger is the argument derived from the nature of the allegory employed. What more palpable than that the object of that allegory is to illustrate, in the case of the antediluvian Athenians, the value of republican purity of manners, with its attendant virtues, courage and patriotism; in that of the Atlantidæ, the corrupting influence of wealth and luxury, even on a race endowed by nature with excellent gifts? The sequel of the joint history of the two nations further exemplifies the worthlessness, in warfare, of mere numbers and resources against valour and conduct; and the ability even of so poor a country as Attica, defended by a hardy population, to baffle the ill-directed energies of a mighty empire. That such a figure should have suggested itself to the Egyptian priesthood seems incredible, on grounds already stated. Little more likely was it to have occurred to Solon, even had he been partial to the allegorical style of illustration. Such lessons of figurative morality can seldom, if ever, suggest themselves to an orator, still less be relished by an audience, apart from a certain bearing on the events and interests of their own times. But there was nothing whatever in the age of Solon to impart either point or interest to the moral of the Atlantic tale. There was much, on the other hand, nay,

every thing, in the age of Plato. The fabulous Atlantid war is, in all its essential features, a type of that between the Persians and Hellenes, in the generation immediately preceding the philosopher. Of that war the Athenians, then in the acme of their moral and political vigour, bore the brunt. After having been, like their fabulous antediluvian ancestors, abandoned in a great measure by the neighbours who possessed a common interest in repelling the invader, and after having been also like those ancestors reduced to the last extremity, they became both at Salamis and Plataea, as previously at Marathon, like them also the bulwark of Greece against the hostile armament. The vicissitudes of the Atlantid power shadow forth in a similar manner those of the Median empire; an empire distinguished under the primitive Persian dynasty by its military and political virtues, but rapidly involved in defeat and humiliation, when led by pride and confidence in its overgrowth to seek still further aggrandisement at the expense of another and a better race of men.

If the Atlantid fable, in the more extended form in which Plato exhibits it in the "Timæus" and "Critias," be admitted to be a fiction of later origin, probably of Plato himself, the inference must be fatal to the belief of an Atlantid poem having ever been projected by Solon. That no such belief existed in Athens prior to the composition of these two dialogues their own contents abundantly prove. Critias, in whose mouth the story is placed, introduces it plainly as something new, or not hitherto familiar to Socrates and the rest of his supposed audience.¹ This Plato could not with any propriety have made him do, had there been a previously current rumour on the subject.

¹ Tim. p. 21.

The very citation by Critias¹ of the legislator's original manuscript of the poem as still in his own possession, is subversive of all literal reality in his narrative. Who can believe that such a precious document would, alone among the acknowledged remains of its supposed author's genius, have hitherto lain, unknown to or neglected by the Athenian public, on the shelves of a private library? or still worse, would even after this open announcement of its existence, have been permitted to remain and perish in its previous obscurity? The motive assigned by Critias, in the treatise bearing his name, for introducing the subject, that namely of illustrating the "miraculous coincidence"² which he had observed between the theoretical Republic of the previous Dialogue and the constitution of the antediluvian Athens, must in itself be conclusive proof in every reasonable quarter, that the whole story is but a grand specimen of Plato's didactic allegory. The introductory remarks of Critias, in which he characterises his own narrative as "sounding indeed strange, or even absurd, but as nevertheless quite true,"³ is itself in a tone of jocose apology for the extravagance of his fiction, plainly enough implying that he was far from expecting that any portion of his audience would be so simple as to suppose he was relating facts. No less conclusive to the same effect are the pains he takes to inform his audience that, at the time when this elaborate poetico-political romance was recited to him by his grandfather, then ninety years of age, he was himself but ten years old; and yet,

¹ Crit. p. 113 A.

² δαμονίως ἐκ τινος τύχης. Tim. p. 25 B.

³ Tim. p. 20 D. λόγον ἐκ παλαιᾶς ἀκοῆς . . . μάλα μὲν ἄτοπον, παντάπασί γε μὴν ἀληθῆ.

he adds, every syllable of the old man's lecture, which, if ever delivered, must have been unintelligible to a child of that age, had made such an indelible impression on him, as to justify his assuring Socrates, and the company whom he addressed, that his own Atlantic dissertation was in all essential particulars a faithful representative of the original discourse of his ancestor.¹

THE SEVEN SAGES.

Seven
Sages.

12. Among the contemporaries of Solon distinguished for a certain proficiency in the gnostic style of poetry, the more remarkable, as already observed, belonged to the celebrated fraternity commonly entitled the Seven Sages, of which fraternity Solon himself was the chief ornament. A share in this honourable title was claimed, as is well known, by a greater number of sages than seven, according as one might be omitted, or another included, in the various popular catalogues. It happens however, that the list of those to whom the honour has been awarded on the best authority, comprises the names of all such as are reported to have cultivated polite letters, or to have transmitted specimens of poetical composition. The Seven, as thus constituted, are Solon, Thales, Pittacus, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, and Bias.² As these remarkable personages are all

¹ Tim. p. 21 B.

² The names, as will be seen by reference to the dates appended to them in the sequel, have here been arranged with reference rather to the celebrity of the men, than to the strict chronological order of their

more celebrated in their capacity of philosophers or statesmen¹ than in that of poets, and as the remains of their reputed compositions are but scanty, or of doubtful authenticity, their names may scarcely seem entitled to a place in this department of literary history. In addition, however, to the claims founded on their own poetical performances, the circumstance that all or most of them exercised a certain influence on the general progress of literature in their day would, in itself, here entitle their lives and labours to a reasonable share of notice. The only case which will be excepted is that of Thales, whose connexion with elegant literature is so doubtful or so slight, and his distinction as a philosopher, or even as the patriarch and fountain-head of Greek physical science, so great, as to bring his life and influence exclusively within the limits of the purely scientific department of Hellenic culture.

The next three in the list, Pittacus, Periander, and Cleobulus, combined with their character of sages or poets that of distinguished political chiefs.

lives. Plato (*Protag.* p. 343.) gives the following list: Thales, Pittacus, Bias, Solon, Cleobulus, Myson, Chilon. Myson is also admitted by Eudoxus (*ap. Diog. in vit. Thal.*), in preference to Cleobulus. Periander, excluded by Plato, is admitted by Aristotle (*ap. Diog. Laert. in vit. Per.* 99.), by Plutarch (*Conv. Sept. Sap.*), by Clemens Alexand. (*Strom.* i. p. 299.), and by Diogenes Laertius (*in vita*). Some restricted the seven to five (*Plut. de EI.* p. 385.); others even to four, viz. Thales, Bias, Pittacus, and Solon (*Dicæarch. ap. Diog. in vit. Thal.* 41.); others admitted an indefinite number (*Diog. loc. cit.*; *conf. Procem.* 13.; *Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. 586.*).

¹ It may be remarked, as a curious instance of discrepancy between very high authorities, on a matter of apparent notoriety, that Plato (*Hipp. maj.* p. 281.) asserts very distinctly that the Seven Sages did not meddle with politics. Cicero, on the other hand (*De Rep.* i. 7.), asserts no less positively that they did; and Cicero certainly is right.

PITTACUS¹ (645—569 B. C.),

Pittacus.

Son of Hyrrhadius of Mitylene, was an early contemporary of Solon, his death having taken place in the third Olympiad (569 B. C.), at the age of upwards of seventy, and about ten years prior to the death of the Attic legislator.² He was, in all respects, one of the most admirable characters of his age, devoting his whole time and talents, which seem to have been of a high order, to the service of his country and his fellow-citizens. During the earlier part of his life he was engaged in resisting the alternate attempts of the extreme aristocratical and extreme popular factions to subvert the liberties of his native community. After many hard struggles, ending in the defeat and banishment of his leading opponents, he was, as the only apparent guarantee of the permanence of that good government which he had for the present secured, himself elected dictator by the unanimous suffrages of his better-disposed fellow-citizens.³ At the close of a ten years' unblemished exercise of his trust, during which, by a new code of laws, and by a general course of wise administration, he had placed the republican institutions of the state on a safe footing, he voluntarily abdicated his power, and passed the remainder of his life in retirement. His celebrated saying, "How hard a thing it is to be a truly honest man!" honoured with copious commentaries by Simonides and Plato⁴, has been

¹ Conf. Diog. Laert. in vit. ; supra, Ch. v. p. 258. sqq. ; Plehn, *Lesbiaca*, p. 87. sqq. ; Welck. *Alcæus*, Klein. Schr. vol. i. p. 126.

² Diog. Laert. in vit. 79. ; Suid. v. *Πιττακός* ; conf. Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 237.

³ Aristot. *Polit.* iii. 10. ; conf. ii. 10. ; Strab. xiii. p. 617. ; Diog. Laert. in vit. 74. sqq. ; Plut. *Amat.* p. 763.

⁴ Bergk, *Fragm. Simon.* 8. ; Plat. *Protag.* p. 339. sqq., conf. *De Legg.* p. 979.

supposed, with reason, to refer to the temptations to which his monarchical sway exposed his virtue; temptations the power of which was similarly felt and resisted by his Athenian fellow-sage.

No less honourable to his character than the patriotic zeal with which he pursued the enemies of public tranquillity, was his generous treatment of them when reduced to submission. An example of this generosity has above been cited in his conduct towards the poet Alcæus. Nor was he less distinguished as a warrior than as a statesman; and the device by which, in a great battle between the Mitylenæans and the rival Attic colonists of Sigeum, he slew, in single combat, the hostile commander, by casting a net over him in the moment of collision, is celebrated in the annals of military stratagem.¹ If the satirical muse of Alcæus may be trusted, Pittacus was less fitted to adorn the throne to which his countrymen raised him, by his courtly manners, or the agreeable qualities of his person, than by the virtues of his mind. Neither the scoffing allusions of the satirical poet to his slovenly attire and the lowness of his social habits, nor the epithets of boaster, splay-foot, and others equally coarse, with which Alcæus assailed him², ought indeed, as proceeding from an embittered political opponent, to be taken by the letter. Yet a certain rustic simplicity of manners seems to transpire in the accounts of the domestic unhappiness occasioned him by the pride and violent temper of his wife³, a lady of noble rank, with whom he had been imprudently induced to

¹ Plut. de Herod. Malig. p. 858.; Strab. xiii. p. 600.; Polyæn. Strateg. i. xxi.; Diog. in vit. Pitt. 74.

² Diog. Laert. op. cit. 81.; Alcæi Fragm. 30. Schneidewin; Plut. Symposiac. viii. p. 726.

³ Diog. in vit. 81.

form an alliance. Hyrrhadius, the father of Pittacus, is said to have been a Thracian by birth¹, naturalised in Mitylene by marriage with the daughter of a Lesbian citizen. Pittacus was thus, by the mother's side, entitled to the full rights of citizenship in his native republic. His foreign blood however, his early and steady opposition to the aristocratical party in the state, and the epithet of "base-born" applied to him by Alcæus, render it probable that he belonged originally to the lower order of Mitylenæan freemen. His wife, on the other hand, is described as daughter of a noble citizen named Penthilus, and was hence probably of the old royal blood of Mitylene, in which that name was hereditary. Her own manners would seem, in spite of her noble lineage, to have partaken, if Plutarch² may be trusted, but little of the proverbial refinement of Lesbian social life. That author describes her on one occasion, when her husband was entertaining a select circle of friends, as entering the room in a passion and upsetting the table and its equipage, to the great astonishment and consternation of the party.

The only extant specimen of the muse of Pittacus is a stanza of one of those short convivial ditties embodying popular ethic maxims, and habitually sung by the guests on handing round the cup. It inculcates the necessity of being on our guard against fair words proceeding from a foul tongue.³ Pittacus is said to have left six hundred elegiac verses, of the same gnomic character as the parallel compositions of Solon, and certain legislative writings in prose⁴; but no remains of these works have been preserved.

¹ Diog. Laert. in vit. 74.; Suid. v. Πιττακός.

² De Anim. Tranq.

³ Diog. in vit. 78.

⁴ Diog. in vit. 79.

The maxims of moral wisdom attributed to him by his biographers illustrate, in a very happy manner, the more amiable features of his character and conduct. He pronounced "the greatest blessing which a man can enjoy to be the power of doing good:" that "the most sagacious man was he who foresaw the approach of misfortune; the bravest man, he who knew how to bear it:" that "victory should never be stained by blood:" and that "pardon was often a more effectual check on crime than punishment."¹

13. PERIANDER (665—585 B. C.),

"Tyrant" of Corinth, if less worthy of admiration in his moral and political relations than Pittacus, is more celebrated as a promoter of elegant literature. Although branded by the popular stigma as one of the most iniquitous of those usurpers of republican rights who, about this time, arose in many of the Greek states, he is perhaps the one whose adherents had most to offer in palliation, or even in justification, of his offence. His authority, such as it was, had descended to him by hereditary title, and the rule of his father Cypselus had, in the first instance, been established by the suppression of an oligarchy, which, while equally an encroachment on old constitutional privilege, had proved far less conducive to the prosperity of the state than the single dominion of the Cypselidæ. The dictatorship of Cypselus seems indeed, like that of Pittacus, to have been voluntarily conferred on him by the citizens as a remedy for democratic or oligarchal tyranny, and

Periander.

¹ Diog. in vit.

like that of the Lesbian patriot was mildly exercised, though not so generously laid down.

The sway of Periander, on the other hand, though prudent and political, appears, whether from natural temperament, from fear of the constitutional party which he had to keep down, or from the evil example of other petty despots, the daughter of one of whom he had married, to have been really despotic and severe, though not certainly to the extravagant excess described in the popular accounts. His more arbitrary measures, as being chiefly directed against the pretensions of the upper class, seem also, as frequently happens in similar cases, to have been but little obnoxious to the strictly democratic order of citizens. An illustration of this Macchiavellian line of policy, and of the wary caution with which it was exercised, occurs in the well-known anecdote of the advice tendered by him to his fellow-tyrant, Thrasybulus of Miletus.¹ Thrasybulus had written to ask his counsel as to the best mode of securing permanence to his own despotic government. Periander returned no answer in writing, but desired the messenger to follow him into a corn-field, where he occupied himself for some time with his staff, in whipping off the ears from the tallest stalks of corn. He then bade the messenger return, and report to his employer how he had been received at Corinth. This anecdote is more familiar, probably, to most readers, in the shape in which it has been transferred,

¹ Aristot. Polit. III. ix. (viii.), v. i. Herodotus (v. xcii. 6.) reverses the case, ascribing to Periander the application for advice, and to Thrasybulus the allegorical reply. The authority of Aristotle is, however, to be preferred, as the narrative of Herodotus is here tinged throughout by a spirit of fable, if not of prejudice.

like so many others, from the early history of Greece to the political mythology of Rome, where Tarquin and his poppy-heads take the place of Periander and his ears of corn. There is, however, no trace of the policy inculcated in the allegory having ever been carried by Periander himself to any cruel excess, or beyond the mere humiliation of the more powerful Corinthian nobles. Among all the extravagant accounts of his other imputed enormities, there is no notice of any leading Corinthian citizen having been put to death by him. Had such acts of bloodshed been on record, Aristotle would never have limited his notice of the tyrant's treatment of those citizens to his repression of the undue magnificence of their establishments, or to a prohibition of their residing within the walls of the city.¹

Nor, probably, were these more defective points of his character without a beneficial influence on the progress of those elegant pursuits of which he was so munificent a patron, with the view, among other motives, as Aristotle² remarks, of diverting the attention of his subjects from the affairs of government. It seems indeed certain, that the establishment of the so-called "tyrannies" in many of the principal Greek states about this time, in Corinth, Sicyon, Miletus, Epidaurus, Lindus, Megara, and, at a somewhat later epoch, in Athens and Samos, not only coincided with, but contributed to, a rapid advancement of science and

¹ Aristot. Polit. v. xi.

² Apud Diog. Laert. 98.; conf. Heracl. Polit. v. Schneid. ad loc. The character of Periander, it may be remarked, appears, in the sketches given of it by Aristotle, under features very different from those under which it has been represented in the evidently overdrawn portrait of it by Herodotus. But of this more hereafter, in the chapter devoted to Herodotus himself and his authority as a historian.

letters. All or most of these petty despots appear to have combined a taste for such pursuits with the ample means for its gratification which their usurped power, and its for the most part arbitrary exercise, placed at their disposal. Their influence and habits had also a tendency to break up the more fastidious individuality of local Greek character. A freer course was opened to the traffic of social and civilised life in the different states of Hellas, both with each other and with the great neighbouring monarchies. It was the obvious interest of the Greek political usurpers to maintain friendly relations, not only among themselves, but with foreign powers ; and the result was a more extended cultivation of those branches of elegant art and science in which the Oriental nations were still in advance of the Greeks. Special notice occurs of such confidential intercourse carried on by Periander with Alyattes king of Lydia, and with his own fellow-tyrants of Miletus, Epidaurus, and Arcadia.¹ His munificent encouragement of foreign artists has already been illustrated in the life of the Lesbian Arion, by whom, under Periander's immediate patronage, the most brilliant order of Greek lyric ceremonial, parent of the Attic drama, was matured and carried to perfection.

The reign of Periander lasted upwards of forty years.² He died in the first year of the XLIXth Olympiad (B.C. 585). The epoch of his birth is not recorded, but he is said to have reached the age of eighty. The works assigned him, besides some evidently spurious epistles, were two thousand

¹ Diog. in vit. 95. ; conf. Müller, Dor. vol. 1. p. 167. (1. viii.)

² Aristot. Polit. v. xii. ; Diog. 98. ; conf. Clint. F. H. vol. 1. p. 230. 214.

verses of "commentaries,"¹ moral and political, similar to those which occupied the leisure of Solon, and of other poets of the same practical turn of genius. Of these compositions, admitting their genuine character, no remains have been preserved.

14. Of the personal character of the Corinthian tyrant it is difficult to form any just estimate from the conflicting accounts promulgated in later times. Had he not enjoyed an extraordinary credit in his own day for equity and judgement, where his individual passions or interests did not interfere, he would hardly have been numbered, and that on the high authority of Aristotle, among the Seven Wise Men. Still more conclusive in favour of his real claim to the virtues of integrity and impartiality at least, is the fact, transmitted on testimony beyond the reach of all suspicion, that he was chosen as arbiter to settle the terms of peace between the republics of Athens and Mitylene, and that, by his award, the virulent warfare in which the two states had so long been engaged was brought to a close.² It may safely be asserted, not only that two powerful independant communities would never have mutually agreed to select, for so momentous and delicate a duty, any man who was open to the charge of unprincipled conduct or profligate habits, but that they never would have selected for such a duty any one who was not preeminent among his contemporaries for qualities of an opposite description. Yet the same Herodotus who records this fact, followed by other authorities of inferior note, gives Periander credit for acts of wanton injustice and savage brutality,

His personal character.

¹ *ὑποθήκαι*. Diog. 97.

² Herodot. v. xcvi.; Aristot. *Rhet.* i. xvi. (xv.); Strab. xiv. p. 600.

disgraceful to the character, not merely of sage, but of human being.¹ The very extravagance of many of these stories, and the contradictory mode in which they are narrated in different quarters, go far indeed to stamp them as exaggerations or calumnies, reflecting the natural bitterness of spirit with which the Greeks, in the subsequent more prosperous ages of republican liberty, looked back on the class of rulers to which Periander belonged.

According to these accounts, he lived, in early youth, in incest with his mother²; and in later life killed his wife Melissa³, as some reported, by kicking her on the body when pregnant; in other accounts, he beat out her brains with a footstool. To this outrage he is said to have been instigated by the slanderous insinuations of some of his own concubines, whom, when afterwards convicted of falsehood, he burnt alive.⁴ Herodotus describes his treatment of Melissa's body after death as still more monstrous than his mode of despatching her.⁵ The same historian states, that in order to do honour to her memory, he invited the most distinguished ladies of Corinth to a solemn festival; and, assembling them in the sanctuary of Juno, stripped them of their holiday

¹ Conf. note 2. to p. 383.

² Parthenius, in his romance, exculpates him from wilful guilt in respect to this crime, by making him the unconscious victim of his mother's unnatural passion. (*Amat. Affect.* xvii.) Plutarch (*Conv. S. Sap.* p. 146 D.) and other authors seem to acquiesce in this account. (*Aristipp. ap. Diog. Laert.* 96.)

³ Herod. iii. 1. Her original name is said to have been Lyside; that of Melissa, or "The Bee," was a term of endearment conferred on her by her husband, in recognition, it may be presumed, either of the sweetness of her temper, or of her industry and exemplary habits, to which all authorities bear testimony. *Diog. vit. Per.* 94.; conf. *Athen.* xiii. 589.

⁴ *Diog.* 94.

⁵ v. xcii. 7.

dresses and jewels, which he offered as a burnt sacrifice to the manes of Melissa.¹ Ephorus, on the other hand, described the same outrage as having been perpetrated, not for the purpose of this pious holocaust, but for that of converting the plundered gold ornaments into a statue which the tyrant had vowed to Jupiter.² The most marvellous story of all is the stratagem by which he secured concealment for the place of his interment. He is said to have ordered two of his trusty attendants to proceed after dusk along the road leading from the gate of the city into the country; to kill the first man they met, and bury his body secretly by the way side; to treat the second and third in the same manner; and so on up to a certain number. One of the first victims was the author of the scheme. So absurdly incredible a tale suffices in itself to create reasonable doubts as to the existence of any broader basis of fact even in the other less wildly improbable traditions of the same stamp. Whatever his own personal habits may have been, authorities are agreed as to the fact of his having proved a rigid enforcer of law and civil discipline among the citizens over whom he held sway³; and, if the flourishing condition of a country may be taken as any just test of the wisdom and good government of its ruler, Periander, judged by this standard, would be entitled to the highest rank among early Greek statesmen and legislators. Corinth, under his sway, was not only one of the most powerful, but apparently by far the wealthiest, most industrious, and most

¹ Herodot. loc. cit.; conf. Ephor. ap. Diog. 96.

² Diog. 96.; conf. Herod. iii. xlviii.; Diog. 95.; Plut. de Mal. Herod. p. 859.

³ Heracl. Polit. v.; conf. Schneidewin ad loc.; Athen. x. p. 443.

commercial community of European Greece.¹ The city possessed harbours on each side of the Isthmus; and the customs and port dues are said to have sufficed to defray the whole expenditure both of the sovereign and the state, without direct taxation of any kind. Corcyra belonged to him; and the flourishing colonies of Apollonia, Anactoria, and others in Acarnania and on the neighbouring coasts, are described as established or extended by Periander.²

Numerous moral apophthegms are recorded of him in his character of Sage; some of which are curiously at variance with the darker shades of his popular portrait. He pronounced it to be "the duty of a wise governor to prevent, rather than punish, crime; that democracy was a preferable form of government to monarchy; and that the best personal security of a sovereign was, not a body-guard, but the affections of his citizens." When asked: Why then maintain his own "tyranny?" he replied: "Because to abdicate would be equivalent to an act of self-destruction." This latter doctrine is illustrated by that which Plutarch³ places in the mouth of Solon. That legislator, when prompted by his friends to usurp permanently the supreme power, replied that "Tyranny might be a fair country, but that there was no way out of it." In other pithy maxims Periander inculcated probity, moderation, circumspection, and condemned avarice, treachery, and incontinence.

¹ Herod. iii. 52.; Heracl. Polit. v.; conf. Schneidewin. ad loc.; Suid. vv. *Περίανδρος* et *Κυφελίδων ἀνάθημα*.

² Plut. de Ser. Num. vind. p. 552.; conf. Thuc. i. 26.

³ In vit. Sol. xiv.

15.

CLEOBULUS (586 B. C.),¹

Cleobulus.

Son of Evagoras, was "tyrant" of Lindus, in the isle of Rhodes², and was, like Periander, denied by some authorities any just right to a place in the list of Sages, as having been indebted for that honour not so much to his own merits as to the fears or flattery of his subjects.³ This imputation however is here the less plausible, that, while the Corinthian sage really enjoyed celebrity as a powerful and oppressive monarch, Cleobulus is indebted for the few notices transmitted of him chiefly to his reputation for wisdom. In his capacity of "tyrant" but little is known concerning him, and the tenor of that little would imply that he was a mild and beneficent ruler. His principal extant biographer does not even allude to his sovereign power, while his epitaph, as cited by the same authority, dwells on the affection entertained for him by his fellow-citizens.⁴ His epoch is marked merely by the facts of his having been contemporary with his fellow-sages, and of his having lived upwards of seventy years. He was distinguished not merely for his mental qualities, but for the strength and beauty of his person.⁵ His compositions are characterised as songs or lyric pieces, epigrams, and poetical riddles or charades, extending in all to three thousand verses.⁶ The collection was, for the most part, it may be supposed, of the same didactic tendency as other productions of the early gnostic school. The few lines of the purely lyric order which have been preserved⁷ are

¹ Clint. F. H. ad an. 586 B. C.² Duris (ap. Diog. in vit. Cleob. init.) called him a Carian.³ Plut. de EI, p. 385.⁴ Diog. Laert. in vit. 93.⁵ Suid. v. Κλεόβουλος; Diog. in vit. 89.⁶ Diog. loc. cit.⁷ Ap. Diog. 61.

directed against ignorance and idle-speaking. They are in enigmatical style, and in a somewhat indefinite species of iambic or trochaic measure. The remains of his poetical riddles are in hexameters. The inscription on the tomb of Midas¹, which superficial critics ascribed to Homer, was not only quoted as a work of Cleobulus by his younger contemporary Simonides, but made, as such, the subject of a somewhat captious commentary by that poet. The epitaph itself is here subjoined :

χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμι, Μίδου δ' ἐπὶ σήματι κεῖμαι,
 ἔστ' ἂν ὕδωρ τε ῥέη καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ τεθήλη,
 ἡελίος τ' ἀνιῶν λάμπη λαμπρά τε σελήνη,
 καὶ ποταμοὶ γε ῥέωσιν ἀνακλύζῃ δὲ θάλασσα,
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένουσα πολυκλαύστῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ,
 ἀγγελέω παριοῦσι Μίδας ὅτι τῇδε τέθαπται.

A maid of bronze am I, and here will stand
 On Midas' tomb, as long as on the strand
 The sea shall beat ; as long as trees shall grow,
 Sun rise, moon shine, or liquid waters flow ;
 So long by this sad tomb I'll watch, and cry,
 Midas lies here ! to every passer by.

Simonides ridicules the extravagance of the assertion contained in these lines, that the bronze figure on the monument "was destined to endure as long as the terrestrial globe itself." Taken in its literal sense, such an assertion were no doubt sufficiently inept. That Cleobulus however, meant seriously to maintain any such extravagance can hardly be supposed. The epigram is evidently one of those poetical conundrums to which the Lindian sage was partial ; and the interpretation of which would require an insight into the circumstances of its composition which

¹ Ap. Diog. in vit. 89. It is also cited by Plato.

does not seem to have been possessed by Simonides, and can hardly therefore be within the reach of any modern Œdipus. Cleobulus is described by Columella¹ as a distinguished promoter of agriculture. Among other pithy maxims of moral or ethic wisdom, he taught that "a man should never leave his dwelling without considering well what he was about to do, or reenter it without reflecting on what he had done;" and that "it was folly in a husband either to fondle or reprove his wife in company."²

The reputation of Eumetis, daughter of Cleobulus, surnamed after himself Cleobuline, was little inferior to that of her father, both for wisdom and virtue and for poetical talent, especially in the composition of metrical enigmas. Among the riddles ascribed to her was that very elegant one on the subdivisions of the year³, which some authorities claimed for her father. Another, on the operation of cupping, is praised by Aristotle and Plutarch.⁴

The composition of such epigrammatic riddles appears to have been, from an early period, a favourite occupation of the Greek literary ladies. That this exercise of intellectual subtlety was not untainted, in later times at least, with a certain affectation or pedantry, may be presumed from its having become a popular subject of satire with the Attic dramatists, in comedies, of several of which Cleobuline was the heroine.⁵ Sappho was also, as we have already seen, lampooned in the same quarters on the same account; though, judging from her extant remains, with less

¹ Lib. i. c. 1.² Diog. in vit. 92.³ Diog. vit. Cleob. 91.; Suid. γ. Κλεοβουλίνη.⁴ Arist. Rhet. iii. ii.; Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 154.⁵ Meineke, Fragm. Comm. Græc. vol. i. p. 277., ii. p. 67. sqq., iv. p. 427. sqq.

reason than her Lindian fellow-poetess. Cleobuline is celebrated for the primitive simplicity and purity of her manners, and for her zealous exercise of the rites of hospitality.¹ Plutarch calls her a Corinthian, possibly from her having married and settled in Corinth.²

16.

CHILO (596 B. C.)³

Chilo.

Of Lacedæmon, son of Demarmenus, was, like his Dorian fellow-sages of Corinth and Lindus, distinguished in the political as well as the scientific world, having filled the office of Ephorus in his native republic.⁴ Nor was he altogether unconnected with royalty, his daughter having married the celebrated Spartan king Demaratus⁵, who betrayed his country to the Persian monarch. The epoch of his entry upon office is placed in the LVth or LVith Olympiad, when he was already far advanced in years. Nearly half a century prior to that date he had distinguished himself as an expounder of the divine will, while sacrificing at Olympia along with Hippocrates, father of the usurper Pisistratus, by interpreting an omen vouchsafed on that occasion, and portending the dangerous character of his fellow-worshipper's future offspring.⁶ He also, in a spirit of political foresight rather than of religious prophecy, forewarned his countrymen of the danger to which, in their foreign wars, they might be exposed from the vicinity of the isle of Cythera to their coast.⁷

¹ Clem. Alex. Str. iv. p. 523 ; Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. p. 148.

² Locc. cit. ; conf. De Pyth. Orac. p. 401.

³ Conf. Clin. F. H. ad an. 596. 586.

⁴ Aristot. Rhet. ii. xxiv. ; Diog. in vit. Chil. 68.

⁵ Herod. vi. lxx.

⁶ Herod. i. lix. ; conf. Diog. loc. cit.

⁷ Herod. vii. ccxxxv.

His most celebrated maxim was that inculcating moderation: *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, "nothing in excess." When asked what were the three most difficult things in a man's life, he replied: "To keep a secret, to forgive injuries, and to make a profitable use of leisure time."¹

His death is said to have taken place at Olympia, from the combined effects of old age and of joy, when embracing a son who had been declared victor in the games.² The single extant remnant of his lyric composition³, comprising six lines in Stesichorean measure, and marked by elegance both of expression and sentiment, inculcates that, "as the purity of gold is proved by the touchstone, so gold itself is the test by which the good or evil in human character is brought to light." Of his two hundred elegiac verses, also mentioned by his biographers⁴, no remains have been preserved.

BIAS (585—540 B. C.),⁵

Son of Teutamus, of Priene in Ionia, is celebrated exclusively as Sage. While his character receives neither lustre nor tarnish from political rank or power, he has not only the honour of belonging to the select four⁶ whose claim to be numbered among the Seven was undisputed, but seems, in regard to the strictly ethic or moral attributes of his order, to have enjoyed the highest reputation of the whole fraternity.⁷ Though not a professional statesman, he was

¹ Diog. in vit. 69.; conf. Gell. 1. iii.

² Diog. in vit. 72.; Plin. H. N. vii. 32. (54.).

³ Diog. 71.

⁴ Diog. in vit. init.

⁵ Clint. ad an. 586 B.C. 569 B.C.

⁶ Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal. 41.

⁷ Satyr. ap. Diog. in vit. Biantis, 82.; Heracl. ap. Diog. 88.

enabled by his natural penetration, in several emergencies, to render important public services to his countrymen.

The date of his birth has not been recorded. He survived however all his fellow-sages, Solon by nearly twenty years, being still alive at the epoch of the conquest of his native Ionia by the Persians (540 B.C.). He seems consequently to have been the youngest of the Seven. In the Panionian assembly of the confederate states, held in reference to the national calamity above mentioned, he was the author of a suggestion greatly commended by Herodotus.¹ He proposed to his fellow-countrymen that they should emigrate in a body to the island of Sardinia, and there found a single commonwealth, as the only means of insuring the joint blessings of constitutional liberty, unity among themselves, and security against foreign aggression.

The practical benefit of his sententious wisdom was also exemplified² in the argument by which, when a guest of Cræsus king of Lydia, he dissuaded that ambitious monarch from a project equally pregnant with mischief to Lydians and Hellenes. Cræsus, sovereign of a great inland monarchy, was, about the period of the philosopher's visit, fitting out a fleet for the reduction of the Greek insular republics on the Asiatic coast. On his inquiring of his guest what news he brought from Ionia, the philosopher answered, that the islanders were preparing a great force of cavalry, with the intention of marching upon Sardis. At this intelligence the king expressed great delight, in the prospect of an easy victory over such inexperienced horsemen. "And do you not think,"

¹ III. clxx.

² Herod. I. xxvii.

rejoined Bias, "that the Ionian mariners look forward
"with equal satisfaction to their victory over your
"navy of Lydian landsmen?"¹

Bias was distinguished for his talent of forensic pleading², and is celebrated on this account by his younger contemporary, the poet Hipponax. His death is said to have taken place in court, while resting his head on the bosom of a young grandson after a powerful address, at the moment when the decision was pronouncing in favour of his client.³ His fellow-citizens, in testimony of their esteem, decreed him a sumptuous funeral and monument at the public expense.⁴

The poetical works attributed to Bias were two thousand lines upon the means of restoring prosperity to the Ionian republics.⁵ The single existing remnant of his muse consists of a convivial stanza of three verses, inculcating the wisdom of adapting our habits to those of the place or people among whom it is our lot to reside. Of his sententious prose lessons the following are specimens⁶: "The most unfortunate of all men he pronounced to be the man who
"knows not how to bear misfortune:" that "it was
"better for a man to act as arbiter in a dispute between two of his enemies than between two of his
"friends; for in the former case his decision would
"be sure to gain him a new friend, in the latter to
"create him a new enemy:" that "a man should be
"slow in making up his mind, but swift in executing
"his decisions."

¹ This story was told by some of Pittacus (Herod. loc. cit.). But Pittacus died before the accession of Cræsus to the Lydian throne.

² Strabo, p. 636.; Diog. in vit. 84.; Hipponax ap. Diog. et Strab. locc. citt.

³ Diog. loc. cit.

⁴ Diog. 85.

⁵ Diog. loc. cit.

⁶ Diog. 86. sqq.

Another, on first view less generous, but perhaps, if rightly understood, not less sound and valuable doctrine inculcated by him was, "that a man should temper his love for his friends by the reflexion that they might some day become his enemies, and moderate his hatred of his enemies by the reflexion that they might some day become his friends."¹

When overtaken by a storm on a voyage with a dissolute crew, and overhearing them offer up prayers for their safety, he advised them rather "to be silent, lest the gods should discover that they were at sea."

¹ Aristot. Rhet. II. xv. xxii. ; conf. Cic. de Amic. xvi.

CHAP. VII.

EARLY HISTORY OF WRITING IN GREECE.

PART I. MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. CADMEAN TRADITION. ITS HISTORICAL IMPORT.—2. RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF MODERN RESEARCH. NUMBER AND PECULIAR CHARACTER OF THE EARLY GREEK INSCRIBED MONUMENTS.—3. CHANCES OF THEIR PRESERVATION.—4. COMPARATIVE NEGLECT OF BLACK-LETTER PURSUIT IN GREECE. SUPPOSED LITERARY FRAUDS. RUDENESS OF THE PRIMITIVE ALPHABET.—5. NOTICES OF EARLY INSCRIBED MONUMENTS. EPITAPHS. LEGISLATIVE TABLES.—6. VOTIVE MONUMENTS IN THE NATIONAL SANCTUARIES. PAUSANIAS.—7. OLYMPIA. DISK OF IPHITUS. "TREASURIES." CHEST OF CYPRUS.—8. OTHER MONUMENTS AT OLYMPIA AND ELSEWHERE.—9. EARLY GREEK ARCHIVES.—10. MONUMENTS OF THE ANTE-DORIAN ERA. TRIPODS OF THE ISMENIAN SANCTUARY.—11. OTHER CADMEAN MONUMENTS.

PART II. WRITING FOR LITERARY PURPOSES.

12. GENERAL REMARKS.—13. ATHENIAN OSTRACISM.—14. PUBLIC OPINION OF EARLY GREECE. STATE OF EDUCATION. TEXT OF "HESIOD." STESICHORUS. ARCHILOCHUS.—15. SPARTAN SCYTALE.—16. EDUCATION IN SPARTA. CRETE. LAWS OF LYCURGUS. OTHER EARLY WRITTEN CODES. PHILOLAUS. PHIDON.—17. WANT OF CONVENIENT MATERIAL.—18. A PASSAGE OF THUCYDIDES. PARCHMENT. PAPIRUS.—19. MEMORIAL RECITAL, OR RHAPSODISM.—20. LAWS SET TO MUSIC. LATENESS OF PROSE COMPOSITION.—21. HOMER.—22. LETTERS OF BELLEROPHON. OTHER HOMERIC ALLUSIONS TO WRITING. CONCLUSION.

PART I. MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

1. THE early history of the art of writing in Greece has, in the course of the more searching investigations to which it has of late years been subjected, usually been treated in immediate connexion with the history of the Homeric poems. This arrangement was natural, perhaps even in some degree necessary, in the more elementary stage of the joint inquiry, in so far as the former branch of that inquiry naturally concentrated itself around the most antient accredited

Introductory remarks.

remains of literary composition. But the turn given to the whole subject by the subsequent treatment of its Homeric element, has tended greatly to obstruct the sound course of critical research. The question concerning the origin and early use of alphabetic writing thus became, in a manner, circumscribed within the narrow limits of certain speculative theories as to the state of Homeric criticism in the days of the Pisistratidæ, to the exclusion of all more enlarged views of the facts or authorities essentially bearing on the actual progress of literary culture in Greece. It has been shown, in the course of the foregoing narrative, that the interval between the age of Pisistratus and that of the original composition of the Homeric poems comprehends one of the most brilliant periods of Greek literature; a period abounding, as Cicero has remarked, with authors, many of whose names are still the most illustrious in their various branches of composition; names not representing doubtful or semifabulous personalities, but poets and musicians of well-attested historical existence, profoundly skilled in the subtlest technical refinements of their respective arts. Every intelligent reader must perceive, how essential a careful and comprehensive previous survey of this first strictly historical age of literature must be, to any just estimate of the progress of an art without which no such organised system of literary culture could possibly exist. But, in the process hitherto pursued, this whole period is virtually overlooked, or at the most appealed to for the sake of a few incidental illustrations. A different method has here therefore been preferred. A general view of the extent and mode in which the intellectual powers of the Hellenes, during this youth-

ful and genial period of their literature, were displayed, has been considered indispensable to a right estimate of the technical aids requisite for the development or exercise of those powers.

That the Hellenes were indebted for their first knowledge of the art of writing to the Phœnicians, is a tradition of the historical value of which we have proof altogether distinct from its own antiquity or universality, in the characters of the Greek alphabet. The evidence which the names, forms, and arrangement of those characters afford of their Oriental origin has already been considered.¹ In regard to the period at which a knowledge of them was first communicated to the Greeks we are left, as on other points of earliest Hellenic culture, altogether dependant on mythical sources. There are however few national legends which, on the twofold ground of internal probability and the inveterate conviction of the enlightened native public in its favour, can advance stronger claims to the character of historical fact, than that which ascribes the introduction of the alphabet to the Oriental colonies figured, in the name and person of the hero Cadmus, as having settled in Greece, chiefly in Bœotia, at an early mythical period. This legend is at least broadly distinguished by the above-mentioned more solid characteristics from various other traditions of mere local or poetical origin, invented in honour of certain heroes or tribes, and according to which there is scarcely a Greek patriarchal chief celebrated for ingenuity in the elementary sciences, to whom the discovery of this essentially Phœnician art has not been attributed: such are Prometheus, Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Palamedes. There is one point however on which

Cadmean
tradition.

¹ Vol. I. p. 78. sqq.

all these traditions, to whatever extent they may differ on other points, are unanimous. They all agree in tracing the first knowledge of writing in Greece to a remote mythical era.

The Cadmean legend, in any more critical estimate of its bearings on the history of the art, must be viewed in a more extended light than that in which it is usually contemplated, as limited to a single Sidonian colonist in Bœotia. Cadmus is a term of palpably Phœnician origin, signifying Eastern or "Man of the East;" just as Norman, in our own heroic age, which here in other respects offers various points of parallel, signifies "Man of the North." Accordingly, in almost every part of the Hellenic world where notice exists of early Phœnician influence, that influence is found connected more or less directly with "Cadmean" enterprise. Either Cadmus himself, on his voyage to Greece, is described as leaving a detachment of his followers on the coast, or a colony of his descendants is reported to have subsequently settled on it. Such are the traditions of Cadmean settlement in Thasos, Thera, Rhodes, Samothrace, Lesbos.¹ Nor can the old Milesian variety of the legend, which, as mentioned in a former page, assigned the first introduction of the alphabet to Danaüs², be held as militating against the spirit of the genuine Cadmean tradition; Danaüs and Cadmus being in the Milesian account represented as kinsmen and fellow-fugitives, both of Phœnician race, who simultaneously sought an asylum in Hellas. The Peloponnesian associations

¹ Herodot. iv. cxlvii.; Pausan. iii. i. 7.; Diod. v. lviii.; conf. Bochart, *Geogr. Sacr.* pp. 366. 385. 394. 424. sq. When "Cadmus" is described (Boch. op. cit. p. 467.) as founding a hundred cities in Africa, the figurative import of the term becomes still more palpable. See Appendix G.

² Vol. I. p. 76. note.

of the early Ionian school of antiquaries would naturally lead them to prefer the claims of the Argive to those of the Bœotian settler.

Historical authority therefore, in so far as represented by an inveterate national conviction, extending, as may be proved by existing passages of contemporary authors, back into the seventh century B. C., is unanimous in ascribing the introduction of the art of writing into Greece to her purely mythical age. Nor is it easy to understand how, in the face of this fact, room should have been found in any reasonable quarter for the lately popular theory, which would assign the first knowledge of the same art in that country to the period subsequent to the settlement of the Ionian colonies, and its first familiar use to the age of the Pisistratidæ, or the latter part of the sixth century B. C. It seems incredible that the Greek literary public, even in the generation immediately after Pisistratus, should have ascribed a remote mythical origin to a practice which could hardly be traced beyond the time of their own immediate ancestors. Still more wonderful would it be that Stesichorus, who flourished about half a century prior to the Athenian usurper, should have attributed, as he did in his *Orestia*¹, to Palamedes, a hero of the Trojan war, the introduction into Greece of an art which was scarcely practised in that country by the grandchildren of Stesichorus himself.

The arguments to which weight has chiefly been attached in favour of the proposed reduction of the age of writing in Greece are, first, the absence of well accredited written monuments in sufficient num-

¹ Dionys. Thr. ap. Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 783. 786. ; conf. Klein, *Fragm. Stesich.* xxxviii. ; Franz, *Elem. Epigr. Gr.* p. 12. sqq.

bers, or of so great antiquity, as to justify the belief of any familiar use of letters prior to the age of Pisi-stratus; secondly, the rudeness of the form, of the material, and of the alphabetic characters of those earlier dedications; thirdly, the silence of the more antient Greek literary compositions, especially the Iliad and Odyssey, on the subject of writing, and the internal evidence which their text supplies of ignorance of the art on the part of their authors; fourthly, the extensive prevalence of the practice of rhapsodism, or memorial recitation, as a substitute for writing.¹

In the treatment of this question a twofold distinction has usually been drawn: first, between the epoch of the earliest knowledge of the alphabet in Greece and the epoch of its more familiar use; secondly, between its employment in inscriptions on wood, stone, or metal, and its adaptation to literary purposes, properly so called, on pliable material.²

The distinction is in itself well founded, and will be kept in view accordingly in the conduct of the following inquiry; since it is certain, as a general rule, that in every science rude efforts must precede familiar practice, and that the more extensive such practice becomes, the more copious and commodious will be the material for its exercise.

¹ See a concise abstract of these arguments in Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. i. p. 37. sqq.

² This is, in fact, the order in which the Jewish antiquary Josephus, the keenest and acutest classical opponent of the antiquity of Greek civilisation, and a standard authority with those who, in the present age, have adopted the same views, has, in his tract against Apion (i. 2.), arranged his line of objection. While not actually denying the introduction of letters by Cadmus, he questions the existence of any inscribed monument of the age of the Trojan war. He then quotes the general opinion even of the native Greeks, that no genuine literary work was extant of a date prior to the Homeric poems; which apparent exception in their favour is qualified by a doubt whether even they were committed to writing until some time after their composition.

Rules for
the guid-
ance of
modern
research.

2. A fertile source of error in researches into antient history is the neglect properly to appreciate the different genius of society in different ages of the world, and a consequent readiness to adopt the habits and associations of our own day as criteria for judging those of other nations and times. Hence, where any points of antient manners are distinguished by certain marked features of difference from the parallel usage of our own age, we are apt to account for the apparent anomaly by specific causes of an equally anomalous nature, and are thus led into false or exaggerated conclusions, which a reasonable attention to incidental circumstances peculiar to one or other state of society might have enabled us to avoid. In few questions has a want of such discrimination been more productive of serious misunderstanding than in that relative to the early history of writing in Greece. In order, therefore, to guard in as far as possible against any similar misunderstanding in our own case, it is here proposed, before entering on the details of the inquiry, to establish, in respect to some of its more important heads, certain primary data, or first principles, by reference to which it will be guided.

Number
and pe-
culiar cha-
racter of
the Greek
inscribed
monu-
ments.

Among the Greeks, and probably most other antient races who made early advances in civilisation, the oldest preserved specimens of writing transmitted to later posterity were inscriptions on the polished surfaces of stone, wood, or other hard materials. The Greek antiquaries in the time of Herodotus pretended accordingly, with what reason will be considered hereafter, to show such inscriptions dating prior to the Trojan war; and there can be little doubt that in the days of that historian there were extant engraved monuments of the ninth or tenth centuries before the

Christian era. But there is no trace of the same curious persons having advanced even a pretension to possess records of any remote antiquity on parchment or other cartaceous material. In our own times the case is exactly the reverse. There are few of the earlier civilised nations of modern Europe but can exhibit numerous documents on parchment or paper, executed at a period of which it would be difficult to discover a single record inscribed on stone or metal. This distinctive feature of the two states of society, may be traced to the same source already frequently appealed to in other parts of this history: the fundamental difference in the circumstances under which antient and modern civilisation had their origin. Greek culture advanced from infancy to maturity with the spontaneous development of the national genius; the culture of modern Europe was for many centuries but a reconstruction from the ruins of a previous state of society. We inherited the art of writing from a people among whom it may be said already to have reached its perfection, together with a plentiful material for its exercise, and with a literature already fully matured and perfected as the guide to our own progress in scientific pursuit. The Greeks, on the other hand, received the same art from a people among whom it had as yet advanced but little beyond its elementary stages; from a people not of literary habits in the more enlarged sense, and among whom its use was confined chiefly to works of necessity. They received it in an age when the supply of convenient material for its practice was comparatively small, and when the benefits to be derived from that practice held out proportionally little in-

ducement to study or exertion. Under such circumstances, the materials to which a newly instructed semibarbarous people would instinctively resort, as combining facility both of execution and preservation, for the few works of utility or necessity to which the art would in the first instance be limited, would be wood, stone, and other hard substances. To these, accordingly, the earliest literary efforts of the Greeks may be supposed to have been solely or chiefly confined. But what was once necessity often becomes habit or fashion: and the practice of perpetuating public documents by preference in this form was maintained, or even greatly extended, long after more convenient material for their circulation was abundant. Hence the following curious distinction: in the darkest periods of modern medieval ignorance, when the knowledge of letters was far less extended probably than at any epoch of Grecian history subsequent to the Olympic era, treaties of peace, charters, and other similar documents were committed to parchment and paper, and a public record of those periods, of any other than a sepulchral character, engraved on stone or any hard substance, is a thing of which it were difficult to find an example: in Greece and Rome, on the other hand, even in the palmy days of their literature, when education was the birthright of every citizen, the most important national registers and state diplomas, treaties of peace, laws, *fasti consulares*, even military lists and muster rolls, were dependant all but exclusively on sculptured tables for their legal publicity. This distinction supplies in itself a sufficient answer to the popular argument against any familiar use of the alphabet in the primitive ages of Greece, which

has been founded on the circumstance of the laws of Draco and Solon, or other similar state registers, having been promulgated on material no way adapted for literary purposes in the wider sense. The peculiarity, if such it be, is one obviously of manners and usage, involving neither capacity nor inability to pursue a different method. Had parchment or papyrus been as plentiful in the age of Solon or Servius as in that of Cicero, those lawgivers would not have the less resorted to wood, metal, or stone, for their public registers; while, had the supply of the lighter material totally failed during our own dark ages, it might be a question whether our semibarbarous ancestors would have been sufficiently zealous scribes to have had recourse to their iron mines or freestone quarries for a substitute.¹

Their
chances of
preservation.

3. Thus far concerning the number and character of the earlier specimens of Greek alphabetic writing. Attention must now be directed to their chances of preservation. Inscribed monuments of remote date may, with reference to the present question, be considered under two heads: first, those recorded by later classical writers as extant in their own days;

¹ How inveterate this custom remained up to the latest period of classical antiquity, appears from the mass of inscriptions preserved in the Vatican, Capitol, and other repositories of antient epigraphy. Among these monuments, besides testaments and other documents which in modern times it never occurred probably to the most eccentric scribe, either before or after the invention of printing, to embody in such a form, are found many (such as muster rolls of soldiers, of whole garrisons or cohorts) destined for mere temporary use. In the fire of the Capitol under Vitellius were destroyed 3000 inscribed tables of brass, which Vespasian (Sueton. in vit. viii.) replaced from other copies of the same deeds preserved elsewhere: "undique investigatis exemplaribus." The more pliable kinds of metal seem also, in the early ages of Greece, to have been occasionally resorted to for the promulgation of literary works of peculiar interest. Paus. ix. xxxi. 3., iv. xxvi. 6.; cf. Nitzsch, Hist. Hom. p. 73. sqq.; Montfauc. Palæogr. Gr. p. 16.

secondly, those actually preserved to modern times. It may on a superficial view appear strange, had the practice of monumental writing been of any remote antiquity in Greece, that not one specimen should yet have been discovered bearing distinct internal evidence of an epoch prior to the Olympic era. The science of Greek palæography is still, perhaps, in too unsettled a state to admit of any solid argument being grounded either on the age or the authenticity of extant inscriptions. There is also too much reason to believe that those who of late years have chiefly devoted themselves to this branch of research¹ have, in doubtful cases, been disposed rather to make the doctrines of the modern sceptical school a guide to their decisions, than to avail themselves of the results of impartial investigation as a test of those doctrines. But even admitting the entire deficiency of all written monuments of so remote a date, that deficiency were no proof whatever that many may not have been executed. The farther back we go, it is obvious that both the number of such monuments and the chances of their preservation diminish in an equal ratio. In the infancy of the art of writing, the efforts of its cultivators were not only fewer, but confined chiefly to the more easily wrought, and by consequence more perishable materials, such as wood or soft stone, rather than metal or marble. Hence, the more such memo-

¹ Boeckh more especially, whose preliminary dissertation to his *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* is little more than a piece of able special pleading in favour of the Wolfian theory. The author has been gratified to observe that his learned and ingenious friend Dr. Franz has not been withheld, by his respectful deference to the authority of his own distinguished friend and master, from following a more liberal and impartial course in his valuable work, the *Elementa Epigraphicæ Græcæ*, *Introd.* § 1v. *De Ætate Scripturæ*, p. 30.

rials were exposed to the ravages of time, the less they were qualified to resist them. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, but one thousand inscriptions to have been executed in Greece prior to the Olympic era, and let us calculate, by the analogy of parallel cases in historical times, what are the chances that a single one of that number should now be extant. Let us take, as a basis of this calculation, the probable number of such documents executed in Attica between the first Olympiad (776 B. C.) and the final settlement of the Attic orthography by Euclides in the xcivth Olympiad (404 B. C.); those accumulated on edifices public and private, in market-places and thoroughfares, on monuments sacred, civil, sepulchral, or triumphal, during this the most flourishing period of the most civilised and literary commonwealth in Greece. They can scarcely be rated at less than fifty times the number above allowed to all Greece during the remote semibarbarous ages of her art of alphabetic writing. Yet of the extant Attic inscriptions there are not fifty¹; not one in a thousand, consequently, to which a date prior to Euclides can with any probability be assigned. The chances, then, are infinitely against the transmission to posterity of even a single one of the ante-Olympic thousand. The analogy may be transferred to the primitive stages of modern art. It were probably not easy to find in Great Britain a single inscribed stone or metal monument of the Anglo-Saxon age.² Yet it will not be

¹ See Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* vol. i. No. LXX. sqq. The utmost number that the author has been able to collect out of the whole twelve classes amounts to about forty-five.

² Admitting Pausanias (see *infra*, § 7. sqq.) to have seen but twenty genuine inscriptions ranging over the three centuries between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the sixth century B. C. (the epoch of Pisistratus), the oldest of them would have dated 1000, the most recent about

denied that writing was familiarly practised in England in the ninth century, and more or less habitually applied by the inhabitants of that country to monumental literature; to sepulchral inscriptions, landmarks and the like. The fallacy of any negative argument founded on the nonexistence of inscriptions of remote date, is further apparent from the consideration that the same argument would equally disprove the execution, at the same period, of all works whatever of the class on which it was customary to engrave letters. It were as difficult to produce an uninscribed urn, tripod, or tombstone, which antiquaries would acknowledge coëval with Homer, as one bearing an inscription. Yet no one would question the existence of such monuments in Homer's time, in the face of numberless passages of his poems where they are alluded to as abundant. The mere want of preservation can be no more valid argument in the one case than in the other.

The argument against the antiquity of alphabetic writing, founded¹ on the absence of written legends on the older specimens of Greek coined money, affords another signal instance of the mode in which matters altogether extraneous to this question have been forced into connexion with it. That coinage is itself a practice standing in no necessary relation to literary culture is proved by the case of the Phœnicians and other Asiatic nations, who, although familiar with the art of writing long before the Greeks, are in-

700 years prior to his own time. We question whether the most diligent British antiquary of the present day could produce half as many from the cathedrals and cemeteries of England, ranging between the years 850 and 1150 of our era. Yet the monuments of Greece had suffered in the time of Pausanias far more frequent and more fatal ravages than any to which those of Britain have yet been subjected.

¹ Müller, *Hist. of Gr. Lit.* vol. 1. p. 38.

debted to the Greeks for that of coinage; and the Egyptians, who wrote after their own fashion some thousand years before the Greeks, appear never to have had any coined money. The primary object of coinage, that of stamping, by a certain device, the genuine character or weight of the minuter parts of the circulating medium, was one for the attainment of which ciphers or symbols would probably, in the first instance, suggest themselves more naturally, even in an age of literary culture, than alphabetical characters. Such symbols are, in fact, still preferred to letters among ourselves, in certain cases, as marks of metallic purity.

Comparative neglect of Black-letter pursuit in Greece.

4. Another feature of distinction between antient and modern times, of no little importance as bearing on this inquiry, is the comparative neglect, by the Greeks, of a branch of scientific pursuit, which, under the name of Black-letter taste, has obtained so extensive a popularity in the present age. The zeal for antiquarian study, so characteristic of modern science, has in another place been pointed out as the result, in a great measure, of our dependance on the antients for our first advances in the polite arts; and here again, as in the case of the sculptured literature of Greece and Rome, what originated in necessity has since ripened into habit and taste. But the Greeks, individualised in their own national feeling, and dependant on no previous state of society for the progress of their own culture, had no such inducement to retrospective study. The investigation of the remote antiquities, even of their own country, was to them matter of comparatively small practical utility. They had no lost arts to recover, no extinct civilisation to resuscitate. Proud of their actual superiority in

knowledge and taste to other nations, and attached by habit and superstition to the fabulous legends which formed so graceful a substructure to their existing splendid edifice of science and learning, they felt little disposition to mar the symmetry or unity of the whole fabric by any close scrutiny of the ruder materials of which the basement was composed. It is not therefore until after the decay of original genius, and the loss of national independance, had led them to look back with melancholy fondness to every memorial of their antient glory, that any distinct traces appear of a taste for the branch of antiquarian pursuit here under consideration. In the days of Herodotus a manuscript was valuable only in so far as it was useful. When worn out it was transcribed, and probably destroyed as waste paper. Hence the absence of all notice, in later times, of original manuscripts, not to say of Homer¹ or Hesiod, but of Archilochus, Sappho, Ana-

¹ Hence too might be explained the fact, could it be established as such, so pointedly pressed by Giese (De Dial. Æol. p. 163. sq.), that all the standard antient MSS. of the Homeric poems at the disposal of the Alexandrian grammarians were written in the "Ionian" alphabet (that is, in an alphabet of which the long vowels η and ω already formed part); the use of which alphabet did not become general in European Greece until the xcivth Ol. (404 B.C.), although familiar probably in Asia, as Giese himself observes, several centuries before. His argument as to the Homeric MSS. is grounded on the frequent occurrence of appeals by the Alexandrian critics to the Chian, Massiliotic, and other old texts, in questions as to the best-authorised readings of words such as *μαχίσσομαι* and *μαχέσομαι*, *Κάστωρ* and *Κάστορ*, *ὄντως* and *ὄντος*, where the ε or η, 'ο or ω, might, on mere grammatical grounds, be equally admissible. Such appeals, he urges, would be nugatory, unless the distinction between those several letters had been as plainly drawn in the old codices as in the editions founded on them. So probably it may have been. But his theory as to the mode in which he supposes it must have been drawn, is set aside or greatly invalidated by abundant evidence, supplied both by classical grammarians and by antient inscriptions, of another fact overlooked by

creon, even of Herodotus or his contemporaries, having been preserved, still less cherished as objects of curiosity or interest. In the few instances where veneration was attached to cartaceous documents, a purely religious motive may be traced. The case was somewhat different in regard to monumental inscriptions. Many of these, being of a dedicatory character, were guaranteed by their sanctity from wilful destruction. Many also possessed, in their matter or style, a historical or literary value altogether distinct from antiquarian considerations. Hence, the literature of monumental epigraphy seems to have been cultivated with some diligence from the Alexandrian era downwards. But, of strictly palæographical or black-letter research, even here little or no trace is observable.¹

Supposed
literary
frauds.

From this absence either of allusion by Greek authors to preserved literary manuscripts of remote antiquity, or of pretension to possess such documents, a further inference may be derived, tending to vindicate the Greek archæologists from the very rude charges of dishonesty to which they have been exposed in the modern schools. As the authority of those native writers often interfered greatly with the late speculative theories, it has been customary to pronounce the monumental inscriptions cited by them to be forgeries, and themselves dupes or accomplices of the priests, or of others interested in this fraudulent mode of augmenting their stock of

him, that in the old, in itself less definite, Attic alphabet, it was customary in metrical texts to distinguish the quantity of the doubtful vowels by accents or marks, somewhat as in modern prosody. The authorities on this point have been collected by Villoison, in his preface to the Venetian Scholia (p. v. sqq.).

¹ Conf. Franz, Elem. Epigraph. Gr. p. 9.

local curiosities. A more impartial view of the case would rather tend to relieve the Greeks from any serious imputation of this kind. There can be no doubt that popular tradition loved to assign obscure or illegible monuments of early date, by preference, to a remote fabulous antiquity; and frauds may also, no doubt, have occasionally been committed. Yet it is somewhat remarkable, that of monuments fabricated for the express purpose of imposing on the public no authentic example has yet been adduced. Nor is it easy to reconcile with the late assumption of a prevalence of such frauds in works of stone or brass, the other undeniable fact, that not a vestige of evidence should be extant of any similar attempt at forgery having ever been made in the case of literary manuscripts. How happens it that it never should have occurred to the same zealous bands of falsifiers who had successfully fabricated Græco-Phœnician inscriptions of the heroic age of Thebes, or bustrophedon monuments of the time of Lycurgus, to produce original autographs of Homer or Hesiod, of Orpheus or Musæus, on diphthera or papyrus? Such documents would assuredly have been not less precious in the eyes of credulous Greek archæologists than a stela of Hercules or of Cadmus. But not a single allusion is extant to anything of the sort. This entire silence as to the one kind of pious fraud seems inexplicable, on the supposition of the other kind having been so universal as has been surmised. But the same silence, taken in connexion with the greater general probability that, among the written documents of real antiquity, those on the more solid material would be the best preserved, affords strong, almost conclusive evidence, that the monumental

dedications advancing claims to such antiquity, if not necessarily genuine, were at least rarely if ever wilful forgeries.¹

Rudeness
of the pri-
mitive al-
phabet.

The other objection to an early proficiency in the art of writing, founded on the rude appearance of the older extant specimens, is still less valid than that derived from their paucity. The analogy of historical times abundantly shows an equal or still greater rudeness to be compatible, not only with an extensive application of the alphabet to elementary purposes, but with a highly flourishing state of literature. Among various antient nations, second only to the Greeks in the cultivation of ornamental art, alphabetic writing never, even in their most civilised ages, presented a more elegant appearance than in

¹ Admitting the Greeks to have occasionally indulged in this species of literary imposture, a few examples of such fraud would no more disprove the existence of genuine archaic monuments among them, than the modern forgeries of Ibramiotti, Fourmont, Chatterton, or others, would justify a similar inference in regard to the genuine antient relics of our own day. But the fact is, that not a single Greek inscription has yet been discovered supplying any reasonable pretext for such imputations. The examples cited by Boeckh (*Præf. ad Corp. Insc. Græc.*) prove nothing more than that, after the more elegant forms of the alphabet had become general, curious or fanciful persons were in the habit of engraving their dedicatory inscriptions in antiquated characters; precisely as, in modern times, the old black-letter text is often preferred to the Roman in similar cases. But no example has been substantiated of an attempt not only to imitate the alphabetic characters, but to counterfeit the facts or names, of remote antiquity. Nor must it be forgotten, that there were professional sceptics in antient Greece as well as in modern Europe; and, had the practice of literary fraud been carried to such an extent in the former country as has been assumed, neither the counterfeits nor their authors would have escaped a disgraceful notoriety. But throughout the wide field of Hellenic controversy on almost every other kind of literary question, there is here scarcely an allusion to either imputation or defence. It seems impossible to reconcile these facts with such a systematic course of imposture as Boeckh and his school assume to have been carried on, from the very earliest period, by the Greek monumental epigraphists. *Conf. Franz, Elem. Epigraph. p. 75. sqq.*

the earlier ruder specimens of Greek palæography. Among the Phœnicians and Etruscans, for example, whose alphabets are substantially the same as that of Greece, the taste for lineal regularity or symmetry seems never to have prevailed at all. Their monumental inscriptions of the age of Alexander, exhibit as uncouth an appearance as the Greek inscriptions of that of Solon, with a still less delicate adaptation to the niceties of pronunciation or flexion. Had clumsiness of form and arrangement, or the want of a few vowel sounds or double consonants, been incompatible with the advance of literary culture, both these nations would have remained in comparative barbarism. The progress of the useful arts, in their strictly useful capacity, keeps pace, it is true, as a general rule, with the civilisation at large of the people by whom they are practised. But the growth of the ornamental arts, or the embellishment of arts not essentially ornamental, such as that of alphabetic writing, is often the consequence of a certain impulse of national taste during a particular period. Such seems to have been the case in Greece about the epoch of the Persian war, in respect to all the politer arts, including that of writing. The Doric temple of the age of Solon was as rude, compared with the Erechtheum of Pericles, as the Melian inscription now appears, collated with the improved Attic calligraphy. Yet as architecture was quite as generally cultivated for all ordinary purposes at the one period as at the other, so probably was the art of writing.¹

¹ Even in the time of Herodotus the forms of several letters, such as ρ and Λ, Δ and Π, were still uncertain, as appears from many extant inscriptions of that period, where the only sure means of distinction is the import of the text. Yet the art of writing on paper was then in a high state of perfection.

Notices of
early in-
scribed
monu-
ments.

5. Such are the principles of distinction by which this inquiry will be regulated in regard to these important elementary considerations. In passing on to a closer analysis of the historical data for our guidance, attention is called, in the first instance, according to the arrangement above proposed, to what may be called glyptical literature; inscriptions namely on stone, metal, wood, or other hard substances. The more important branch of the subject, which relates to writing on pliable material, will be considered separately.

The lowest epoch at which the history of Greek letters can be said to be involved in any obscurity is that of the usurpation of Pisistratus, in the LIVth Olympiad (560 B. C.), which forms also the limit of the present subdivision of this work. From that epoch, without however any servile adherence to chronological order, the investigation will be carried back, by a sort of analytical process, to the period in which history gives place to mythology.

Epitaphs.

That sepulchral inscriptions were common in the time of Solon, a generation prior to Pisistratus, appears from one of Solon's laws¹ directed against their effacement. Considering the concise character of these earlier codes, a specific enactment would hardly have been thought requisite in regard to a practice not yet familiar or universal. The notices of the tables on which Solon's code was promulgated, shed a curious light on the mode of pub-

Legislative
tables.

¹ Ap. Cic. de Legg. ii. 26. Compare the tradition ap. Diog. Laert. i. ii. 48., that Solon supported the title of the Athenians to the possession of Salamis by evidence derived from the inscriptions in the more ancient cemeteries of the island. A law ascribed to Lycurgus, on the subject of sepulchral inscriptions, will be considered in the sequel of this chapter.

lishing such documents in Greece; a mode which, originating in those early times, remained inveterate in the republican states of that country. These tables were composed of oblong slabs of wood or metal of triangular form, fixed together so as to present the appearance of pyramidal boxes of three or four sides; on each of which sides the laws were written from top to bottom. Each box or set of tables so connected turned upon a pivot or axis in the centre, for convenience of consultation; hence their familiar name of "axles."¹ The set exposed for public use was of wood, probably as the least precious and lightest material; and these are said to have had three sides. It is possible, perhaps probable, that they may have been solid blocks of wood presenting three polished surfaces. But there were others of brass which were preserved in the state repositories, and are described as quadrilateral. There is no specific record of the whole number either of axles or of tables. Mention occurs of the sixteenth table²; and the number of the tables seems to have much exceeded that of the laws, for the eighth law was written on the thirteenth table.³ The writing is said to have been in the boustrophedon style.⁴ That this, however, was the customary method in Solon's time need hence be inferred. At all periods a deference to antient usage

¹ *ἄξες*, Plut. in Sol. xxiii. sqq.; also *κόρβεις*, cones or pyramids, Aristot. et Cratinus ap. Plut. xxv.; Athen. vi. p. 235.; Pollux, viii. 128.; conf. Apollodor. Fragm. Heyn. p. 396. sqq., et auctt. ap. Heyn. ad loc.; Aristot. Fragm. Bekk. ed. Oxon. vol. x. p. 284., et nott. ad loc.; Dio Chrys. Or. lxxx. p. 439. Reisk. From these passages, and others cited in note 2. to p. 418. infra, it appears that these supposed "ruder" Solonic or Draconic forms and names of legislative tables, were in common use at every period of Greek antiquity.

² Plut. in vit. Sol. xxiii.

³ Plut. op. cit. xix.

⁴ Harpocrat. v. *ὁ κ' ἔτρωθεν νόμος*; conf. Franz, Elem. Epigr. p. 35.

is apt to maintain its ground in public registers longer than in ordinary practice. In our own middle age, for example, after the Roman had supplanted the German character in familiar use, proclamations, epitaphs, and other similar documents, continued to be engrossed in black letter. And at a later period of Athenian literature, the old Attic orthography was retained in the state registers long after the improved Ionian style was common in the ordinary transactions of life. The code of Draco, drawn up about thirty years before that of Solon, was on similar tables, and the same name (*κύρβεις*), descriptive of their peculiar form, was common to both.¹

That this mode of promulgating laws was so universally familiar in those days as to have become proverbial, appears further from the saying recorded of Pittacus, the Mitylenæan statesman, an elder contemporary of Solon. When asked by the king of Lydia what he considered the best form of government, he replied, "That of the revolving tables;" in other words, that regulated by a fixed code of written laws.²

Votive monuments in the national sanctuaries. Pausanias.

6. The most copious and specific notices of Greek inscribed monuments of remoter date are preserved by Pausanias, the only extant author whose attention was seriously turned to the monumental antiquities of his country. His work consequently stands forth as a beacon, amid the obscurity in which the interesting matters it illustrates have been left by his predecessors. It is true that Pausanias was credulous, but his credulity was of that venial kind which

¹ Plut. in Sol. xxv.

² Diog. in vit. Pitt. 77.; Diodor. Sic. Exc. vii. xxvii.; conf. Aristot. de Mundo, vi. xxxvi. Bekk.; Zenob. alios, ap. Gaisf. Parœm. Gr. p. 67. 77. 199. 329.

consists in a deference to the religious belief of his forefathers, and which may, in a Greek antiquary of that age, as in a superstitious scholar of the present, be quite compatible with common sense and sound judgement in questions of secular criticism. It is further true, as a general rule, that no implicit reliance can be placed on the authority even of the best classical archæologists in matters of palæographical antiquity. Their deficiency of philological resources rendered them, if not less veracious, less critical investigators than their brethren of modern times. There were, however, probably few men of his own nation better qualified than Pausanias, by long experience and patient research, to judge of the genuine character or comparative antiquity of the monuments he examined. The correctness of his notices is also, in many cases, borne out by their own internal evidence or by other collateral authority; and in various instances he shows a sound caution and discrimination in detecting or repudiating apocryphal or fictitious documents.¹

In order rightly to estimate the data supplied by this author, it will be proper to consider the amount of devastation to which the chief depositories of Greek national art had been subjected before his time. Pausanias wrote towards the end of the second century of Christianity, upwards of six hundred years after Herodotus, and nearly one thousand after the Olympic era. The places where the richest collections of monumental antiquity would have existed, had nothing interfered with their transmission to posterity, were Thebes, Athens, Delphi, and Olympia. Thebes had been totally demolished by Alexander the Great, and

¹ VI. xiii. 1., VIII. xiv. 4. sq., alibi.

a village in Strabo's time. The Ismenian sanctuary, and one or two neighbouring edifices, without the walls, seem to have been the only remnants of the former greatness of that celebrated city. Athens had been similarly ravaged by Xerxes, who made her sacred edifices a more especial object of destruction. The Delphic sanctuary, as Pausanias¹ himself relates, had been subjected to more severe and more frequent devastations than any other spot in Greece. This was chiefly owing to the sacred wars. The peculiar character of those wars not only caused a suspension of the national law which protected religious establishments, but even promoted the destruction of their monuments. The contending parties, under pretence of combating in the service of the god, converted the treasures of his house into martial weapons. The temple itself had been destroyed by fire in the LVIIIth Olympiad; and the emperor Nero carried off from Delphi, on one occasion, five hundred works of art², some of which seem to have been of great antiquity and curiosity. In regard to Olympia the case is somewhat different; and the fact, that precisely in this quarter the greatest number of monuments of high antiquity are described as extant, while conformable to all historical analogy, is a good guarantee of the genuine character of the works themselves.

The quadrennial returns of the Olympic festival, established as the chief national solemnity of Greece in the early part of the eighth century B. C. (776), were adopted by common consent of the confederacy, as the standard pivots of the national system of chronology. The Elean magistrates, who presided at the games, kept chronographical tables, in which the names of the victors for each period are under-

¹ x. vii. 1.

² Pausan. loc. cit.

stood to have been inscribed. In addition to these state registers, the dates and particulars of successive celebrations of the games were recorded by votive offerings of the victorious combatants or their patrons. The sacred precinct was also the favourite receptacle of monuments of a miscellaneous character, which the devotion, the public spirit, or the vanity of states or individuals, had accumulated within this chosen rallying point of the spirit of Hellenism. While the Peloponnesian states had been at all periods comparatively less exposed to the more destructive ravages of war than the republics of Northern Greece, the superior sanctity of the Olympic circus had specially provided for its protection. No notice is extant of its having been either wilfully destroyed, or purposely subjected to devastations similar to those of which Thebes, Delphi, and Athens had been the victims. Even foreign conquerors were led, by the associations connected with this spot, to treat it with greater respect than other depositories of Grecian art. Accordingly, so late as the time of Pausanias, though shorn of many of its treasures by the occasional depredation of a Roman governor¹, or by the little less fatal ravages of time and neglect, Olympia was still a valuable museum of monumental antiquity.

The greater weight attaches to the number, limited as it is, of dedicatory inscriptions of remote antiquity noted here, as elsewhere, by Pausanias, from the circumstance that his comments do not appear to have been specially guided by any spirit of palæographical inquiry. The more antient written monuments are quoted by him, neither as proof of the antiquity of the

¹ Pausan. v. xxv. 5.

art of writing in his own country, which it never could have occurred to him to doubt, nor even in the way of archæological curiosity, but in their turn with the rest, as illustrative of questions of national or domestic history, or of elegant art: so that for one such inscription that he has mentioned numbers may have existed. It must also be remembered, in respect to the older monuments cited by Pausanias as of uncertain age, or as dating in his estimation prior to the Olympic chronological era, that if the native antiquaries may be trusted, the commencement of that era was not coeval with the first institution of the games as a federal solemnity.¹ The last-mentioned event is commonly supposed to have taken place several generations earlier, under the auspices of Iphitus king of Elis, and Lycurgus the Spartan legislator; and it was the increased community of national feeling consequent on this more formal recognition of the federal character of the games, which led to their periodical returns being afterwards adopted as the standard notation of time. But even before the time of Iphitus the games appear to have been celebrated as a popular Peloponnesian festival.² Under any circumstances, the chief temple of the chief national deity must, from remote antiquity, have been a favourite site for devotional offerings. Although, therefore, the great mass of the monuments within the sacred precincts may have been of a date subsequent to the Olympic era proper, there must have been exceptions, and among these are some of the more remarkable dedications noticed by Pausanias.³

¹ See Müll. Dor. i. p. 130. sqq.; Clinton, F. H. vol. i. præf. p. ix. sqq.; conf. p. 140. sq. But see Vol. IV. of this work, p. 77. sqq.

² Hom. II. xi. 700.

³ Pausan. v. xx. 1., conf. viii. 2. sq.; Aristot. ap. Plut. Lycurg. i.

7. The most important relic of a public character was the so-called disk or quoit of Iphitus. On its surface was inscribed in circular order the decree jointly ratified by that sovereign and Lycurgus, on the establishment of the festival. This decree provided that, during the celebration of the games, hostilities between Hellenic states should be suspended. It also secured to the Eleans the inviolability of their territory, as guardians of the sanctuary and judges of the games. This inscription was read and its genuine character recognised by Aristotle, and by other leading native critics and chronologers.¹

Olympia.
Disk of
Iphitus.

The first Olympiad of the chronological series was marked by the victory of Corœbus of Elis in the foot-race. The tomb of this athlete was seen by Pausanias on the frontiers of Elis and Arcadia, with an epitaph to the effect that "Corœbus was the first Olympic victor, and that his tomb was the boundary of the Elean territory."²

Among the more antient edifices within the sacred enclosure was a "treasury" of the Megarians.³ On its frontispiece was a shield, with an inscription recording its having been constructed "with the spoils of the Corinthians." Pausanias remarks that the only war of remote antiquity between Megara and Corinth,

"Treasury."
"Treasu-
ries."

¹ Ap. Plut. loc. cit.; conf. Eratosth. ed. Bernhardt, p. 260. Mr. Grote questions the genuine character of this inscription, on the ground that Herodotus has neither mentioned it nor founded on it in his chronological calculations. (Hist. of Greece, vol. II. p. 56.) This argument, if valid at all, would equally prove the Olympic chronological registers, to the historical authenticity of which Mr. Grote attaches the greatest importance, to be forgeries. They, too, are completely overlooked by Herodotus, among his authorities on Peloponnesian history, while freely citing the Spartan and other local chronicles, which Mr. Grote condemns as worthy of no credit.

² Pausan. VIII. xxvi. 2., conf. v. viii. 2.

³ XVI. x. 9.

in which the former state could have won trophies of such importance, was during the archonship of Phorbas at Athens, in the early part of the ninth century B. C.¹ Another similar "treasury" was that erected in the xxxiird Olympiad (643 B. C.) by Myron, tyrant of Sicyon, with an inscription recording the quantity of metal used in its construction. Within the building was deposited a votive "shield" of the Myonians, a people of whom nothing was known in the days of Pausanias, but whom he conjectures to have been Locrians.² The shield contained an inscription in archaic characters, nearly obliterated by time. This custom of registering public deeds of importance on circular plates or targets of metal or parchment was common, in remote antiquity, both in Greece and Italy.³ The name Shield or Disk must not here, as a general rule at least, be understood to denote literally that the monuments had ever been actually destined for the purposes which those designations seem to imply, but merely that, owing to their circular form, they were so called in a figurative sense.⁴ The adoption of that form may however have originated in, or be connected with, another very antient custom, that of warriors inscribing devices on their bucklers; a custom to which Æschylus and other early tragic poets would not have given so great prominence in their dramas, had not its origin been lost in the mists of the heroic age. One of the most celebrated exploits of Aristomenes, the Messenian hero of the second Spartan war, was a mid-

¹ Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 131. See Appendix H.

² vi. xix. 2. sq. ; conf. Thucyd. iii. 101.

³ Festus, v. Clypeus ; conf. Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 256. ed. 1827.

⁴ "Clypeos ob rotunditatem appellarunt." Festus, loc. cit.

night incursion into Sparta, and the suspension of a votive shield on the temple of Minerva, with the inscription, "Aristomenes to the Gods, from the spoils of the Spartans."¹ The legend, whether historically true or not, represents at least the manners of the age.

The greatest curiosity however, the gem as it were of the Olympic collection, appears to have been the Chest of Cypselus.² In this receptacle, as Herodotus relates, the Corinthian ruler of that name, father of Periander, had, when an infant, been concealed by his mother from the emissaries of the rival faction of the Bacchidæ who sought his life; and it was afterwards, in grateful commemoration of his escape, dedicated to the Olympian Juno. It was of cedar wood adorned with figures, partly carved in the wood itself, partly inlaid or embossed in ivory and gold. The figures, which were very numerous, were in groups or compartments, representing subjects of popular mythology. To each group a brief explanatory epigram was attached; and to many of the figures were also appended the names of the persons represented. The forms of the inscriptions, which were all in very antiquated character, seem to have been regulated by the convenience of the space allotted to them, some being in the usual order, others in the bustrophedon style, others contorted into flourishes difficult to decipher.³ The portion of their poetical contents transcribed by Pausanias comprehends thirteen hexameter verses, which he inclines to consider as the composition of Eumelus⁴ of Corinth, who flourished

¹ Pausan. iv. xv. 2.

² Pausan. v. xvii. 2. sqq.; conf. Herodot. v. xcii. 4.; Quatremère de Quincy, Jupit. Olymp. p. 124.

³ Pausan. loc. cit. § 3.

⁴ v. xix. 2.

about 750 B. C. This opinion he grounds on a certain resemblance which he had observed in their phraseology or dialect to that of the Delian Proseodion, a well known popular poem of Eumelus. The inscriptions of the chest quoted by Pausanias are, however, in much ruder style than any extant specimen of the muse of Eumelus, or of any other professional poet of his age. They are marked indeed by a quaint, almost doggerel tone of primitive mannerism, which, but for their palpable allusions to portions of the text of the Iliad and Odyssey, might give them claims to be considered as the oldest extant remains of the language. It seems more probable that they are the work of some humbler genius, perhaps of the artist of the reliefs which they illustrate.

Cypselus was born about 695 B. C. The construction of the chest cannot, therefore, under any circumstances be placed later than about the commencement of that century. That Pausanias himself ascribed to it a much higher antiquity is evident, both from his conjecture as to the author of the illustrative verses, and from his alluding to it¹ as an old family possession at the period of the adventure to which it owed its public notoriety. This was, obviously one of those ornamental chests, described by Homer as an ordinary article of furniture in royal or wealthy households during the heroic age, and on the rich decoration of which he dwells in several passages of both poems.² They are described by him as kept chiefly in the apartments of the female heads of families, as depositories of costly

¹ v. xviii. 2.

² Il. xvi. 221. sqq. ; Od. xxi. 51., xv. 104.

dressess, jewels, and other precious articles. Hence the ready occurrence of the expedient to the alarmed mother. The subjects of the reliefs were numerous and varied, but the greater part were borrowed from the affairs of Thessalian or of Peloponnesian heroes; the family of Cypselus, though already naturalised for several generations in Corinth, being of Thessalian origin. In one of the compartments Pausanias recognised an adventure connected with their first settlement in the city. The mode in which the subjects of the decorative reliefs were treated was redolent, generally, of high antiquity. Hercules appears armed with his bow, as in the old Homeric legend, not with club and lion's skin as in the innovation of the Rhodian Pisander, which first acquired popularity in the age of Cypselus himself.¹ Several of the adventures are derived from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and the details of their representation indicate the artist's familiarity with the text of those poems. One of the mottoes, describing the combat between Agamemnon and the Antenoridæ in *Il. xi.*, was engraved on the shield of the Greek commander. This fact, considering the limited space necessarily

¹ Paus. v. xvii. in fin., xix. 1. These passages have been strangely misunderstood by K. O. Müller (*Archäol. der Kunst.* p. 37.), who questions the genuine antiquity of the reliefs on the chest, on the ground of Hercules being there represented after the Pisandrian fashion. In both passages the hero is distinctly described as fighting with his bow. The attempts of several other critics to invalidate the authority of Pausanias have been well confuted by Thiersch, *Epoch. der bild. Kunst, Mün.* 1819, p. 49. The notion of the sculptured ornaments, with their inscriptions, having been added to the original work at the period of the dedication, in order to render the chest a more appropriate offering to the Olympian sanctuary, is completely set aside by the circumstance that scarcely one of the multitude of subjects treated has any immediate reference to Olympia or its mythology. Conf. Heyn. *der Kast. des Cyps.*; Siebelis *ap. Bött. Amalth.* vol. ii. p. 257.

occupied by such an appendage to a single figure out of so many, proves the ingenuity displayed in lettering the monument, while it also implies the chest to have been of very large dimensions.

Other monuments at Olympia and elsewhere.

8. The remaining more antient monuments at Olympia the inscriptions on which are specified by Pausanias were, a statue of Jupiter dedicated by the Spartans during the second Messenian war, in the early part of the seventh century B. C.¹: and a statue of Eutelides of Sparta, victor in the xxxviiith Olympiad (627 B. C.), with an inscription on the base obliterated by time.²

At Sparta the oldest inscribed monument mentioned by Pausanias was a stela recording seven Olympic victories of the athlete Chionis³, who afterwards joined the expedition of Battus to Cyrene, in the xxxviiith Olympiad (630 B. C.). Another Laconian inscription of high antiquity, already alluded to in a former page, was the epigram on the votive

¹ v. xxiv. 1.

² Pausan. vi. xv. 4.; conf. v. ix. 1.

³ Pausan. iii. xiv. 3. This athlete is here called Anchionis by Pausanias, but is evidently the same person as "Chionis the Laconian," elsewhere described by the same Pausanias (iv. xxiii. 2. 5., viii. xxxix. 2.) as eponyme victor of the xxviiith, xxixth, and xxxth Olympiads, for the first, second, and third time. The period between the xxxth and xxxviiith Olympiads would suffice to complete his number of seven victories before his embarkation with Battus. That two Spartan athletes of such extraordinary powers, the one victor in seven Olympiads, the other eponyme victor of three in succession, should have been contemporary, is obviously most improbable. The two names therefore denote the same person. The mistake may be laid to the charge of Pausanias himself, rather than of time or of his transcribers, and tends but to enhance the value of his testimony as to the antiquity of the inscription he has misread. In the old orthography, where the words were not distinguished by intervals, the Doric form of the verb or substantive *νικᾶν* or *νικαν*, or of the relative particle *δι* or *τᾷ*, prefixed to the name *Χιόνις*, would give a combination of letters easily mistaken, in a half-obliterated monument, for the proper name Anchionis.

monument dedicated by Arion¹ in the sanctuary of Neptune at Cape Tænarus, about 610 B.C.

In the second Messenian war (665 B.C.), the plan of the Arcadians to retrieve the affairs of the Messenian allies by a secret expedition against the city of Lacedæmon, was betrayed by the Arcadian chief Aristocrates to the Spartan king, and the stratagem failed accordingly. The treachery however was brought to light, and its author was stoned to death by his indignant subjects, who also, in commemoration of the event, erected a column near the altar of Jupiter Lycæus, with an inscription in four elegiac verses, still extant in the time of Pausanias.² The particulars of this transaction, together with the epigram, are also given by Polybius³, after Callisthenes, with this slight difference, that the monument is described as dedicated by the Messenians in gratitude to the Arcadians for their generous conduct. The somewhat ambiguous tenor of the inscription admits of either interpretation, but is perhaps more favourable to that of Polybius.

At Delphi, the only written monuments advancing claims to a remote date were the metal plates deposited in the sanctuary by the Seven Sages, and containing their celebrated maxims.⁴ Another early "Delphic" monument⁵, though doubtful if preserved at Delphi, was the tripod dedicated by Echembrotus the flute-player, with an elegiac inscription of three verses commemorating his victory in the second Pythiad (586 B.C.). At Athens no earlier specimen

¹ Supra, Ch. iv. p. 214. sq.

² Pausan. iv. xxii. 4.

³ Polyb. iv. c. 33.

⁴ Plato, Hipparch. p. 228.; conf. Protag. p. 343.

⁵ Pausan. x. vii. 3.

of writing than the laws of Solon is mentioned by Pausanias. Demosthenes however¹ cites a tabular inscription in antient half-obliterated characters, containing a law relative to the rights of the King-archons, as still extant in his time in the temple of Bacchus "in the Marshes." How little value was attached by the Athenians of later times to their remains of national epigraphy, may be gathered from the fact mentioned by Pausanias, that the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles had been transferred to two other persons, and the dedicatory epigrams altered accordingly. The names of the usurpers he suppresses, contented with designating them, sarcastically, a "Roman and a Thracian."²

Among the antient Greek inscriptions in the extant collections, there are a considerable number admitted by the most sceptical modern palæographers to range as far back as the age of Solon; that is, about the close of the seventh or the commencement of the sixth century B.C. Some of these monuments date however, there can be little doubt, from a much more remote period of antiquity.³

Early Greek
archives.

9. Besides the written registers mentioned by native antiquaries as exposed to public view, there is another class of similar documents, the evidence of which, if less direct, is no less conclusive in favour of the prevalence of glyptical literature in Greece, from the epoch of the Dorian settlement downwards. These are the chronological records which, as attested by the highest authorities, were more or less regularly kept in the principal cities or sanctuaries of

¹ Orat. p. Næser. p. 1370.

² I. xviii. 3.

³ Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. I. init.; Franz, Elem. Epigr. Gr. p. 51. sqq.

Peloponnesus during the whole or the greater part of this period. To the Olympic registers attention has already been directed. Similar chronicles were preserved at the seats of other public solemnities of less universal interest. The Carneonicæ, or annals of the victors in the Carnean games of Sparta, established in 676 B.C., formed the subject of a chronological work of Hellanicus¹; and Pindar quotes the "stone engraved records" of the victors at Megara.² The state registers of the Peloponnesian republics appear to have been more regularly compiled in these early times, and afterwards more carefully preserved, than in other districts of Greece. This may be explained by various causes; the pride taken by the Dorian royal or aristocratical families in their common Heraclidan descent³; the consequent jealous maintenance of their pedigrees; and the comparative exemption of Peloponnesus from the more destructive vicissitudes of war or conquest. The earlier Spartan chronicles contained, apparently, little more than the names of the kings⁴, with the number of years of each reign; to which were added the names of the ephori, after the institution of that office. These chronicles formed the subject of a work by Charon of Lampsacus⁵, a historian prior to Herodotus, who is also said to have illustrated their meagre

¹ Similar records were preserved at Sicyon, and from them Plutarch cites the names of the more ancient masters of the musical art. *De Mus.* III. VIII.

² Pind. *Ol.* VII. 156.

³ Plato, *Hipp. Maj.* p. 285.

⁴ Hence Müller (p. 132.) explains very ingeniously the uncertainty as to the age of Lycurgus; never having himself reigned, no accurate record was preserved of his epoch.

⁵ Suid. v. *Χάρων*. The great antiquity of these and other similar registers is vouched for by their name *ῥοποι*; from *ῥπος*, an ancient, and at every classical period obsolete, term for year (*Athen.* XI. p. 475.), sometimes used in the compound form *ῥορογραφίαι*. *Etym. M.* v. *ῥπος*.

details by inscriptions from sepulchres and votive offerings; a rare and early instance of recourse being had to such aids. The same registers supplied Eratosthenes, the most critical of Greek chronologers, and his disciple Apollodorus, with their data for settling the period from the Heraclid migration to the first Olympiad.¹ The antient archives of the Eleans appear to have contained² similar genealogies of their kings of the dynasty established simultaneously with that of the Dorians in Sparta; and equal credit for antiquity and regularity seems to have attached to the chronicles kept in the temples of Juno at Argos and Sicyon, recording the succession of priestesses in those sanctuaries. The general harmony of dates in these various registers, as testified by later chronologers, is a strong argument of their genuine character. Timæus, as cited by Polybius³, compared the lists of the Spartan ephors, from their first institution, with those of the kings, and the lists of the Athenian archons with the succession of Argive priestesses and of Olympic victors, investigating and adjusting the details of each register by years or even months. With every allowance for the hypercritical genius of this compiler, it is difficult to believe that documents which supplied material for such researches could have been devoid of chronological value.

Other strong evidence of the antiquity and regularity of these chronicles is to be found in the fact, that in regard to the events of the period over which they extend, from the Dorian irruption downwards,

¹ Plut. *Lycurg.* i.; Diod. Sic. i. v.; conf. Müll. Dor. i. vii. p. 132.; Heyn. *Fragm. Apollod.* p. 411.

² Pausan. v. iv. 5.; conf. Müll. op. cit. p. 133.

³ *Excerpt.* vol. iii. p. 42. ed. Vindob. 1763.

poetical tradition is altogether silent. The subjects not only of the regular epopee, but of the genealogical poetry of this period, still continue, even with the Dorian poets, Eumelus, Cinæthon, Pisander, and others, to be derived exclusively from the ante-Dorian era, from the exploits or sufferings of the Labdacidæ, Pelopidæ, or Laertiadæ. Neither the Dorian conquest, the great Ionian migration, nor the Messenian wars, find a single epic annalist. An occasional allusion in a lyric ode is all that the Muse of Poetry has vouchsafed to those deeply interesting and important events. This is one of the most singular and apparently inexplicable phenomena of early Greek literature; one to which it were difficult to find a parallel elsewhere, and which it is the more surprising should never have attracted the notice of modern critics. Any attempt to explain it in these pages must be reserved for the portion of them devoted to the early history of prose composition. It supplies, at least, evidence which it seems impossible to evade, that the framework of historical fact, which even the most sceptical inquirers have not failed to recognise in the period between the Dorian conquest and the first Olympiad, could only have been transmitted by means of written monuments.¹

10. The foregoing details can leave no reasonable doubt that writing, in the special mode to which our present inquiries are more immediately confined, was practised to a greater or less extent by the Dorian states of Greece, from about the epoch of their establishment downwards. But the Dorians were proverbially a barbarous race as compared with that which they subdued or expelled, and were always

Ante-Dorian monuments.

¹ See Appendix, J. and N.

behind their Ionian and Attic kinsmen in the arts of civilised life. It may therefore safely be assumed that, during the period above examined, the art of writing, if so familiar even to the Dorians, must have been more extensively cultivated, not only in the Asiatic colonies, but in the neighbouring state of Attica where the old civilisation maintained its ground ; although circumstances have proved more favourable to the preservation of distinct evidence on the subject in the former than in the two latter cases. Nor, therefore, can there be any reasonable doubt that the Peloponnesian Dorians received their elementary knowledge of the art from the race whom they supplanted ; or in other words, that they found that art already practised in their new territory on their arrival. They can hardly be supposed to have brought it down with them from Pindus ; nor is it very likely to have been first imported from the East into Peloponnesus immediately on the settlement of these semibarbarous invaders, a people averse to commerce or foreign intercourse, after having remained so long a mystery to their more enterprising and enlightened predecessors. The preferable opinion then must be, that the alphabet was familiar to the more civilised tribes of Hellenes prior to the Dorian usurpation, and by consequence, that earlier written monuments than any above cited may have existed in Greece. It is true on the other hand, that the classical notices of such monuments, as necessarily connecting them with fabulous persons and events, can possess no tangible or specific historical value. Still however they may not be altogether devoid of indirect or speculative value, as illustrative of the early vicissitudes of the art of writing.

Tripods of
the Ismen-
ian sanc-
tuary.

Attention will here be confined to a very few of the more familiarly known and respectably attested monuments of this apocryphal class. Among these, a first place is due to the three votive bronze tripods described by Herodotus¹ in his standard passage on Greek palæography. These monuments were preserved in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes. On each was engraved the name of the donor and the object of the dedication. The first tripod, in a single hexameter line, described itself as dedicated by Amphitryon; the second and third announced themselves, each in two hexameter lines, as offerings, the one of Polydamas the other of Scæus. The writing is described by the historian as in the old Cadmean or Phœnician character, previous to the modifications which the alphabet underwent on its subsequent more extended use among the native Hellenes. The genuine antiquity of these dedications has, by modern critics, been very generally and reasonably denied on two principal grounds: the mythical age and fabulous personality of their reputed dedicators, and the language in which they are expressed. On the latter objection it may be observed, that while all three epigrams are marked by much rude quaintness of style and idiom, the last alone contains traces of a phraseology little in keeping with the primitive forms of the poetical dialect. It must however be remembered, that much of the antiquated effect of any such inscription depends on its being given in the original orthography, not, as these now appear, in that of classical times. Many a distich might be selected from Chaucer, which, as written by himself, would be as obscure to the understanding as harsh to the ear

¹ v. lix.

of an Englishman of the present day, but if reduced to the modern spelling, might pass current as the production of a living author.

No suspicion of wilful deceit on the part of Herodotus has here ever attached to that historian. The prevailing opinion has been that he was himself imposed on by the priests; and this is perhaps, under certain restrictions, the most reasonable view. That the inscriptions however were wilful forgeries of the priests, cannot be so readily admitted. To the general reasons above advanced against too easy an acquiescence in charges of this nature, others may be added more immediately applicable to the present case. It is plain, from the remarks of Herodotus, that the writing must have been of the most antiquated character. He alludes to the modifications which the Phœnician alphabet had undergone since its first importation by Cadmus, selecting these letters as specimens of the old Cadmean type, and as the most primitive, if not the only specimens of that type which he had seen. Although Herodotus may not be entitled to rank as a critical philologist in the modern sense, his views here expressed on the vicissitudes of the national orthography are consistent and judicious, and he was perhaps, of all men of his age, the one best qualified from observation and experience to judge, by the eye at least, of such distinctions. Even admitting therefore that the verses on the tripods were forgeries, the fact that the Ismenian priests possessed so great a knowledge of the mysteries of oriental palæography, as to forge inscriptions in Phœnician characters calculated to pass current with Herodotus for genuine, were in itself a strong argument of the facilities which Bœotia offered for such studies in the number and

antiquity of the relics it contained. The earlier we assume the fraud to have been executed, the stronger this argument becomes.

It may be doubted whether these inscriptions were really legible to Herodotus himself. Perhaps the more probable view is that they were not, and that he has taken their interpretation on the authority of the priests: for it is certain, from other passages of his history, that Herodotus was much more likely to become the dupe of empirical interpreters of illegible antient writing, than to mistake the forgeries of a local Bœotian priesthood for genuine monuments. On this supposition another question would arise, whether the inscriptions were legible even to the priests. The opposite opinion, that they were not distinctly legible to either party, is perhaps the most plausible in itself, and that which supplies the best solution of the difficulty. Various intermediate hypotheses however suggest themselves, between that of the epigrams being a literal transcript of a legible text, and that of their being an imaginary interpretation of an illegible one. The priests may have been able conjecturally to decipher a word or two in each inscription, a proper name for example, and may have accommodated the rest to the received tradition of the temple relative to the dedicator. There exists other incidental evidence in favour of this latter view. Pausanias¹ mentions the tripod of Amphitryon as still extant in his time, but gives a different account of its dedication. According to him it was the custom for noble young Thebans to serve the office of laurel-bearer to Apollo during a year, and to dedicate a tripod in the sanctuary at

¹ IX. x. 4.

the expiry of their term of duty: "and the most remarkable of these monuments," he continues, "both in respect of its antiquity and the rank of the donor, is that presented by Amphytrion on behalf of the youthful Hercules." It is obviously not very likely that the tripod here mentioned was different from that seen by Herodotus; but it might easily happen that the local ciceroni, while constant to the name of Amphytrion, had varied their rendering of the obscure dedication, during the seven centuries that had elapsed since the visit of the historian.

Upon the whole then there can be little doubt that these inscriptions, whatever their exact import, were genuine specimens of the earliest Cadmean or Græco-Phœnician alphabet, of more antiquated form than Herodotus had elsewhere met with. They tend therefore, at least to corroborate the tradition of a priority of Bœotia, among the Greek states, in the knowledge and use of the art of writing.

Other
Cadmean
monu-
ments.

11. Another notice of the old Æolo-Phœnician alphabet, in an apocryphal work of Aristotle¹, derives, from its connexion with the text of Herodotus just examined, an importance which might not otherwise attach to it. Near the town of Hypate, on the frontiers of Thessaly and Phocis, a cippus was disinterred, inscribed with letters unintelligible to the finder, who sent the monument to Athens, as the metropolis of science, to be interpreted. The messenger, on his way through Bœotia, was advised to visit the Ismenian sanctuary, as among the votive monuments there preserved were some bearing similar characters. This advice he followed, and was furnished, accordingly, by the learned men of that

¹ De Mirab. Auscult. cxxxiii.

establishment with six verses relating to the adventure of Hercules with Geryon. The accuracy of this interpretation, as in the case of Amphitryon's tripod, may rest on its own merits. The essential point is the fact of an illegible inscription from a neighbouring province having been found, on collation, to resemble others, probably as illegible, at Thebes, the same doubtless described by Herodotus as remains of Cadmean writing. The priests, in the one as in the other case, would be at no loss for a solution of the enigma.

A third notice of primitive Bæotian epigraphy, is that transmitted by Plutarch¹ concerning a plate of brass bearing cabalistic letters, discovered at Haliartus near Thebes, in the interior of a monument which tradition called the tomb of Alcmena, destroyed by the Spartans under Agesilaus about 380 B.C. In the same tomb were found a brass necklace and two terra cotta urns. The Spartan king is said to have sent to Egypt, the supposed fountain-head of all mystical lore, for an explanation of the inscription; with what result does not appear. The natural inference is, that a specimen of illegible writing, found in the reputed sepulchre of one of the same Cadmean family, would be in the same Cadmean alphabet which Herodotus saw on the Theban tripod. Of the authenticity of the notice itself, its own internal evidence, and the mode in which it is introduced by Plutarch, can leave no reasonable doubt.

The above notices, referring to some five or six monuments, appear, whether as respects their internal evidence or their connexion with each other, to be the most authentic allusions to an ante-Dorian use of

¹ De Gen. Socrat. pp. 577—579.

writing, and are all concentrated around Bœotia, the reputed seat of the first establishment of the alphabet in Greece. A recent discovery has supplied another curious link in the connexion between the primitive Græco-Phœnician alphabet and the name of Cadmus.¹ The island of Thera, in the Ægæan, was celebrated as the seat of a colony of that hero's followers, left by him on its coast when on his voyage to Greece, which colony afterwards received an augmentation from Sparta, of citizens also claiming descent from the Græco-Phœnician blood royal of Thebes. It is therefore a remarkable coincidence, that precisely in this island a number of Greek inscriptions should in our own time have been discovered, the characters of which exhibit the closest resemblance to, in the older specimens almost identity with, the original Phœnician alphabet. So striking has this resemblance appeared even to the ablest and most zealous living opponent of the antiquity of Greek writing, that he has been constrained to admit the evidence it affords of a basis of fact in the legend of Phœnician settlement in the island.

PART II. WRITING FOR LITERARY PURPOSES.

General
remarks.

12. In passing on to the remaining head of this inquiry, which treats of the application of the alphabet to literary purposes in the more familiar sense, it need hardly be observed, that unless for the sake of method, no marked distinction can with propriety be drawn between the two branches of the art, in the conduct of any such investigation. The extension of the

¹ Boeckh, *Abh. der Berl. Akad. der Wissensch.* 1838, p. 41. sqq.; Franz, *Elem. Epigr. Gr.* p. 51.

one branch must involve from the first a proportional increase of the other. The custom of posting notices in public places implies a more or less general capacity to read them; and even the first elements of literature can hardly be mastered by any considerable portion of the community, without a supply of more convenient materials for study and practice than slabs of wood or stone. Attention has already been directed to the uncritical argument against any general spread of monumental writing in early times, which has been grounded on the inelegant forms of the older extant Greek dedicatory inscriptions. Still more fallacious were the like inference in regard to writing for literary purposes. Although the first rude attempts in alphabetic art would probably be made on hard substances, it is inherent in the very nature of things, that the practice of tracing letters with ink on a susceptible surface, would be earlier carried to perfection than that of engraving them on stone or metal. Of this conclusive proof is afforded, on the one hand by the comparative rudeness of many extant inscribed monuments, both Greek and Roman, transmitted from flourishing epochs of classical literature; on the other hand, by the paper or parchment diplomas of our own dark ages, which offer fine specimens of their own style of art, executed at epochs when monumental literature was in a very degraded state. Niebuhr has shown¹ that written books existed in Rome under the Tarquins; but the date of the oldest extant Latin inscription, the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus, the style of which equals in rudeness that of the earlier Hellenic specimens, is later by several centuries than the expulsion of the kings. Were the analogy transferred from Rome to

¹ Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 526. sq. 530.

Greece, even granting the oldest preserved Greek monumental inscription to date but from the time of Solon¹, the art of writing for literary purposes might have been familiar in the ninth century B. C.

By those who fix the middle of the sixth century B. C. as the utmost limit of any general practice of committing popular compositions to writing, the practice of their general perusal has been consistently assigned to a later epoch; since it was not to be supposed that any large body of the citizens would be suddenly endowed with capacity for a branch of intellectual pursuit, to which even professional men of science had only just begun to turn their attention. This opinion has been pronounced by Wolf, in allusion to the *hermæ*, or way posts, with which Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, adorned the market towns and public thoroughfares of Attica, and on which were inscribed moral sentences for the edification of the passengers. It is not easy to apprehend, on first view, how those who admit the truth of this fact can question the general capacity to read on the part of the Attic population of this period. If so illiterate as has been supposed, what benefit, the question naturally occurs, were they to derive from the institution? This difficulty, however, has been evaded on the ground that the object of Hipparchus may have been, by exciting their curiosity, "to encourage them to learn;" and that, amid the great deficiency of writing-

¹ Payne Knight, according to whose palæographical system the oldest extant Greek inscriptions do not reach higher than this date, or about 600 B. C., grounds upon that hypothesis one of his principal arguments of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* not having been written prior to that epoch. Upon the same principle, it would be necessary to measure the period at which the Hebrew scriptures were first written by the oldest now extant specimens of Hebrew epigraphy, which belong to a more recent age than that of Solon. Prolegg. ad Hom. §§ xxxviii. xlii.

material at that period, these monuments "may have served as a species of horn-book for practice."¹ It is true that this learned trifling, for it certainly deserves no better name, has been in a great measure repudiated by the reviving common sense of the classical public.² Here however, as in the previous more elementary branch of the inquiry, the best mode of ensuring method and perspicuity will be to assume, as a basis, the latest period concerning which any serious doubts have been expressed, and hence to carry back the investigation, by the same analytical process, to those ages in which the entertainment of such doubts becomes reasonable.

13. There is no more celebrated institution of the Athenian republic than that of the Ostracism, which gave to the democracy an arbitrary power of pronouncing sentence of banishment against ambitious citizens. This power was exercised by each man inscribing the name of the person whose exile he desired upon a tile, which he deposited in a place set apart for the purpose in the Agora. If the number of tiles exceeded six thousand, the sentence of banishment was enforced; if not, the ostracism was void.³ It is clear that this law is a practical assumption that, at the period of its enactment, every Athenian citizen could not only read, but write. It will hardly be objected, on the strength of the popular anecdote concerning Aristides, that the exercise of the privilege may have been common to the whole body of freemen, although

The Athenian ostracism.

¹ Wolf, Prolegg. § xvii. not. 35. p. 72.: "Ne vero ex his inscriptionibus colligas eo tempore quemvis Athenis legere scisse. . . Potuerunt tamen ad discendum invitari illo instituto, non pejore, opinor, elementariis libellis nostris."

² See more especially Nitzsch's excellent work, *De Historia Homeri*.

³ Plut. in Aristid. p. 322.

but few had the benefit of liberal education, because the rest might have their tile inscribed by their neighbours. The notion of some thousand citizens, in times of popular excitement, being under the necessity of exercising so important a privilege at second hand, were as inconsistent with the genius of that age as with the secrecy which forms so essential an element of all ballot, and to provide for which was evidently the main object of the process. The opening to fraud, by the writing of false names, would also have tended to nullify the whole system, and render these haughty freemen dependant on an oligarchy of scribes for the exercise of their highest privilege.

Such a law, therefore, could neither have been enacted nor carried into effect in any state where education was not general; and at whatever period the ostracism existed in Athens, the great majority at least of the citizens, amounting to from twenty thousand to thirty thousand, must have been able to read and write. Stress is here laid on the two correlative departments of art, "reading and writing;" for whoever is familiar with the habits of the less educated class, even in our own time, must know that the number of persons who possess the former art alone is always greater than that of those who combine the two. The extension of the latter must consequently, in every case, form the best and most conclusive evidence of the literary attainments of a people. The capacity to scratch a name on a tile may not, indeed, appear any very severe test of a liberal education; yet he must have been no contemptible scribe who could engrave some of the longer Athenian names, often with the distinctive adjuncts of tribe and parentage, on a material not

certainly, to our notions, of the most convenient description.

Had so remarkable a practice as the ostracism been first introduced during any distinctly historical period, it might seem difficult to explain the absence of all positive notices as to the time or circumstances of its origin. Without therefore going the length of several respectable authors, who trace it back to the fabulous ages of the republic, it might yet be reasonable to consider it as some antient national custom anterior to Solon's legislation. Let it however be admitted, with the best classical authorities¹, to have been established, at the latest, by Clisthenes, about 510 B. C., after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, in order to guard for the future against the too great influence even of meritorious citizens. Aristides, as authentic history records, was its victim within thirty years afterwards; and the institution is not alluded to as a novelty at that period. Education therefore must have been universal among the citizens of Athens in the year above noticed. It may also however safely be asserted, that the assumption by legislative enactment at any given period in that age and country, as a matter of course, that every citizen could write, is in itself conclusive proof that the liberal arts must have been more or less cultivated by the mass of the community during several previous generations, and familiar probably, during several previous centuries, to those classes who had more leisure or taste for such pursuits. These are facts which ought to render the modern critic very cautious in his comparative estimate of the state of

¹ Diodor. Sic. xi. lv.; Ælian. V. H. xiii. xxiv., conf. Perizon. ad loc.; Heraclid. frg. i., conf. Schneidewin ad loc. p. 39.

literature in primitive Greece, and in his own age. It were still perhaps possible to find, in some of the more enlightened regions of modern Europe, a borough containing some thousand freemen, where, if the clandestine exercise of a political privilege were to be clogged with the formalities attending the Athenian mode of ballot, the consequence might be a virtual disfranchisement of a large portion of the constituency.

It appears, from the statistical returns of the year 1842¹, that the proportion of the adult male population of England and Wales who in that year could not write their names was 32·4 per cent, or about one third of the whole. Had therefore "universal suffrage and vote by ostracism" formed a part of the Reform Bill of 1831, about one third of the citizens of this country would have been disqualified for the exercise of the franchise by the condition with which it was coupled; a condition involving but the same amount of education considered as an indispensable palladium of their liberties by the supposed illiterate citizens of Athens in the sixth century B.C.

Public
opinion
in early
Greece
concerning
national
education.

14. The almost total loss of the works of the numerous writers, especially of the lyric poets, who flourished between the Olympic era and the Persian war, deprives us in a great measure, though not entirely, as has been and will be still further seen, of what would probably have been a copious repertory of contemporary evidence regarding the state of education during that period. The deficiency however of their direct testimony, is in some degree made good by the indirect evidence of their nearest successors, whose impressions as to the age in which they lived

¹ Porter, *Progress of the Nation*, p. 707.

were derived from their works. Not one of these early classics, so distinguished for candour and impartiality, even modesty, in all that regards the comparative antiquity of their national culture, seems to have entertained a suspicion that practical literature was a mushroom plant which had sprung up suddenly at Athens about the LIVth Olympiad. All treat it as a tree of old and gradual growth, with roots tapering deep into the soil of ages, and the stem of which had slowly and steadily attained its solid character, and the branches the luxuriant foliage by which they were adorned, in the early Attic period. It was hardly, therefore, to be expected that those writers would adduce formal proof of what no one doubted. Silence, indicating the universal notoriety of a fact, is often stronger attestation than the keenest expression of individual conviction. There exists however, in incidental passages, sufficient evidence of their opinions. Herodotus for example, even giving him credit for a large share of popular credulity in such matters, could never have penned his celebrated passage on the primitive Greek alphabet and writing material, had there been room for so much as a conjecture that the oldest extant Greek volumes dated but a century before his own day: still less could Stesichorus, in the seventh century B.C., have ascribed the invention of letters to a hero of the Trojan war, had it not been notorious among all well-informed men, in the days of that poet, that books had been familiarly written and read in Greece from time immemorial. Nor is it likely that even the tragic poets, from Æschylus downwards, although their text cannot be quoted as historical testimony in the stricter sense, would have represented their heroes habitually re-

Herodotus.

Stesichorus.

sorting to the art, had its practice not been universally believed to be lost in the mist of ages.

Even in the most favoured regions of modern Europe but a limited number of the population, as we have already seen, can read and write; and the acquirement of those arts is, in many countries, matter of little concern to the people themselves, and neglected or coldly encouraged by the governments. With the Greeks the case was different. It was a consequence of that spirit of social equality which marks their republican ages, that every art considered as closely connected with the duties of public life became a branch of public education. Besides the anxiety of each citizen to secure to his descendants the elementary qualifications for the duties or privileges of his order, it was also the concern of the common parent the state, to place all her children on an equal footing in these important respects. Hence, from the earliest period, in every part of Greece, a knowledge of letters is alluded to by classical authors as an indispensable accomplishment of a Hellenic freeman. About the time when the Athenian ostracism first appears in a state of activity, the death of a hundred and twenty children at Chios was occasioned, as we learn from Herodotus¹, by the falling in of the schoolhouse in which they were assembled. Still more characteristic of the genius of the age is the anecdote² of the "tyrant" of Mitylene, who, in the flourishing days of that republic, in the early part probably of the seventh century B.C., having subjugated some neighbouring states, resorted, as a means of curbing their spirit of independance, to the expedient of prohibiting the instruction of their youth in letters and music. It appears also certain

¹ VI. xxvii.

² Ælian. Var. Hist. vii. xv.; conf. Plehn, Lesb. p. 89. sq. 94.

that both these arts were enjoined by the codes of *Lycurgus*¹ and of other early lawgivers.² In whatever age it was customary to expose publicly laws, treaties of peace, and other state documents, it would be discreditable for any citizen to be unable to read them. Nor is it an unimportant fact, or tradition, it matters little which, recorded by Aristotle, that *Zaleucus* of *Locris*, the first reputed author of a written code for that republic in the early part of the seventh century (660 B.C.), was a shepherd and a slave, who raised himself by his talents to the office of legislator.³ Literary culture must have been in a certain state of forwardness, when it opened up a road to distinction even to persons of this class.

Legislation
on the sub-
ject.

Thales, about the middle of the same century, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which came to pass under the great-grandfather of *Cyrus*. The mathematical science requisite for any such computation implies, on the part of its author, a familiar knowledge of writing, and the possession of convenient

¹ Plut. in vit. *Lyc.* xvi.; *Instit. Lacon.* p. 237 A.

² Of *Crete*, *Heraclid.* Polit. iii.; *Ephor.* ap. *Strab.* p. 482.; *Ælian.* V. H. ii. xxxix. Of *Draco* and *Solon*, *Æschin.* adv. *Timarch.* p. 32. sqq. *Reisk.*; conf. *Plat. Crito*, p. 50 D., *De Legg.* p. 689 D. 804 D. 809. sq. Of *Charondas*, *Diod. Sic.* xii. xii. *Diodorus* here dwells pointedly on the great extent and precision of the regulations of this lawgiver (500 B.C.?) relative to literary instruction. When, therefore, Aristotle (*Polit.* ii. ix. p. 69. *Tauchn.*), in treating of the code of *Charondas*, specifies certain penalties against false testimony, as the only enactments peculiar to it among others of early date, we may the more certainly assume that the injunction as to public education was common to all these primitive legislators. Conf. *Aristot. Polit.* viii. ii. *Tauchn.* p. 257. in fine.

The extreme severity of the law regulating schools, quoted by *Æschines* in the passage above referred to, would, even apart from his authority and from its antiquated style, imply it to be a remnant of *Draco's* code.

³ *Ap. Schol. Pind. Ol.* x. (xi.) 17.; *Suid.* v. *Ζάλευκος*; conf. *Aristot. Fragm. Bekk.* ed. *Oxon.* vol. x. p. 322.

Pisistratus.

material for its exercise. The six remaining sages, of whom Thales was the seventh, were assuredly as well qualified in this respect as himself. Nor can there be any reasonable objection to the accounts, although not perhaps historically authenticated, of a correspondence by letters between remarkable characters of this period, between Solon and Mimnermus, Periander of Corinth and Thrasybulus of Lindus, Polycrates of Samos and Amasis the last of the Pharaohs. The Samian prince has also the credit of establishing a public library in his metropolis. And here it is that a place properly belongs, as an encourager of literature, to Pisistratus, whose real merits in this respect have been too much overlooked, in the zeal of his admirers to load his memory with fictitious glories. In early times, complete copies of more voluminous works were limited to professional men of letters, to the rhapsodists who made a livelihood by their recital, to the school-master, and other curious persons. Pisistratus is the first who is recorded as having practically exerted himself in the promotion of literary pursuit, not merely by encouraging living men of genius, but by multiplying good editions of the works of their predecessors, and by the establishment of a repository where those works might be stored up for the use of the citizens at large.¹ The oracular or sacred part of this collection was removed to Lacedæmon by the Spartan king Cleomenes.² The remainder is said to have been carried off (more probably destroyed) by Xerxes on the capture of the city, and to have been restored to the Athenians by Seleucus Nicator³, two hundred years afterwards.

In the list, however, of classic allusions to the

¹ Athen. i. § 4. ; Aul. Gell. vi. 17.

² Herodot. v. xc.

³ Gell. loc. cit.

familiar use of letters between the Olympic era and the Persian war, the most important place belongs to those by contemporary authors. The value of these notices is also, unfortunately, much enhanced by the slenderness of the remains from which they are derived. Among many of a more or less distinct character in the fragments of "Hesiod," Stesichorus¹, Erinna, Pittacus, Solon, a more peculiar value attaches to a passage of Archilochus, involving also a somewhat more extended range of historical illustration.

15. Of the many singular institutions of Sparta, the Scytalë, or mode of conducting state correspondence, was one of the most remarkable. It consisted of two cylindrical pieces of wood exactly equal in size and form to each other, one of which was kept by the magistrate, the other was delivered to his agent or officer. When either party had any matter of importance to communicate, he cut a long narrow stripe of parchment², and rolling it in spiral form about his staff, one fold close upon another, wrote the dispatch on its surface; then, unrolling it again, he transmitted it to his correspondent, who wrapped it round his own staff, when the writing, which before was disjointed and unintelligible, appeared very plain.³ The existence of this practice at any epoch of the Lacedæmonian republic, affords no less positive proof than does the ostracism in the parallel case of Athens, that letters were then an essential part of education in Sparta. All the citizens of the

"Hesiod."
Archilochus.

The Spartan
scytalë.

¹ Of Stesichorus see above (p. 401.). In "Hesiod's" Maxims of Chiron, a work of acknowledged high antiquity, and quoted and paraphrased by Pindar, it was enjoined that children should not be instructed in letters until seven years old. Quintil. i. i. 15.; conf. vol. II. p. 438.

² Hence the name σκυτάλη; from σκύρος, hide or skin.

³ Plut. in Lysand. p. 444.

latter republic, with the exception of the kings, were equal in the eye of the constitution, and its whole theory went to maintain and secure that equality, as regards mind, body, and estate. They were according to one of their fundamental laws, educated in the same manner¹, on a prescribed plan, and under the superintendence of officers intrusted with that department of state discipline. The knowledge of letters therefore, which the code of Lycurgus enjoined, limited as it appears to have been, was common at least to every Spartan. The ephori, by whom this correspondence was carried on, were themselves private citizens annually selected, like the Roman tribunes, from the whole body, usually it would seem from the lower order of Spartan freemen.² No one was qualified for the office of Ephorus, who had not both acquired and kept up his stock of literary accomplishment. But in Sparta, even did the state permit any such laxness, few would be willing to incur the stigma of incapacity for the duties of a popular magistrate. Whoever aspired to the command of an army must have been similarly qualified; and, although this duty, in early times, was specially appropriated to the kings, they were frequently unable to fulfil it, from old age, imbecility of body or mind, or other obvious causes. Every true Spartan therefore, it may safely be assumed, was, at the period when the practice of the scytalë prevailed, expected to be able to read and write. A similar inference as to the general use of writing throughout the districts politically connected with Sparta, at any period in which this mode of correspondence existed, is no less obviously involved in the peculiar character of

¹ Aristot. Polit. iv. vii. p. 130. Tauchn.

² Aristot. Polit. ii. vii. p. 62. Tauchn.

that correspondence. Such extraordinary precautions against the risk of a dispatch being read by others than the person to whom it was addressed, would hardly have been devised in a country where no one could read with the exception of a few state officers or professional scribes. The question then occurs, How far back does the practice extend?

The singularity of the institution brought the term *Scytalë* into proverbial use in Greece for any message or announcement of importance. Hence Pindar¹ addresses a brother-minstrel, when intrusting him with a poetical embassy, as "the Muse's *scytalë*." This the scholiast on the passage interprets as the "Muse's messenger, or herald." He adds that the saying was proverbial, and cites a similar use of it by Archilochus. The text appealed to by the scholiast forms the exordium of a moral tale, where, when about to declare some unpleasant truths to one of the objects of his satire, the Parian poet likens himself or his ode to a *scytalë* containing unwelcome intelligence:

ἔρέω τιν' ὑμῖν αἶνον, ὦ Κηρυκίδη,
ἀχνομένη σκυτάλη. . . .

A tale I have to tell thee, O Cerycides,
No welcome *scytalë*. . . .

This distich is one of the most celebrated passages in the whole works of this celebrated author, and became, in its turn, as proverbial for unpleasant tidings as the term *Scytalë* for message in general.² It has indeed been questioned by modern critics, whether the text should be understood as referring to the Lacedæmonian mode of correspondence, or may not rather allude to a similar practice said to have pre-

¹ Ol. vi. 154.

² Conf. Liebel ad Archil. frg. LXXVIII.

vailed in private transactions for the preservation of vouchers or duplicates of ordinary social contracts.¹ It has been further alleged as not probable that any local custom of Sparta should have obtained so great notoriety at that early period, as to supply subject of proverbial allusion to a foreign poet. This view of the passage would certainly add force to its evidence in favour of the universality of parchment literature in the time of Archilochus. But the other more limited interpretation is preferable. Admitting that such a method of preparing confidential documents could have been so generally employed in other cases as to have passed into proverb, it does not appear that any other people but the Spartans were in the habit of employing that method for the transmission of dispatches. It is, however, to this particular purpose that the allusions of both Pindar and Archilochus evidently point. In the passage of the latter poet much of the humour of the figure is plainly connected with the name or nickname, whichever it may be, of the person to whom the sonnet was addressed, Cerycides, or Herald-son; just as the Spartan herald (Ceryx), when brought on the stage by Aristophanes, is forthwith bantered about his scytalë.² As to the imputed improbability of a Lacedæmonian custom having been already so notorious in Greece, it may be remarked, that about the period when Archilochus flourished Sparta was, perhaps, the state of the whole Hellenic confederacy whose affairs excited the liveliest interest among the other members of that body. The Messenian wars, then in full activity, were the most remarkable events of that age; and the preponderance of Spartan power in Peloponnesus,

¹ Conf. Nitzsch de Hist. Hom. p. 76.

² Lysistrat. 989. sqq.

founded on the successful issue of those wars, seemed already to foreshadow the subsequent ascendancy of Lacedæmon in the affairs of all Greece. The various singular institutions on which this ascendancy was founded, would therefore the more naturally become objects of public interest, especially with an inquisitive man of genius like Archilochus. Sparta was also at this time the favourite resort of eminent lyric poets; and Archilochus himself is said to have courted her patronage, but to have been prohibited a residence within her bounds, owing to the licentiousness of his muse. It may be remarked, as concluding this chain of evidence, that the passage has never been interpreted, by any one of the numerous classical authors who cite it, in any other sense than that in which it has here been understood. It affords, therefore, distinct proof that Archilochus was not only in the habit of writing his works on convenient material, but of distributing copies of them to his friends, more frequently perhaps, as in the present case, to his enemies.

This poet flourished about the close of the eighth or commencement of the seventh century B. C. ; nearly a century and a half prior to the usurpation of Pisistratus. It may however safely be assumed, that any such custom, in order to become proverbial, must have been already long established. The peculiar nature of the correspondence, employed¹ chiefly as a check in the hands of the ephori, or Spartan "tribunes of the people," on the ambition of military commanders when absent from the city, seems to favour the conjecture of its institution having been coeval with the establishment of that magis-

¹ Plut. in Lysand. p. 444.

tracy, ascribed by Aristotle¹ to king Theopompus, who flourished about 750 B. C. By others² the council of the ephori was considered, perhaps with better reason, as an original institution of Lysurgus, several generations earlier. The existence, at either period, of the correspondence by scytalæ affords conclusive evidence that writing, not merely on wood or stone, but on pliable material, was quite familiar to the Spartans, proverbially the least literary people of Greece, in the eighth or ninth century before the Christian era.

Education
in Sparta
and Crete.

16. This custom tends both to confirm and illustrate the ordinances attributed to Lysurgus concerning the liberal arts. Letters were prescribed³ as a part of public education, but under certain restrictions, as in the parallel practice of Crete⁴, whence so much of his system was borrowed. While all refinements of speculative literature or science were discountenanced, a certain amount of practical learning was held indispensable for the conduct of public business, whether state correspondence, registration of deeds, treaties of peace, or the transmission of oracular decrees and national poems. The sneers therefore, which occur in Attic writers at the illiterate habits of the rival republic, must, with due allowance for much absurd exaggeration, be understood to apply solely to the neglect of elegant literature. In the page of authentic history, wherever a necessity for reading or writing occurs, the Spartan is always found quite as

¹ Polit. v. ix. p. 185. Tauchn.; Plut. in Lyc. vii.; Heraclid. Polit. iii. p. 7. ed. Schneidewin, conf. p. 50.

² Herodot. i. lxxv.; Xenoph. Lac. Pol. viii.; conf. Müll. Dor. iii. vii. 1.

³ Plut. Lyc. xvi., conf. xxvi. sq.; Instit. Lacon. p. 237 A.

⁴ Heraclid. Polit. iii.; Strab. x. p. 482.

well qualified as the Athenian.¹ There is also high authority² for the belief, that it was "the fashion" among the Spartans to affect a greater contempt for polite learning than they really entertained. They were certainly distinguished for zeal in collecting and preserving antient oracular and other sacred documents.³ Such were the reputed "skins" of Epimenides, of Pherecydes, and of the antient Laconian seer Anthes, which were covered with prophetic writing⁴; obviously parchment manuscripts of their works. Hence also the importance attached by Cleomenes, on his occupation of Athens, to the oracular collection of the Pisistratidæ, the only trophy which he was at pains to carry off.

The laws of Lycurgus are vulgarly supposed not to have been written, and one of the principal Rhetræ, or Delphic decrees by which the divine sanction was imparted to his code, and which formed the basis of its enactments, was to the effect, that the laws were to be recorded only in the breasts of the citizens.⁵ The genuine character of these Rhetræ is beyond question, as well from its having been acknowledged by Aristotle as from the evidence of their own rude dialect, the interpretation of which taxed the ingenuity even of that acutest of critics.⁶ It is clear that this prohibition implies, in its own terms, a familiarity with letters among the people to whom it is addressed.⁷

Laws of
Lycurgus.

¹ See Append., K. and N.

² Plat. Prot. p. 342.

³ Herodot. v. xc., vi. lvii.

⁴ Conf. Urlichs, Rhein. Mus. 1847, p. 219. sq.; Nitzsch, Hist. Hom. p. 160.

⁵ Plut. vit. Lyc. xiii.; conf. Lac. Apophth. p. 227.

⁶ Ap. Plut. in vit. Lycurg. vi. xiii.

⁷ A similar inference results from another law attributed to Lycurgus by Plutarch (in vit. xvii.), to the effect that the name of no male citizen was to be inscribed on his tomb unless he had fallen in battle, and that of

It is also certain that the Rhetræ themselves were written from the first. That they were, like other more antient oracular edicts, in prose, and hence not calculated for poetical transmission, is stated by Plutarch¹, whose authority is confirmed by their remains. In fact Plutarch himself, throughout his remarks on them², alludes to them as recorded in writing, and describes Polydorus and Theopompus, who reigned about a century after Lycurgus, as adding a supplement to those already written by the lawgiver.³ Any apparent discrepancy between these notices may be explained, as Plutarch has also explained it, by reference to the distinction habitually drawn between the Rhetræ, or fundamental statutes on which the constitution was based, and the laws (*νόμοι*) for its administration. The former were, as divine ordinances, to be preserved with the same care as other sacred documents, while the details of legislation arising from them were to become matter of inveterate custom. A somewhat similar distinction seems to be drawn by Plato in his Republic⁴; a system which, in its principles, conforms in a great degree to the Spartan model. In that system, the ordinary details of law were not necessarily required to be reduced to writing, but might be left to the common sense of the citizens or to the discretion of intelligent judges. The oracular edicts of Apollo, on the other hand, here as with Lycurgus the basis of the whole, were to be carefully registered. But whatever may have been

no female citizen but such as had filled the office of priestess. Conf. Plat. de Legg. 858 B.

¹ De Pyth. Orac. p. 403. sq.; conf. Müll. Dor. i. vii. 3.

² Vit. Lycurg. vi.

³ Vit. Lyc. xiii.

⁴ p. 425 B.; conf. p. 427 B.; and still more distinctly by Aristotle, Polit. iv. ii. p. 113. Tauchn.

the case in the old system of Lycurgus, it appears certain, that long before the days of Plato, even the ordinary laws were as carefully written at Sparta as in other Greek states. The Rhetra therefore against written legislation, can in later times have possessed authority only in the spirit of its enactment, as inculcating the principle that the best or only real security for the observance of the laws was that they should be engraved on the hearts of the people. In the familiar allusions of classic authors of the best period, especially of Plato¹, the laws of Lycurgus are always spoken of, even in the ordinary sense of the term Law, as written; and occasional decrees, treaties of peace, and other diplomatic contracts, were as habitually and regularly recorded in writing in Sparta as in Athens.² Pausanias³ states that it was customary in Lacedæmon, in expediting public documents, to use the seal of king Polydorus, who flourished in the eighth century B. C. This practice could hardly have originated in any other circumstance than that the ancient state seal dated from the time of that sovereign, and consequently, that public ordinances requiring to be sealed were then more or less common in Sparta. In fact, although among primitive nations popular custom may obtain nearly as inveterate a stamp of law as written enactments, there is something almost absurd in the notion of a specific code, drawn up by a formally appointed legislator, being, in any age, either promulgated or perpetuated otherwise than in writing. It is at least abundantly clear, from the whole tenor of Aristotle's commentaries on the subject, that his notion of a "legislator," in the more technical sense, was restricted to authors of

¹ Legg. p. 858.² See Appendd. K. and N.³ III. xi. 8.

written codes.¹ It is further evident, that the drawing up of any one of these codes, the redaction to a specific form of the more complicated obligations of the citizens towards each other or the state, implies a previous partial registration of the more fundamental principles of equity and civil government on which the constitution was based. Accordingly, Demosthenes quotes a written law of Athens long prior to Draco; and many such had doubtless been recorded at Locris before the time of Zaleucus², or even at Sparta before the time of Lycurgus. It is also remarkable, that the legislators mentioned by Aristotle as next in antiquity to Lycurgus, Phidon of Argos (748 B. C.), and Philolaüs, a fugitive member of the Corinthian Bacchidæ, who about the XIIIth Olympiad (724 B. C.) compiled a code for the Thebans, were both, like Lycurgus himself, Peloponnesian Dorians. These facts, together with the foregoing illustrations of the monumental remains of the Dorian peninsula, and of the encouragement afforded by the same Spartans and Corinthians to the early masters and improvers of lyric composition, shed a friendly gleam of light over

Other early
codes,
Phidon.
Philolaüs.

¹ Conf. his own or his disciples' definition of the term Law: *Νόμος ἐστὶ πόλεως ὁμολόγημα κοινόν, διὰ γραμμάτων προσταττόν*, κ.τ.λ. Rhetor. ad Alex. i. 5. See also Plato de Legg. passim.

² The fable of Zaleucus (660 B. C.) having been the author of the "first written law," a fable partially countenanced by Strabo (conf. Bentley, Opusc. ed. Lips. p. 339.), is evidently founded, as appears from another notice by the same Strabo (vi. p. 260.), on the circumstance of Zaleucus having first carried his enactments into details not used to be provided for by previous lawgivers. It had been customary before his time for the written criminal law to be confined to the specification of what constituted a crime or offence deserving of punishment. The punishment to be awarded in each case was left to the discretion of the judge. Zaleucus, followed by Draco and other legislators, prescribed also the kind and degree of punishment to be inflicted on account of each offence Conf. Nitzsch de Hist. Hom. § xvi.

the practice of the liberal arts during this period even among the Dorian tribes, which the paucity of similar records precludes in the case of other states, where it is probable that those arts were more studiously cultivated.

17. Another popular argument against the antiquity of Greek manuscript literature has been the want of convenient material.¹ The "wooden tables" on which Solon's laws were engraved have been more especially appealed to, as evidence of the rude mode of registering even the more important national records in the days of that legislator. How then, it has been asked, could private individuals have been provided with competent means for cultivating the less necessary branches of the art? On the subject of Solon's tables little need here be added to what has been already remarked in a previous portion of this inquiry.² Like others of a similar character, they were intended for public exposure. That wood was preferred to metal or stone, in regard at least to the copies exposed in the popular places of assembly, may indicate either that the Athenians of those days were less studious of show and solidity in their state monuments than in later times, or that, for tables of this peculiar revolving form, the lighter substance was more convenient. But it does not appear how this preference can bear on the question as to the greater or less abundance of paper or parchment at that period, neither of those materials being adapted for this particular purpose.

Want of
convenient
writing-
material.

More important than any such subtle argument based on the material of the tables, is the just in-

¹ Wolf, Proleg. p. 60. 69.; Payne Knight, Prolegg. §§ xxxviii. lxxiii.

² Supra, p. 416. sqq.

ference to be derived from the work to which that material was subservient. The framing of such a code is in itself a guarantee of the universality of the art of reading among the citizens for whom it was destined. The code of Solon was also substituted in the place of another of more antient date, which had been found defective. It was confessedly drawn up in consequence of a clamorous demand by the multitude, for some larger and more definite security for their rights against the overbearing influence of the upper classes. A clamour for a new code of written laws could hardly have arisen among a people who were themselves unable to read them. The very machinery of Solon's legislation, the distribution of the citizens into classes according to a nice valuation of their properties, with proportional rates of public burthens, and the registration of their numbers, ranks, and liabilities¹, presupposes numerous scribes and plenty of convenient writing-material, without which no such system could ever have been practicable. That written testaments were common in Solon's time, little less so probably than in this country at the present day, appears from his law regarding the disposal

¹ These remarks apply with equal or similar force to the legislative codes of Lycurgus, Phidon, and Philolaüs, as described by Plutarch, Aristotle, and others. (Plut. vit. Lyc. viii.; Aristot. Polit. ii. iii. ix. p. 42. 68. sq. ed. Tauchn.; conf. Müll. Orchom. p. 401. sqq. 2nd ed.; Thirlw. Hist. of Gr. vol. i. p. 432. 1st ed.; Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 248.) See also Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. iii. p. 350., concerning the census of Servius Tullius: "The custom of registering judicial proceedings dates from remote antiquity; the census alone occasioned an immense deal of writing." Servius was nearly contemporaneous with Solon; and it is not very likely that, at a period when the semibarbarous Romans had an organised system of public diplomacy, the whole legislation of Athens should have worked on no better machinery than a set or two of wooden blocks. For some further notices of the advanced state of the art of writing, and of the existence of Greek books, even in Rome, in the age of the Pisistratidæ, see Nieb. op. cit. vol. i. p. 256. sqq. 511. 526. sqq.

of intestate property as quoted by Demosthenes.¹ The number and minuteness of the distinctions contained in that law show, that the documents for the want of which it provided, must have been themselves often of an extended and complicated nature.

The difficulties as to writing-material, to which so great importance has sometimes been attached in connexion with this question, have in fact little foundation but in the imagination of their proposers. It is not easy to see how a people, at once the most ingenious in the world and the fondest of literary pursuit, should have found any serious obstacle interposed to the gratification of their taste by a want of mechanical aids, after other elementary refinements of manufacture had been carried even to the extent described by Homer. Still less probable does this appear in the case of a body of states so flourishing in every department of civilisation as were many of the Greek republics, both in Europe and Asia, not long after the poet's time: and, even had they been unable to supply their wants from their own resources, their commercial relations, to which Homer so frequently alludes, would have placed at their disposal the full benefit of the more advanced culture of their Eastern neighbours. Much of the reasoning upon this head has proceeded upon the false principle already pointed out, of adopting modern standards as a guide to our judgements on antient usage. Antiquity, to be judged aright, must be its own interpreter. The

¹ Cont. Makart. p. 1066. sqq.; conf. Plut. vit. Sol. xxi. According to the lately popular doctrine of the school of Wolf and Payne Knight, a notary of the age of Solon or Pisistratus, when summoned to draw up a client's will, must have come provided with a slab of stone or wood instead of paper or parchment, with hammer and chisel instead of pen and ink, and with a mason or carpenter to act as his amanuensis.

Athenian method of ballot by scratching a name on a broken tile, or the still ruder practice of Syracuse where olive leaves sufficed for the same purpose, may seem strange to a modern scholar writing at his ease in a well garnished library. In neither case however, could this rusticity be owing to want of better material, since neat tesserae of wood or bone, such as we might possibly use on a similar occasion, were as easily prepared in those days as now. The fact that the Petalismus¹ of Syracuse was established during the most flourishing age of Grecian literature, suffices in itself to show the futility of the appeals made to sundry traditions of an occasional use, in early times, of lead, linen, bark, or leaves of trees, for writing-material, as indicating illiterate habits at the period to which those traditions relate. The same line of reasoning would prove Syracuse to have been in no better case in the days of Dionysius.²

A passage

18. There is a passage of Thucydides, showing in

¹ A similar form of vote prevailed about the same time in Athens, under the title of *ἐκφυλλοφορία*.

² With whatever levity the notion of leaves, bark, or other "rude" substances having been used for literary purposes by the primitive Greeks, may have been treated by Wolf and his disciples (Prolegg. p. 59. sq.), both historical testimony and the existence of numerous MSS. in a high state of preservation, abundantly prove the great perfection to which the manufacture of "paper" from those substances has been carried by various nations. (Conf. Montfauc. Palæogr. Gr. p. 13. sqq.; Caylus, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. xxvi. p. 271.; Nieb. Röm. Gesch. vol. i. p. 527.; Encycl. Brit. 1st ed. art. Paper.) Names can here avail but little. As to bark, the Latin word *Liber* is a living monument in its favour. The author of this work has seen voluminous Indian manuscripts, of as great beauty and delicacy as any of our parchment codices, on the leaves of the palm, or of other Oriental trees of kindred species. And what, after all, was the celebrated Egyptian paper but split bulrush? and the modern still more improved material is but old rags.

a very curious manner how much more, in cases of this nature, may often depend upon incidental differences of manners or habits, than on other more fundamental causes. When the affairs of the Athenians before Syracuse began to wear a gloomy aspect, "Nicias," says the historian¹, "finding his embarrassments daily increase, sent frequent messengers to the Athenians, notifying what was passing, and that, unless the armament were speedily recalled or properly reinforced, its ruin was inevitable. But fearing lest his couriers, whether from want of eloquence or of judgement, or from a desire to shape their discourse to the popular inclination, might have misrepresented the state of the case, he wrote a letter, considering that in this way he would be best able to explain his own views, without risk of their perversion through the medium of an interpreter." Refer this description to the present day, and how strange does it appear. Let us imagine the commander-in-chief of a mighty armament, after sending a succession of verbal messages during the season to his government announcing the critical state of affairs, and having received no satisfactory reply, being at last reduced to the necessity of writing a dispatch! Had this passage occurred in the history of some more antient expedition of the republic, in the ante-Pisistratian era, what a triumphant argument would it have supplied of the infrequency of writing and the deficiency of material in those early times. But how is it to be explained in the age of Thucydides? This anecdote offers a concise but vivid sketch of the spirit of the Athenian democracy, which required that even the most important state correspondence, the very essence of which in

of Thucydides.

¹ VII. viii.

other governments is secrecy, should be carried on by public "vivâ voce" communication. Even a courier was in his own sphere an orator and a demagogue; and this very letter, as appears in the sequel of the historian's narrative, was read aloud by the public crier in the market-place. The many-headed despot of the Pnyx would never have submitted to such an organised system of interference with his authority as the Spartan mode of secret diplomacy above described. The apparently needless simplicity of the Ostracism and Petalism might, perhaps, be accounted for by some similar point of democratical etiquette, which required that the material, like the exercise of the franchise, should be, in the strictest sense of the term, gratuitous.¹

Parchment. It is somewhat remarkable however, that even those modern authorities by whom this employment of wood, stones, leaves, and other rude substances has been most pointedly pressed as an argument of the backwardness of the art of writing in Greece prior to the LIVth Olympiad, have not questioned the fact that a more or less abundant supply of papyrus or parchment was at the disposal of the Greek scribes upwards of a century earlier.² The evidence of this is indeed sufficiently conclusive. Herodotus³ states that in the remotest antiquity, "while papyrus was yet scarce," sheep and goat skins were used for manuscript purposes among his countrymen. He adds that the use of the latter kind of material was acquired by them from the same Oriental source whence they obtained the alphabet, and was still inveterate in

¹ So Niebuhr, Röm. Gesch. vol. I. note to p. 527.

² Wolf, Prolegg. p. 59. sqq.

³ v. lviii.

some Eastern countries. The more copious supply of the Egyptian commodity, by which the parchment was superseded, is universally admitted to date from the epoch when a free access to the interior of Egypt was opened to the Greeks by Psammeticus, and commercial factories of that people were settled at the mouth of the Nile, about the year 650¹ B. C. That before this time parchment was extensively used in Greece is evinced by the circumstance added by Herodotus, that the old-fashioned name for a book among the Ionians in his time was *Diphthera*, "a parchment," derived from the antient obsolete substance, just as the classical term *Biblus* was adopted from that afterwards introduced. Unless written works had abounded at the earlier period, the proper name borrowed from the former material could never have become so inveterate as to maintain its ground two centuries after the material itself had given place to papyrus. This statement of Herodotus is corroborated by the subjoined antient proverbs:

ὁ Ζεὺς κατέϊδε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας.²

Jupiter consulted his *diphtheræ*.

¹ Wolf, while not disputing this fact, infers (*Prolegg.* xvi.) from the rapidity with which the new material superseded the old, that the previous use of letters must have been very limited. This means, in other words, that eagerness to procure cheap and efficient aids to the exercise of an art, and the ready and speedy abandonment in their favour by a whole nation of a former less commodious practice, are to be held as proof of the little prevalence or popularity of the art itself. Let the same test be applied to any existing art or custom whatever, and will not the very reverse be the more reasonable conclusion? Upon Wolf's principle, the ready abandonment of sailing vessels and stage coaches for steam conveyance, must be a proof how little taste there was for travelling in England before the introduction of the improved mode of communication.

² *Diogen.* iii. 2. ap. *Gaisf. Paræm. Græc.* p. 174.

Н Н 2

ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας.¹

More antient even than diphthera.

The first shows that the oldest oracular books were of parchment; the second, that parchment manuscripts of a remote date were extant in later times, and proverbial for their great antiquity. The term Diphthera is also employed by Euripides² to designate the primeval collections of prophetic edicts. That oracular decrees were transmitted in writing from the remotest period is certain. Reference has already been made to the Rhetræ of Lycurgus. Herodotus also describes the answers of the various Greek oracles to Cræsus as written documents.³ Decrees of such importance and sanctity could hardly, under any circumstances, have been confided to the mere memory of a messenger. Even if their enigmatical character could have admitted of their being conveyed with reasonable accuracy through such a medium, the great length of some of them would have been a serious obstacle. The Pythoness must have employed a large part of her time in conning over with her consulters the decrees of the god; an occupation not very compatible with the dignity or solemnity of oracular announcement. Another proof that oracular injunctions were habitually committed to writing is the fact stated by the most learned antient investigator of this subject⁴, that in the remoter periods of antiquity they were, as a general rule, transmitted like the Rhetræ of Lycurgus in prose, and were not consequently adapted for preservation by memory alone.

¹ Gaisf. op. cit. p. 53. 307. 191.

² εἰσιν γὰρ, εἰσι διφθέραι μελαγγραφεῖς,
πολλῶν γέμουσαι λοξίου γηρυμμάτων.

Fragm. Plisthen. ap. Bothe, p. 219.

³ Herodot. i. xlviij.

⁴ Plut. de Pyth. Orac. p. 403 r.

19. It still remains to consider one of the most popular arguments against the antiquity of writing in Greece, that derived from the prevalence of public rehearsal or rhapsodism, as a favourite mode of promulgating or transmitting to posterity works of popular literature during this early period.¹ Imperfect as are the existing notices of this practice, there can yet be no reasonable doubt that it prevailed to a great extent in Greece during many ages, and that it had its origin at a time when neither the art of writing nor the means for the exercise of that art were common. It has however been abundantly shown in the foregoing pages, that customs originating in necessity may often, from habit, national taste, or other causes, be maintained or even extended in general use long after such necessity has ceased to exist. Of this truth the practice of rhapsodism here in question supplies another illustration, since it is certain that, in respect both to the older national poems and to new compositions of a lower date, it remained in full force as late as the age of Plato. If then, as results from the tenor of the previous inquiries, the epoch at which pliable writing-material, whether parchment or papyrus, became more or less common in Greece, may, even on the least liberal estimate, be safely carried back to the eighth century B.C., it may as safely be assumed, that the more intelligent class of Greek citizens would have been as little disposed in those days as in the days of Plato, to despise the facilities thus afforded for securing to themselves the personal possession or private enjoyment of works of genius, merely because the old custom of oral recitation continued inveterate in popular use. It might with

Memorial
recitation
and rhapsodism.

¹ Wolf, Prolegg. § xxii. sqq. ; P. Knight, Prolegg. §§ xxxviii. lxxii.

better reason be urged, that the extensive prevalence of that custom would in itself be favourable to the progress of writing, necessity suggesting the one practice as an aid to the other. Whatever may be said of the powers of memory in primitive times, this faculty is not essentially connected with poetical talent. It might often happen that poets of excellent genius, or rhapsodists highly favoured by voice, manner, and other accomplishments, had but indifferent memories; and if they found more difficulty than their fellows in retaining their compositions, they would not fail to resort to the aids within their reach for making good the deficiency. The obligation to extemporaneous rehearsal, instead of an obstacle, would thus prove a stimulus to the art of writing. That the same was the case in the early ages of Roman literature, is implied by the fact that in the antient dialect of Latium the term *Scribe* signified also *Poet*. That the functions of poet and of *pædagog*, or teacher of letters, went hand in hand in those early times, seems also probable, and is indicated perhaps in the legend of the Spartan poet *Tyrtæus*, or even of *Homer* himself, having belonged to the latter profession. The parallel may be carried on to our own middle ages. The poetry of the French *troubadours*, the German *minnesingers*, and the British bards and harpers, was chiefly promulgated and enjoyed by open rehearsal. Yet the art of writing was, comparatively speaking, quite familiar in Europe in the age of those minstrels; and they were themselves probably among the persons most conversant with its mysteries, both as an aid to their studies and as a means of preserving their compositions.

Admitting all that has been urged as to the supe-

rior powers of memory in primitive ages, it would yet be very difficult to understand the transmission, by aid of that faculty alone, of so voluminous a library of compositions as it would be necessary to assume, had no more artificial expedient been at hand in Greece during the three centuries prior to the usurpation of Pisistratus. That the compositions of Homer and Hesiod, with some others of a peculiarly sacred and national character, may have been handed down in their integrity during a few generations by oral tradition alone, may perhaps be conceded. But it is not so easy to comprehend how those of the multitude of inferior poets flourishing between the Dorian conquest and the middle of the sixth century B.C. could have been so preserved. Between these two dates there lived, besides the genuine Homer, of authors whose names were known and works extant in later times, Hesiod, Arctinus, Eumelus, Cinæthon, Stasinus, Asius, Agias, Pisander, Lesches, Lesbius, Chersias, Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, Tyrtæus, Terpander, Alcman, Arion, Xanthus, Stesichorus, Alcæus, Sappho, Epimenides, Mimnermus. To this list must be added a number of poems ascribed to Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Musæus, and other fabulous bards, poems which, though spurious, were of great antiquity; and many more, the Minyas, Naupactica, and the like, of uncertain character and author. All appeal to the primitive powers of memory must here be at fault. Neither precedent nor reason can justify the belief of a whole literature of this nature having been matured and preserved by such means. In a succession of several centuries, among a people equally fond of poetry and of novelty, although a few first-rate bards might continue to be preferred, the older poet of secondary rank would

naturally give place to the new, and the rhapsodists would abandon the study of the one for that of the other accordingly. In modern times the case is parallel. Although a few standard authors of primitive ages continue to maintain their ground in the every-day usage of the reading public, yet the great mass of literary performances, giving place to the ephemeral popularity of each other, are in their turn successively laid on the shelf, where they are only sought out by the more curious student, for whose use they are preserved in a written form. But this laying on the shelf would be far more fatal in an age of pure rhapsodism than in one of book-making. If once erased from the tablets of the memory, to make way for some more popular novelty of the day, the work of the old poet would have been lost for ever. The preservation therefore of so numerous a body of second-rate poems, many of them possessing no recognised claim to general popularity, and of a very voluminous nature, may be considered in itself indirect evidence of their having been written. The peculiar character of some of the most celebrated works of this period, places the improbability of their preservation by any other means in a still stronger light. Whatever may have been the case with legends of heroic adventure or with sacred hymns, it is scarcely credible that tissues of dry genealogical commonplace, such as were in a great measure the Corinthiaea, Naupactica, and Hesiodic Catalogues; or volumes of calumnious satires and lampoons, such as those of Archilochus, for the most part on subjects of mere local or private interest, could have been transmitted entire to a late posterity by extempore rehearsal alone. Nor were it easy to understand how

so many subtle varieties of metre, comprising, in fact, the whole complicated theory of Greek lyric combination, could have been invented and matured by Archilochus and his contemporaries or immediate successors, without a copious supply of mechanical aids to their studies. The reduction of the art of music to fixed principles and technical rules, which is also admitted to have taken place in the early part of the seventh century B. C., no less imperatively demanded a familiar practice of writing, and a supply of convenient material. The Greek system of musical notation, forming the basis of that still in use, and understood to be the invention of Terpander (676 B. C.), also contains evidence in the forms of its ciphers¹, that the alphabet had in the days of that artist already undergone some of the changes and refinements referred to in an early chapter of this work.

It is certain that, even in more advanced stages of Hellenic culture, the circulation of complete copies of voluminous works was, comparatively speaking, limited, and that they were enjoyed rather through the medium of the ear than of the eye. The case here is analogous to that formerly illustrated, of the preference of marble and stone, at every period of classical antiquity, to parchment and papyrus, for the promulgation of public registers. In the same way, the popular mode of enjoying literary productions by recitation was continued from habit, long after written copies

¹ Several of these ciphers appear to be variations of the old Phœnician elements Koppa, Vau, San, which went into desuetude at a remote period. There seems no other conceivable motive for the application of these elements to this new object, in preference to other alphabetic signs, than the circumstance of their having been, at the period of that application, no longer required for purely literary purposes. (See Boeckh, *Staatsk.* vol. II. p. 387.)

were multiplied. This peculiarity of antient usage may be traced to various causes, the influence of which is little felt or altogether imperceptible in the present age. The publicity of social life, partly a consequence of republican manners, partly of the genial character of the people and of their climate, led the Greeks to cultivate in the open air and in large assemblies, pursuits which are now exercised in solitude or retirement. Their popular literature was itself of an essentially national character, and interwoven with their civil or religious solemnities. Hence even prose compositions, which could not be recited without book, were read aloud for the benefit of the multitude; and controversies which would now be carried on by pamphlets, were managed by open disputation of the parties pitted against each other in places of public resort. Still, in all these cases, the works were not only written by their authors, but copies of them were generally possessed, as now, by men of literary habits. The ease with which the rhapsodist declaimed was as much the result of study as the readiness of dramatic dialogue, while the fluency of oratory smelt more of the lamp in the senate of Athens or Rome than in the parliament or courts of Westminster. The assumption therefore, that the voluminous poets or voluble rhapsodists of the eighth or ninth centuries B.C. were without copies of their works, merely because the public at large were made familiar with them through open rehearsal alone, were a fallacy differing only in degree from a like inference as to the professional men of letters in the Periclean or the Augustan age.

Laws set to
music.

The tradition that in early times laws were occasionally embodied in verse, and sung in festive

assemblies, has been prominently urged among the objections to the early spread of writing.¹ As among the Greeks every object of national interest, religious doctrines and rites, the glories of the gods or heroes, and the arts or institutions derived from them, became matter of poetical celebration, it could hardly fail to happen that much not improperly comprehended under the general term "law" would be versified and sung.² But the fallacy of any inference from this practice against the early use of letters is curiously evinced by the fact, that the only historically substantiated case of such juridical rhapsodism is that of certain laws of Charondas³, an Italo-Greek legislator, whose code was distinguished above all others by the specific character of its enactments enforcing literary instruction.

20. It is a judicious remark, that the introduction of prose composition as a branch of popular literature, was a consequence of the more extended use of writing and of the increase of convenient material; but it by no means follows that it would be an immediate consequence. Much must here, as in other similar cases, be attributed to the influence of habit and taste. Before the time of Plato, there is no record of any grammar, vocabulary, or other works of a technically grammatical nature, such as afterwards occupied so large a space in every Greek library; yet, unless such compositions had been abundant long before, letters could hardly have been taught at all.

Lateness of
prose com-
position.

¹ The very natural confusion of the term νόμος, in its twofold sense of law and of musical arrangement, has here been a fertile source of error and subtlety. Conf. Nitzsch de Hist. Hom. §§ x. xii.

² The metrical grammars common in modern education might be cited in the way of analogy.

³ Hermipp. ap. Athen. xiv. p. 619.

The progress of taste however, had not yet made them a distinct department of literature. The case of prose composition is analogous. Epistolary or diplomatic communications, inclusive, it would appear, of oracular edicts¹, public records, codes of laws, and other strictly useful documents, were, there can be no reasonable doubt, written in prose from a very remote period. But it might not be until long after such adaptation of the alphabet to necessary purposes, that the public of primitive Greece would become alive to the charm of prose style as a branch of elegant composition.

This exclusive prevalence of poetry as the popular literature of the Greeks, up to so late a period, is certainly in itself a striking and interesting peculiarity of that people. But it is one which, while of great importance in the history of their literary genius, has but very little bearing on that of their alphabetic writing. The distinction here drawn may be illustrated by the comparison or contrast of the parallel period of civilisation among the neighbouring nations to the eastward. The popular Greek records of primitive national history, real or fabulous, were in early times, as we have seen, all but exclusively voluminous epic poems. There existed no prose work on the same subjects prior to the age of Solon. The historical records of the Hebrews, Phœnicians, and other Aramaic nations, during the corresponding periods of their literature, were, on the other hand, all but exclusively prose compositions. Their poetical records

¹ That such was the case with the greater number of the more antient oracles, inclusive of the Rhetra of Lycurgus, is asserted by Plutarch (*De Pyth. Orac.* p. 403 a.), on the authority of writers who had specially investigated this branch of literary antiquity.

of the same age consist but of a few popular songs or ballads, introduced here and there to adorn or illustrate the prose narrative. To whatever other cause this difference in the practice of the two races may be attributable, it cannot assuredly be accounted for by any great superiority in the stock of writing-material at the disposal of the Canaanites in the days of Moses, beyond that accessible to the Greeks in the time of Homer, Arctinus, or Eumelus. The further investigation of the real cause belongs, however, to the ensuing portion of this work, devoted to the history of Greek prose composition.

21. It now remains to bring the foregoing results to bear on the question which has of late obtained so great, or almost exclusive a prominence in this inquiry, but which, for reasons already stated, has here been treated merely as an element of the general history of the art of writing: When, and under what circumstances, was the benefit of that art first extended to the poems of Homer?

Writing in
Homer's
time.

It will not, it is hoped, be necessary here further to discuss the once popular paradox of the Iliad and Odyssey having been first written out at Athens in the 17th Olympiad, 560 B.C. The supposed historical testimonies in favour of that theory were disposed of in an early stage of this work: and, if there be any weight in the evidence already adduced of a general application of the art of writing to so many much humbler purposes centuries before the above date, it were superfluous to argue that the highest national standards of religion and history as well as of style, the Greek Bible, as they have been emphatically designated by Wolf, would never have been denied all the security which the alphabet afforded for

their genuine transmission. The inquiry, as affecting the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, will therefore here be limited to the remoter ages of their history, inclusive of the very nice question, whether, or to what extent, they were committed to writing by their author.

Attention will first be directed to the arguments on the negative side. Those to which the greatest or only real importance attaches are derived from the poems themselves, and may be summed up as follows :

“Nowhere throughout the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* is there any allusion to alphabetic writing ; nor does the state of society represented in those poems justify the belief of that art having been practised in Greece in the time of Homer. Had the case been otherwise, the general course of his narrative would have offered appropriate or unavoidable occasions for such allusion. Amid frequent mention of tombs or sepulchral columns none occurs of monumental inscriptions, none of any use of letters in the transactions of commerce or civil government. It is true that one distinct notice of epistolary correspondence¹ is found

¹ In the whole series of subtleties by which this controversy has been distinguished, the following of J. J. Rousseau, eagerly adopted by Wolf, is certainly one of the most unfortunate : “ *J’ose avancer que toute l’Odyssée n’est qu’un tissu de bêtises et d’inepties, qu’une lettre ou deux eussent réduit en fumée.*” Granting the validity of such an argument in any case, it so happens that the peculiar character of the plot of the *Odyssey* renders it quite inapplicable to that poem. Between the departure of Ulysses from Troy and his emancipation from the bower of Calypso, any communication with his home by such means was impossible, unless indeed it be supposed that post-office packets plied between the island of the enchantress and the port of Ithaca. After the hero’s return, his object was concealment, not discovery. The fallacy of the quibble must indeed be apparent to any impartial scholar who reflects that, in the age even of Thucydides or of Cicero, a confidential letter required also a confidential messenger. Taking the matter therefore even on the

in the *Iliad*. But the characters there described appear to have been symbolic, not alphabetic; and afford, consequently, evidence adverse rather than favourable to the poet's knowledge of the more improved practice. This silence becomes the more significant, from the prominence given by him to other customs which in early times supplied the place of writing. Such are his frequent appeals to oral tradition as the sole means of transmitting legendary lore. The Muses are the daughters of Memory; while poets describe themselves as singers, and invoke the aid of those goddesses in giving permanence to their compositions."

In order rightly to estimate the force of these objections, some previous understanding is necessary in regard to the question, how far, as a general rule, Homer's silence concerning arts which, if commonly cultivated in his time, must have been familiar to him, is to be considered as the result of ignorance, how far of caprice, accidental omission, or other causes. No impartial judgement can be passed in any one such case, unless upon some principle equally applicable to all. It is however certain, that in a number of parallel cases the alternative of caprice or accident is forced upon us, either by the extreme improbability, amounting to a moral impossibility, of the poet's ignorance, or by his mention of other arts or customs, the existence of which necessarily implies that of the particular one in question.

very absurd footing on which Rousseau has placed it, there could hardly have been any purpose served by writing, which would not have been equally or more surely provided for by the dispatch of one of the hero's trusty followers. Vid. Wolf, *Prolegg.* p. xci. note.

For example: among the arts of civilised life, painting is certainly one which Homer, if familiar with it, might be supposed least likely, in compositions so rich in miscellaneous illustration, to pass over unnoticed; yet in both poems there reigns so complete a silence as to that art, as to have led writers on its history to assume that its first practice in Greece was posterior to the poet's age. In the *Iliad* however, Helen and Andromache are described as engaged in works of variegated tapestry, of such a nature as to prove that manufacture to have been carried to a degree of perfection which necessarily presupposes a corresponding advance in the art of painting.¹

The animal diet of the Greeks in peace or war is confined by Homer to the flesh of domestic quadrupeds, oxen, sheep, goats, hogs. Upon no occasion of the greatest festivity, in his frequent and minute recapitulations of the delicacies enjoyed by his heroes, is there an allusion to game, venison, poultry, or fish; viands considered, in every age and state of society, essential to good cheer.² The only exceptions to the rule tend to confirm it. Ulysses, when hard pressed for subsistence on a barbarous coast, kills deer in the woods and eats their flesh³; as he also, in a still more pressing emergency, catches and eats fish and winged game.⁴ To conclude however that the Greeks, in Homer's time, repudiated all animal food but beef, mutton, and pork, were absurd. The only just inference is, that it suited the peculiarity or the caprice of Homer's taste, in his ordinary descriptions of civi-

¹ *Il.* iii. 125.; conf. *xxii.* 440.

² See Plato, *Rep.* p. 404. on this Homeric peculiarity.

³ *Od.* x. 157. sqq.

⁴ *Od.* *xii.* 330.

lised life, to limit the fare of his heroes to the flesh of domestic quadrupeds.

A similar example of silence occurs in regard to boiled flesh. On no occasion is any person described as eating animal food otherwise than roasted. Yet the, in itself most improbable, inference, that the other mode of cookery was unknown in Homer's time, is excluded by his mention of a bubbling pot full of boiled meat, as an illustrative image.

The analogy between these cases (to which others might be added) and that here more immediately in point, is obvious. If the argument in favour of ignorance be not conclusive in respect to the more popular arts of painting or cookery, still less can it be held so in regard to the more subtle, and in all ages essentially unpoetical, art of writing. If Helen, in spite of the poet's silence as to painting, could embroider on a large piece of tapestry the adventures of the Trojan war, Homer, in spite of his silence as to writing, might record them on a few large sheets of diphthera.

But, it may be urged, the negative argument is here confirmed by the poet's frequent allusions to Memory, the Muses, and the oral recital of his poems. There can be no doubt that such phraseology, in the mouth of the primeval poets with whose spontaneous usage it originated, would indicate a lack of other expedients. But it must also be remembered that the same usage, when once established by those early minstrels, would remain inveterate with their successors, and has, in fact, so remained to this present day, as a courtesy of poetical language. Homer borrowed it from his predecessors the Phemii and Demodoci, and has trans-

mitted it, in his turn, to the Cyclic poets, to Antimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil, and, in the subsequent revolutions of European literature, to the modern schools of epic art. Before, therefore, any such argument against the use of writing could be fairly applied in any individual case, it would be necessary first to determine the period at which the phraseology in question forfeited its primary literal import, and assumed an artificial or conventional character; or in other words the period at which the increase and improvement of the art of writing and of its material were such, as to secure to the authors who still adhered to the old form of expression the means of written preservation for their works. This however is the very point, the obscurity or uncertainty of which constitutes the whole difficulty of the present inquiry. The assumption, therefore, that the figurative allusion to Memory and the Muses as agents of poetical transmission is an index of illiterate habits in the case of Homer, rather than of Hesiod, of Stesichorus, or of Apollonius Rhodius, involves an evident fallacy¹; two things, each of which requires a separate proof, being thus adduced as evidence of each other. But apart from this consideration, there can be no doubt that in Homer's time, or long after more artificial resources were common among professional

¹ This fallacy has been judiciously guarded against by a distinguished French historian of the epic literature of our own middle ages, in terms which apply almost letter for letter to the present case: "De tout cela il résulte clairement une chose: c'est que dans la plupart des Romans qui nous restent aujourd'hui du Cycle Carlovingien, la formule initiale qui les désigne comme devant être chantés, comme expressément faits pour l'être, ne doit plus être entendue à la lettre. C'est évidemment une formule imitée de compositions antérieures, auxquelles elle convenait plus strictement, pour lesquelles elle avait été d'abord trouvée et employée." — *Fauriel, Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, 1847, vol. II. p. 290.

men of letters, the old popular mode of enjoying poetical productions would still so greatly predominate among the mass, as amply to bear out the propriety of the old epic phraseology, not merely in an imitative, but in a proper sense. With the public at large, Memory and the Muses were still the recognised modes of poetical circulation and transmission; nor would the most eccentric genius have had a fair pretext for inventing another set of mythological personages, such as nymphs of pen, ink, and paper, to officiate in the stead of those goddesses.

But, if stress be laid on the poet's negative evidence in any such matter, it may also be proper to consider how the case stands with regard to that other practice by which the want of alphabetic writing is supposed, in his day, to have been supplied. Nowhere is there a hint, in either poem, of those "colleges" of rhapsodists to which, in the modern schools, such momentous functions have been assigned, as conservators of the national library. Poets are described by Homer as reciting their own works; but there is no allusion to persons professionally employed in committing to memory the compositions of others.¹ The general tenor of the authorities on the subject seems rather to warrant the belief that the rhapsodist profession, in the technical sense, is of recent date, and represents an artificial state of the epic art, the

¹ It has, in fact, in an unguarded moment, been observed by Wolf himself (*Prolegg.* p. 99.), that in the Homeric age, the rehearsals of the bards were confined to their own poems, and that the subsidiary order of minstrels, who acted as agents for the posthumous transmission of standard works, dates from the time of Terpander. How then, the question naturally occurs, were Homer's works preserved between the date of his own death and that of this important change in the primitive practice?

first traces of which coincide with an age when no question can exist of letters having been abundantly cultivated.

Letters of
Bellerophon.

22. The foregoing illustrations have proceeded on the basis of a general acquiescence in the popular rule or doctrine of the schools, which assumes an actual silence on Homer's part, throughout both his poems, relative to the art of writing. But this rule is liable, it is apprehended, to at least one very important exception, in the passage describing the epistle carried by Bellerophon from Prætus of Corinth to Jobates king of Lycia; an exception however which, as already observed, has been turned to account of the negative argument, on the ground that the written characters there described were ciphers or symbols, not alphabetic letters.

While there is no passage of either poem more replete than this very curious one with deep historical interest, there are few which have been more hastily judged or more generally misunderstood. The closer analysis of its niceties of idiom or expression, however indispensable to a right estimate of its bearings on the present question, has been reserved for another place.¹ It will here suffice to remark, that the result of that analysis amply justifies a conviction that the packet of Prætus was a sealed letter of some length, alphabetically written; and that any obscurity or ambiguity in the poet's account of it, arises from a corresponding ambiguity in the terminology of that early age of the art of writing. The version of the passage here subjoined, being framed by reference to this conviction, may hence be found little in harmony with the popular view of the subject. Its accuracy

¹ See Appendix L.

however, both in the spirit and the letter, as referred to the idiomatic usage of the primitive age of literature in which the Iliad was composed, may be, and has been elsewhere, amply indicated.

Bellerophon, a young hero of Corinth, is beloved by Antea, wife of Proetus lord of that city, and daughter of Jobates king of Lycia. On the refusal of Bellerophon to gratify her passion, she calumniates him to her husband. Proetus, unwilling himself to lay violent hands on the youth, adopts a mode of disposing of him which is thus described : ¹

He sent him to Lycia, the bearer of fatal letters ²,
Having written many things of pernicious import in a sealed tablet,

Which he charged him to present to the Lycian king, in order
that he might be put to death. . . .

The king received him cordially,
And entertained him honourably during nine days.

But when the tenth morning arrived,
He questioned his guest, and asked to see the letter ³

Of which he was the bearer from Proetus ;
But no sooner had the king received the evil letter of his son-in-law,
Than he ordered Bellerophon. . . .

The only portion of the above passage on which it will be proper in this place to add a few words of commentary is the expression, "many things of pernicious import," ⁴ applied to the contents of the tablet. The term *θυμοφθόρα*, here rendered "pernicious," may signify, according to its strict etymology, either soul-corrupting or life-destroying. ⁵ By modern commenta-

¹ Il. vi. 168. sqq.

² *σήματα*; conf. Appendix L.

³ *σῆμα*; conf. Appendix L.

⁴ *θυμοφθόρα πολλὰ*.

⁵ The noun *θυμός*, denoting the human soul or spirit, admits a two-fold application, either to the animal life or to the intellectual faculties and feelings. The verb *φθείρω* similarly denotes either to kill in a physical, or to corrupt in a moral sense.

tors it has almost invariably been taken in the latter purely physical sense, apparently because Bellerophon's life was at stake in the transaction. The application however of such an epithet, to a mere epistle containing matter calculated to instigate one man to put another to death, would be in itself little in unison with the general simplicity and propriety of Homer's idiom. The poet accordingly, in every such case his own best interpreter, shows, by his use of the epithet in other parallel passages¹, that it was here also, in conformity with the general spirit of the narrative, employed in a moral sense, to indicate the pernicious effect which the "many things" written in the tablets were intended to produce on the mind of Jobates. Nor indeed, whatever construction be put on the epithet, could the comprehensive plural predicate, of which it forms part, reasonably be understood in any other sense than as denoting, either the number of reasons or instructions transmitted by Prætus in his letter, or the number of the characters by which those reasons were expressed. In either case the expression were equally incompatible with any species of barbaric symbol or picture-writing; and it has never been surmised, in any quarter, that the Greeks in Homer's time possessed a regular system of hieroglyphic literature. Nor is the generous conduct of the Lycian king in the sequel, consistent with the belief that he would destroy a noble youth at the mere dictation of a capricious son-in-law, without some specific accusation or reason assigned. The "many

¹ In *Od.* iv. 716., xix. 323., the moral application of the epithet is obvious. In *Od.* ii. 329. it seems to be used in a physical sense, although even here perhaps there may be room for the other interpretation.

things of soul-corrupting or calumnious import," can therefore only be intelligible, as containing such a recapitulation of the calumny of Antea as would readily instigate a father to vengeance against the insulter of his daughter ; and assuredly no such recapitulation was ever imagined by Homer as having been conveyed by means of a few rude pictorial characters, or by any other mode than that of alphabetic writing.

There is another passage of occasional occurrence in both poems, which can hardly be interpreted but as allusive to written documents. It is where the destinies of the heroes, or in other words the written decrees of Fate relative to those destinies, are said "to lie on the knees of the gods."¹ The Greeks, in every age, were in the habit of writing and reading with their books or papers resting on their knees. In various classical texts, comprising what is perhaps the earliest technical allusion to the habits of the literary profession², this custom is specified in terms almost identical with those employed by Homer. Still more immediately in point is a passage of the Republic of Plato³, where the philosopher, in alluding to the judgement of mortals after death, describes Lachesis

Other allusions to writing by Homer.

¹ θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. II. XVII. 514., XX. 435.; Od. I. 267. 400., XVI. 129.

² Batrachom. 2. sq.

εἶνεκ' αἰοδῆς

ἦν νέον ἐν δέλτοις ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκα.

Hippocrates (ad Demag. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1665, vol. I. p. 914.) says of Democritus : ὁ δ' εἶχεν ἐν εὐκοσμῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς γουνάτοις βιβλίον. . . (καὶ) ξυγρόνως ἔγραφεν ἐγκείμενος. This is also the attitude in which authors engaged in writing are represented in the decorative figures of ancient manuscripts. See a figure of Dionysius of Halicarnassus ap. Montfaucon. Palæogr. Gr. p. 23. sq.; and conf. Montf. ad loc.

³ p. 617 D. προφήτην. . . λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Λαχέσεως γονάτων κλήρους τε καὶ βίβιν παραδείγματα.

as holding "on her knees" the written reports of their past lives and future destinies. Add to this the ancient proverb already quoted, where Jupiter is described as consulting, literally, "looking down into," his parchment roll of Fate.¹ The evidence of such a series of parallel texts would be held incontrovertible regarding the sense of this primitive adage, in any case where no preconceived theories obstructed the free exercise of critical judgement. The other explanations of the passage proposed by the commentators are far-fetched or unmeaning.

Conclusion. In drawing this subject to a close, there still remain to be considered certain more general points of circumstantial evidence in favour of at least a limited use of letters in Homer's day. It may safely be asserted that, in every age and country, an advanced state of commerce and navigation requires a certain amount of literary culture. Alphabetic writing may not perhaps be indispensable. Its place might in some degree be supplied by less commodious methods; although no instance can be adduced of any nation dependant on those methods alone, having been distinguished for zeal or success in commercial pursuits. Most consistently then are the Phœnicians, the first people on record as really distinguished by a spirit of mercantile enterprise, reported to have been also the "inventors" of the alphabet.² Whatever deference

¹ p. 467. *supra*; conf. Diogen. Prov. III. 2. *ἡ διπλόρα· ἐν ᾗ δοκεῖ δὲ Ζεὺς ἀπογράφειν τὰ γινόμενα· παντάλως.* Conf. Bothe, *Fragm. Eurip. Melanip.* 16. p. 175.

² The authorities, sacred or profane, on this point are too numerous and familiar to require citation. Yet Wolf does not hesitate to deny, even to the Phœnicians, any other mechanism for recording facts in Homer's time than that of Memory and the Muses. The Tyrian and Sidonian merchant princes who corresponded with Solomon are sup-

may be due to the letter of the tradition, its spirit, as intimating the first complete adaptation of the art to practical purposes, is conclusive. The poet's own descriptions evince that, long before his time, Phœnician commerce had attained a high degree of that prosperity so much celebrated both in authentic history and in poetical fable. All the more refined articles of manufacture, not of native production, are described by him as imported from Phœnicia. The merchants of that country covered the Mediterranean with their ships, keeping up not only a direct intercourse with its coast and islands, especially those of Greece, but also a species of carrying trade between the less mercantile nations; performing, in fact, the same functions as the maritime states of Italy in our own middle ages. The universality of the practice of writing among the Phœnicians could not fail therefore, to involve a greater or less acquaintance with it among a people so much connected with them as the Greeks, a people so distinguished also for curiosity and zeal in the pursuit of new and curious science. It cannot be doubted that Homer in particular owed much of his knowledge of maritime geography, real or fabulous, to his intercourse with these enterprising navigators.¹ Apart therefore from his opportunities at home, it were scarcely credible that a man of his genius, asso-

posed by him to have employed in their voyages a poetical supercargo, or living log-book, on the tablets of whose memory were engraved invoice, bill of lading, freight, stowage, tonnage, custom-house and harbour dues, contracts, debts good and bad, and all the other transactions of a first-rate Sidonian house of business! His further illustration of the dealings of the Phœnician traders by those of the barrow-women in the Leipzig market-place, is in good keeping with his general argument. Prolegg. p. L.; conf. p. LXXXIX. note 33.

¹ See Appendix E. to Vol. I.

ciating with a people who habitually wrote, should have remained himself illiterate. As to writing-material, the art of manufacturing parchment, the acquirement of which art from the Phœnicians by the Greeks was matter of remote tradition in the time of Herodotus when Phœnician commerce was on the decline, must have been in its most flourishing state in Phœnicia itself in the days of Homer. The Greeks therefore, whatever their own domestic deficiencies, would be at no loss for a supply of writing-material from abroad. When, in the *Odyssey*, a Phœnician vessel, laden with "an infinity of curious merchandise," is described as lying during a whole year for the disposal of its cargo, as a sort of floating shop or bazaar, in the little port of Syros¹, opportunities could not be wanting to a poet of Smyrna or Chios for procuring the means of permanent preservation for his compositions. Nor, assuredly, would a poet such as Homer² have failed to turn those opportunities to their full account.

¹ *Od.* xv. 415. sqq. 455.: *μυρὶ ἄγοντες ἀθόρματα.*

² See Appendix M.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A. (p. 36.)

ON THE RELATIVE AGES OF OLYMPUS AND TERPANDER.

THE priority of age assigned by K. O. Müller¹ to Terpander over Olympus, is at variance with every fact or authority bearing on the subject. Müller's chief or only argument in favour of his own view is the invention by Olympus of the enharmonic scale, considered by the Greek musicians as the last and highest refinement of their purer system of music. This argument has been met by the observations in p. 40. sq. of the text, where it has been shown that not only the enharmonic scale, but all or most of the other fundamental elements of the antient art of music, existed previously to the age of Terpander in the schools of Asia; and that Terpander's science consisted, generally, much less in original discovery than in the adaptation of the technical practice of those schools to the more genial citharœdic taste and melody of the Greeks. The labours of Terpander himself, therefore, were no doubt founded in part on the enharmonic scale of Olympus. Had Olympus flourished after 644 B.C., the epoch assigned by Müller, though very erroneously², to the citharœdic improvements of Terpander; had he been consequently junior not only to Terpander himself but to Archilochus and Alcman, even possibly to Arion, it were difficult to see what room there could have been for those great inventive merits on which his fame rests, as the "originator (ἀρχηγός³) of the nobler style of Greek music."

Nothing can be more distinct or conclusive than the unanimity with which, throughout the compilation of Plutarch, both he and the numerous prior authorities whom he quotes, assign the precedence both of age and of inventive merit to Olympus over Terpander.⁴

¹ Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 155.

² See note 2. to p. 38. of the text.

³ Plut. de Mus. xi. in fine; conf. xxix. init.

⁴ Plut. locc. cit.; conf. iv. in fin. v. xviii.

APPENDIX B. (p. 43.)

ON THE EXPRESSIONS *πρώτη* AND *δευτέρα κατάστασις* IN PLUTARCH'S
TREATISE ON MUSIC.

MODERN authors on this period of the early history of Greek musical art, however differing on other points, are unanimous in understanding the terms *πρώτη* and *δευτέρα κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ*¹ as denoting, not, as assumed in the text above, the "establishment" of the two chief musical festivals of Sparta, the Carnea, and the Gymnopædia, but two successive "systems" or theories of Hellenic musical art: the first that originally framed by Terpander; the second that of Thaletas, founded on the basis of that of Terpander, but modelled on new and improved principles. That this view is erroneous, and that preferred in the text alone correct, results from the following considerations:

The notion of these two successive "systems" of music, is repugnant to the whole tenor both of Plutarch's treatise and of all other authorities on the subject, who are unanimous in representing the musical "system" of Terpander, *Τερπάνδρειον τρόπον*, as subsisting in its integrity during the whole flourishing age of Sparto-Dorian art, and the least innovation upon its fundamental principles as a corruption of the pure Greek music. Plutarch pointedly asserts² its having been maintained inviolable up to the time of Phrynis in the middle of the fifth century B.C., and specifies Polymnestus, one of the supposed coadjutors of Thaletas in supplanting it, as having himself conformed to it.³ The prevailing interpretation therefore of the phrases first and second musical "catastasis," in the sense of two successive Spartan musical systems, the latter of which, by Thaletas, was an innovation upon that of Terpander, is quite untenable.

That the signification of the term Catastasis adopted in the text is the true one, is further evinced by the connexion in the chapter (ix.) of Plutarch here under consideration, between the phrases *πρώτη κατάστασις* and *δευτέρα κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ*, and the immediately following definitions *τὰ περὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας, καταστῆναι τὰ περὶ τὰς Ἀποδείξεις τὰς ἐν Ἀρκαδίῳ*, and *τὰ ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἐνδυμᾶτια καλούμενα*. As the Gymnopædia, Apodexis, and Endymatia, with which the "Catastasis" of Terpander is compared, were all notoriously musical festivals, not

¹ Plut. de Mus. ix.² De Mus. vi. initio.³ Op. cit. xii.

theories or systems of music, it follows obviously that the Spartan Catastases were themselves nothing more than similar musical festivities; the Carnea namely, and the Gymnopædia, the first and second institutions of the kind in Sparta, and at all times the most celebrated of that state. To this may be added, that the proper technical noun with Plutarch¹ to denote Terpander's musical "system" is *καθαρωδία*; and that the technical verb used by him to denote the formation or establishment of such a system is *συστήσασθαι*, not *καθίστασθαι*.²

It may perhaps be urged that the Carnea are nowhere distinctly mentioned by name in connexion with the *πρώτη κατάστασις* of Terpander. But the inference that the two terms were synonymous is further borne out by Terpander's participation and triumph in the first celebration of the Carnea, and by the pointed manner in which the Lesbian school of citharædic art, inherited from him, is described as having been upheld in the same Carnea by Lesbian professors. Thaletas and his four coadjutors, on the other hand, were notoriously "flute-players,"³ and the less likely by consequence to have been authors of any material change in the purely citharædic system of Terpander. In the Gymnopædia accordingly, instituted by them, wind instruments were preferred. To the extension and improvement therefore of this martial and orchestric order of performance, not of the pure Terpendrian style, the new or second Catastasis of Thaletas must evidently be understood to refer.

Clinton (F. H. vol. i. p. 201.) seems to perceive the difficulty of the popular view which he follows, but makes no attempt to clear it up. To the prevailing misunderstanding of this single phrase Catastasis, may be mainly attributed the failure of all attempts of modern commentators to bring into any sort of order the dates of these various masters or schools of music.

APPENDIX C. (p. 51.)

ON THE TERMS DORIAN, PHRYGIAN, AND LYDIAN, AS APPLIED TO THE GREEK MUSICAL HARMONIES.

K. O. MÜLLER⁴, in his zeal for the honour of his Dorians, so apt at times to sway his better judgement, strenuously upholds their pretensions to priority of invention, as well as purity of taste, in

¹ See ch. vi. throughout.

² De Mus. v.

³ Op. cit. vi.

⁴ Dor. iv. 6., vol. ii. p. 316. sqq.

musical art. He argues that there must have been a primeval Dorian style, anterior to all others of Hellas, from the circumstance that of the three original harmonies, Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian, the former alone has a Hellenic name. Terpander therefore, according to him, merely improved, without fundamentally altering the primitive Dorian style. Names however are but slender proofs in such cases. That of Dorian cannot, by reference to either facts or traditions, be understood in any other sense than as indicating the style or school which sprang up in Sparta and the Dorian states of Peloponnesus under the auspices of the Æolian Terpander, and was maintained by the Ionian Tyrtæus, the Æolian Alcman, and the Cretan Thaletas. Terpander's influence on the Spartan music is invariably represented, not as the mere improvement of a previous Dorian system, but as the introduction of an entirely new one. Had there been already a matured national system of music among the Spartans, identified, like their other public institutions, with the sympathies of the Dorian race, so sudden a deference on their part to the novelties of an Æolian master were scarcely conceivable.

The preference of the phrases Phrygian and Lydian, to those of Æolian and Ionian, to designate the Æolian and Ionian styles of art, originated probably with the Sparto-Dorians themselves. On the more marked subdivision of tastes subsequent to the settlement of their own system by Terpander, it was quite natural that they, as patrons of the nobler orders of performance, should characterise the less dignified practice of their Asiatic fellow-countrymen by terms significant of semibarbarous effeminacy.

APPENDIX D. (p.191.)

ON THE AGE OF TYRTÆUS.

THE discrepancy in these accounts lies in the number of years assigned by each class of antient authorities¹ to the interval between the conclusion of the first and the commencement of the second Messenian war. This interval Pausanias makes about thirty-eight years; other data extend it to eighty or ninety. The latter view rests apparently on an exaggerated interpretation of a portion of a still extant address of Tyrtæus to his fellow-warriors

¹ See the passages collected and collated ap. Clint. *Fast. Hell.* vol. i. p. 250. sqq.

of the second war, in which he describes their grandfathers as having brought the first to a glorious termination. Reckoning the interval, in terms of this allusion, at three generations of the usual length of about thirty years each, the result would give the larger number of eighty or ninety years; and several modern chronologers have approved of this calculation. The utmost amount of interval however, which a more critical estimate of the poet's expression warrants our adopting is sixty years. Assuming the average age of the warriors addressed by him to have been, at the period of their being so addressed, thirty years, their fathers, on the same genealogical ratio, would then have been sixty years old; their grandfathers, if alive, ninety. The latter would thus, upon the more prolonged computation of the interval, have been infants, not grown warriors, at the epoch when they are said by Tyrtæus to have brought the first war to a close: but, adopting sixty years as the interval, they would at that epoch have been thirty, the same age at which their descendants were then fighting in the second war.

This address of Tyrtæus must however, under any circumstances, have been uttered at an advanced period of the second war, possibly towards its close, which consideration may go far towards making up the difference between the thirty-eight years of Pausanias and the genealogical sixty, which results from the foregoing computation. And if, as all authorities seem to agree, the king in whose reign the first war ended was grandfather of the one who conducted the second, Tyrtæus, however short the interval between the two might have been, could hardly, as the court poet, with any propriety have shaped a genealogical computation of that interval, especially in a public address to the troops, in any other form than that adopted by him in the extant passage above referred to.

APPENDIX E. (p. 295.)

ON THE PERSONAL CHARACTERS OF ANACREON, ARCHILOCHUS,
AND SAPPHO.

WELCKER¹ appears to go further in the case of Anacreon, and, if we have understood him aright, subscribes to the doctrine of several speculative Greek writers of a late period, who maintained

¹ Kleine Schr. vol. i. p. 255. sqq.

that the Teian poet not only possessed the good qualities which have in the text above willingly been conceded to him, but that even his defects existed only in his own pages. Although he spent a long life in celebrating and inculcating the broadest, and to modern taste most offensive forms of immorality, and in boasting of his own debaucheries, it has yet been maintained that he was himself a man of temperate habits, and, in as far as deeds not words are concerned, of unblemished respectability in social life. While unable ourselves to participate in this opinion, we are willing to leave those who, after a careful perusal of the remains of Anacreon, can adopt it, to enjoy it undisturbed by any attempts to show its inaccuracy. We must, however, consider it as further proof of the fallacy of the amiable modern theory relative to Sappho, that essentially the same doctrine has been extended not only to the case of Anacreon, but to that of Archilochus. Welcker¹, on the authority chiefly of a text of Lucian, where Archilochus is pronounced a man of a "bold and free spirit" (as he unquestionably was), has also done his best to prove him to have been exempt from those vices of which Archilochus himself so loudly and ostentatiously boasted.

This theory, for it may be considered as *one* both in its tendency and in its general results, however creditable to the heart of its principal advocate, can here be considered in no other light than as fatal not only to the truth, but to the spirit, originality, and interest of the biographical element of Greek literary history during this period; reducing, as it would, many of the most striking and brilliant eccentricities of Greek literary character to a single standard of insipid moral uniformity. It is with much regret that the author has found himself under the necessity of combating, in the leading advocate of this doctrine, the classical critic of his own day for whom he entertains the highest esteem, and to whose labours generally in the common field of research he feels himself under the deepest obligations.

APPENDIX F. (p. 318.)

ON THE LESBIAN VICE.

WELCKER², while admitting the Lesbian vice to form a subject of frequent allusion with satirical writers of every historical period of antiquity, denies any general prevalence of that vice in

¹ Kleine Schr. vol. i. p. 80. sqq.

² Kleine Schr. vol. ii. p. 84. sqq.

any part of Hellas at any period: he even appears to doubt its having existed, either in the circle of Sappho, or indeed in any other quarter but in the writings or the imaginations of those satirical authors. These doubts rest chiefly on the ground that, in the popular mythology or the popular poetry of Greece, it is nowhere celebrated or otherwise alluded to in the same familiar and indulgent manner as the parallel vice of the male sex. To this view we cannot subscribe: first because the practices in question appear to us to be very familiarly and indulgently alluded to in the works of Sappho herself; and secondly, because the brilliant and fantastic harangue on the subject, which Plato in his *Convivium* places in the mouth of Aristophanes, appears about as copious a poetical and mythological illustration, as can reasonably be required, to warrant a belief in a certain prevalence and popularity of the thing so illustrated in the community for whose benefit the harangue of Aristophanes was intended. It is incredible that Plato would have introduced, as the seasoning of one of his most spirited dialogues, an elaborate allegorical description of the origin and spread among his countrywomen of a vice in the existence of which among them he himself did not believe; of a vice too which Welcker, in spite of Plato's own authority, would persuade us every Greek author of refined taste looked on as so odiously unnatural, as to be only fit subject for allusion with the most licentious orders of satirists or sensualists.

That there occurs a far greater number of allusions in the Greek mythological and poetical literature to the male than to the female variety of Greek pæderastianism, is a fact which cannot indeed be disputed. It may, however, be explained in a more natural mode than that of assuming the latter variety to have had no real existence. In the first place there can be no doubt that, like all other grosser kinds of profligacy, this particular one was at least far less prevalent among the female than among the male sex; especially in a country where the life and conduct of the women were under such jealous restrictions as in Greece. Another obvious reason may be found in the circumstance, that the popular writers by whom such excesses were celebrated were all but exclusively men; who found sufficient occupation for their muse in their own amorous adventures and those of their boon companions, without being under any obligation, or experiencing any strong inducement, to look for similar subjects of erotic enlargement in the thalami or gynæcea of each other. It was also the less likely that they should be at pains to give poetical prominence to practices as little complimentary to their own masculine dignity as gratifying to their vanity. The existence, there-

fore, of even one Sappho is a fair proportion to that of fifty Anacreons or Theognides. But had the same freedom of female manners prevailed throughout Greece as in Mitylene during the flourishing ages of Greek lyric art, and had there been in every luxurious Greek city a female association of the same kind as that of which Sappho was the matron, and, like it, presided over by a brilliant poetess, the number of poetical allusions to the Lesbian vice would there can be little doubt have been greatly multiplied.

We shall dismiss this not very agreeable subject with one more remark, that, while entertaining all due abhorrence for both varieties of unnatural inclination, we are at a loss to see why that proper to the fair sex should be considered, as it has been by Welcker, an object of so much greater odium and reprobation than that which the lords of the creation, in the palmy days of classical antiquity, thought far from discreditable to themselves. Were it allowable in any such case to strike a balance of shades or degrees of vice, we should unhesitatingly pronounce that sanctioned by Sappho to be of the two by far the least offensive in idea, and under all the circumstances, considering the relative position of the sexes in Greece, by far the more venial of the two. We may add, what is probably known to most men who have lived much in the world during the last half century, that, at different epochs of that period, the "Lesbian vice" has not only prevailed to a greater or less extent in certain European capitals, but has, in almost every such instance, numbered among its votaries females distinguished for refinement of manners and elegant accomplishments.

APPENDIX G. (p. 400.)

ON CADMUS.

SEVERAL distinguished modern scholars¹, with a laudable anxiety to trace Greek mythical tradition to native Greek sources, would convert Cadmus into an indigenous god or hero, derive his name from κάζω *kéadmai*, and interpret it as denoting Improver, or Civiliser. In this case however, the ingenious critics appear to have somewhat overstrained their in itself judicious line of doctrine. The combined evidence of Oriental etymology, of primitive Greek

¹ Welcker, Ueb. eine Kretische Colonie in Theben; K. O. Müller, Prolegg. zu ein. Wissensch. Mythologie, p. 146. sqq.

legend, of the Greek alphabet, and of Greek national conviction, is far too strong on the opposite side. One might, we apprehend, with about as much plausibility set aside the reality of a settlement of "Northmen" in France in our own barbarous ages, assert the right of the modern Neustrians to rank as antient Gauls, and pronounce their name Norman a derivative from the Gallo-Roman term *Norma*, rule or dynasty. The historical evidence would be about as good in the one as in the other case; and the language of the Normans, when they first appear in authentic history, differs as little from the vulgar French, as that of the Cadmean Bœotians did from the Greek. The objection to the existence of a Cadmean colony, which has been grounded on the improbability of a purely agricultural settlement having been formed by so commercial a people as the Phœnicians, is partly met by the more liberal construction of the term *Cadmus*, or "Eastman," adopted in the text. The objection indeed would itself prove too much. It would equally set aside half the Dutch and English colonies of modern times. *Cadmus* and *Danaus* are never described in the tradition as mercantile adventurers, but as fugitive Syrian or Syro-Egyptian chiefs. Müller's derivation of the name of the Cadmean or Samothracian *Kabiri*, or "Great Gods," from *καλω*, to burn, rather than from the Phœnician *Kabir*, "Great," must also at once strike the Oriental scholar as an etymological fallacy.

APPENDIX H. (p. 424.)

ON THE TREASURY OF THE MEGARIANS AT OLYMPIA.

PHORBAS, fifth perpetual archon from *Medon*, flourished about 900 B.C. Boeckh¹ however denies the antiquity of this building: "Sero enim illum Megarensium thesaurum conditum fuisse et ratio operis docet, et Pausanias significat verbis lacunosis: τὸν δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θησαυρὸν ἔτεσιν. . . . ὕστερον τῆς μάχης ἐποίησαν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς." This notion of a date having fallen out after *ἔτεσιν* is groundless. The phrase *ἔτεσιν ὕστερον* is a common idiom with Pausanias² and other later Atticists, in the sense of *ἔτεσι τίσιν ὕστερον*, denoting "some years" or "a few years" afterwards. Boeckh further asserts that the "Dædalian" sculptor *Dontas*, mentioned by Pausanias as the author of the statues in the Treasury, and whom

¹ Corp. Inscr. Græc. vol. i. p. 47.

² Conf. Paus. x. vii. 1. xvii. 3.; Herodot. vii. 170. χρόνῳ ὕστερον.

that antiquary evidently considered as of remote antiquity, belongs to a comparatively recent epoch. This assertion he grounds on the counter-authority of Pliny, who mentions a sculptor of the same name as flourishing in the sixth century B. C. It is evident however, that Pausanias¹ assigned a remote antiquity to these statues, not so much on account of their imputed author as of their own style and material, which, from his mode of connecting them with the age of Dædalus, must obviously have borne a stamp of primeval art little consistent with the period to which Pliny assigns his Dantas. The statues were of cedar wood adorned with gold, the same material as that of the chest of Cypselus, and commonly used for the nobler works of glyptic art in primitive times. How either Treasury or spoils should have been dedicated in honour of any such victory some four or five centuries after its achievement, were in itself difficult to understand.

APPENDIX J. (p. 433. ; see further, Appendix N.)

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SPARTAN GENEALOGIES AND OTHER PELOPONNESIAN STATE ARCHIVES.

MORE weight is here due to the acute and cautious criticism of K. O. Müller than to the scepticism of Mr. Grote.² The latter author, while admitting the authenticity of the Olympian register in its full extent, denies all authority to the earlier Dorian archives on the ground, that as they are not mentioned or cited until a comparatively late period, there is no evidence that they were a genuine contemporary notation of events, and not rather, as he conjectures, a mere retrospective compilation of fabulous names and dates. This hypothesis, sufficiently arbitrary in itself in the case of documents the genuine character of which was recognised by Eratosthenes, proves too much for Mr. Grote's own argument ; for the same test of authenticity on which he insists in their case, fails to an equal or greater extent in that of the Olympic register itself. Neither Herodotus, Thucydides, nor any other historian prior to Timæus, as Mr. Grote himself has remarked³, knew or appreciated the latter. When, therefore, we find Herodotus quoting the Spartan genealogical records as valid data,

¹ II. xv. 1., III. xvii. 6.

² Hist. of Greece, vol. II. pp. 52. sqq. 452. sqq.

³ Ibid. vol. II. p. 52.

and overlooking the Olympic register altogether; when we find Thucydides (ii. 2.) also overlooking the Olympic records, while adopting those of the Argive priestesses, conjointly with those of the Spartan ephors and Athenian archons, as his chronological guides; when we find Charon of Lampsacus, a historian prior to Herodotus, making the Spartan series the basis of his commentaries on Greek national antiquity, we have at least, in so far as priority of citation is concerned, an argument of good two centuries in favour of the genuine character of the Spartan chronicles. Nor can it be denied, if any weight be given to the hypothesis of imposture in either case, that the temptation to pious fraud was quite as likely to operate on the Elean Hellenodikæ as on the magistrates or priesthood of Sparta or Argos.

Is it not further obvious, admitting the full authenticity of the Olympic parapegmata, that the very fact of the Hellenic confederacy combining for the adoption of a common national system of chronology in 776 B.C., implies that the value of such registers had already been partially experienced and appreciated in the separate communities, especially in the neighbouring states of Peloponnesus?

Mr. Grote's other argument that, because certain purely mythical notices are cited as forming the preamble to some of these genealogical registers, the remainder of their contents must be equally unauthentic, is also liable to the objection of overshooting its own mark. This argument would equally disprove the existence of an element of truth in the primitive chronicles on which all our knowledge of our own early history, as of that of the other countries of modern Europe, depends. Such documents, whether engraved or written, usually contain in every age a mythical preamble to their record of facts; and Eratosthenes, an author proverbial above all others of antiquity for critical scepticism in such matters, was, comparatively speaking, quite as well qualified to draw the distinction between historical truth and popular fiction in the Sicyonian or Spartan chronicles, as David Hume or Sismondi in those of Britain or of Tuscany. Beyond in fact the recorded belief of Eratosthenes and his contemporaries, backed by the acquiescence of the Greek public, we have, as already said, no evidence whatever of the genuine antiquity of the Olympic notation; and why should that acute critic not have been as competent to discriminate in the case of Argive and Spartan as of Elean dates?

It must indeed be apparent to every intelligent reader who peruses Mr. Grote's elaborate commentary on Fynes Clinton's views, that there is a fallacy running through his own argument; and

that, as tested by the ultra-sceptical law of critical demonstration which he lays down, the admission of the Olympic register as a genuine document is as complete a *petitio principii*, as what he calls Mr. Clinton's "unsupported conjecture" in favour of the other Peloponnesian archives. The case of the former record, when divested of the arbitrary title to exclusive infallibility set up for it by Mr. Grote, reduces itself simply to this: "that a certain chronicle of Elis, professing to embody the quadrennial notation of Olympic victors from the year 776 B.C. downwards, but unknown to, or not valued by, Herodotus, Thucydides, or any other earlier standard Greek historian, is first mentioned or cited as valid chronology by the Greeks about the year 260 B.C., or upwards of five hundred years after its own assumed era." It is certainly not easy to see how, according to Mr. Grote's rule of judgement in such cases, this document could be worth more than the Spartan royal genealogies which Charon and Herodotus knew and quoted as an authority, and which Eratosthenes so highly appreciated.

The object of these remarks is not to dispute the authenticity of the Olympic register, but merely to guard against the fallacy of making any assumption in its favour a handle for setting aside the claims of other records, the antiquity and credibility of which are at least as well or better attested. It is obvious that in every such case, where at the best no positive historical proof is attainable, the balance of historical probability must reduce itself very much to a reasonable indulgence to the weight of national conviction, and a deference to the testimony of the earliest and most critical native authorities: and we do not clearly understand the principle on which Mr. Grote would apply to the views of other modern inquirers a rigid test of critical demonstration, which, if similarly enforced in his own case, would be equally subversive of his own conclusions.

But the further question occurs: If the existence of all ante-Olympic written registers among the Greeks be discarded, where does Mr. Grote find his historical authorities for the series of real events, however meagre, which he admits during the several centuries between the Dorian conquest and the year 776 B.C.? Where or in what mode does he understand an *Æolian*, an *Ionian*, or a Dorian colonisation of Asia Minor or of Crete, a *Lycurgean* legislation, or even a Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, to have been recorded with sufficient historical accuracy to admit of his adopting those events as historical facts? What proof has he that the Greek tribes who possessed the western shore of Asia Minor, or the Dorians who possessed Peloponnesus from the year 776 B.C. downwards, were not the aboriginal races of those regions? It seems evident

that, if earlier written records be excluded, no authority on these points can be adduced by Mr. Grote, better than that same popular tradition which he summarily sets aside as valueless when appealed to by Mr. Clinton.¹

APPENDIX K. (pp. 457. 459.; conf. Append. N.)

ON THE LITERARY CULTURE OF THE SPARTANS.

THE misapprehension which prevails on this point, even among the more respectable modern scholars, renders it necessary here to enter upon it somewhat more in detail than were consistent with the continuity of the text.

Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, when at the court of the emperor Xerxes, writes a secret dispatch to his countrymen, apprising them of the imperial project of invading Greece, and adopts a novel, and somewhat puzzling expedient for concealing the contents of his letter, in case of treachery by the way. The Spartans, on receiving the epistle, are themselves at some loss for a solution of the enigma, which is effected by Gorgo the wife of Leonidas. On the letter being read, copies of it are circulated among the Greek states.²

Pausanias, the Spartan commander at Platæa, when in Thrace on service, opens up a traitorous correspondence with the same Persian sovereign, and the contents of one of his letters are given by Thucydides. The Spartan magistrates at home, suspecting what was going on, dispatch a "scytalê" to him, intimating his recall. He obeys, but on his return to Sparta continues the secret negotiation. The matter is discovered by means of one of his own confidential messengers, who, suspicious of treachery on the part of his employer towards himself as well as the state, from having observed that none of the couriers previously sent on similar errands had returned, determines, before starting, to open and read his master's letter. He adopts at the same time the precaution of taking an impression of the seal, in order that, should his suspicion not be verified, he might again close the dispatch and proceed to his destination. Finding however that the letter contained, among other matters, an injunction to destroy the messenger, he shows it to the ephori, and Pausanias is put to death.³

¹ See further, Appendix N.

² Herodot. vii. ccxxxix.

³ Thucyd. i. cxlviii. sqq.

Throughout the vicissitudes of the Peloponnesian and other subsequent wars, epistolary communication, open and secret, is habitually carried on between the Spartan commanders or civil agents, and the Persian or Athenian authorities, as also among the Spartan officers themselves, by scytalæ and otherwise.¹ One letter, from a Spartan sea officer to his admiral, is given by Xenophon² in the original Doric. Another, from a Persian satrap to the Spartan government, was in the Assyrian language, and hence, when intercepted by the Athenians, required the aid of an interpreter; thus showing that in Sparta, as well as in Athens, foreign as well as native scribes were familiar.³

Numerous long and complicated treaties of peace between the belligerent parties, given in full by Thucydides⁴, are also from time to time drawn up, examined, discussed, and finally ratified by Spartan commissioners, sometimes ten or twelve in number. One of these treaties, between the Spartans and a Dorian ally, is given in the original Sparto-Dorian dialect.⁵

After the unfortunate battle of Leuctra, an order is issued by the Lacedæmonian government, for receiving and entering in writing the names of such helots as were willing to serve in the army on condition of receiving their freedom; when about six thousand names were inscribed in a very short space of time.⁶

Throughout the history of these transactions, in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, there is not a hint of a single Spartan, of any rank or degree, being unable to read or write, wherever circumstances required it.

Equally or still more to the point is the indirect evidence of Plato's dialogues on the Republic and the Laws, especially that of the latter treatise. The basis or standard of the philosopher's whole political system, however modified to suit his own peculiar theories, is evidently the Sparto-Cretan constitution. The participators in the dialogue are an Athenian, a Spartan, and a Cretan. During the whole discussion, a knowledge of letters is expressly or tacitly assumed as an indispensable element of national and social economy, interwoven with every institution of the state, in terms which were altogether preposterous in a dialogue, one of the

¹ Thucyd. iv. l. viii. l.; Xen. Hell. iii. iii. 9. sqq.

² Xenoph. Hell. i. i. 23.

³ Thucyd. iv. l.

⁴ Thucyd. v. xviii. sq. xxiii. sqq. alibi; Xenoph. Hellen. vi. iii. in fine.

⁵ Thucyd. v. lxxvi. sqq.

⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. vi. v. 29. See also the account by Xenophon (iii. iii. 4. sqq.) of the conspiracy of Cinadon. Numerous other illustrations might be adduced from Plutarch and other later writers. The above have been selected from contemporaneous authorities alone.

parties to which belonged to a commonwealth where the citizens were not only illiterate, but illiterate under the sanction of the government itself. In the treatise *On laws*, the rule adopted in the chapter more immediately devoted to the question of education, is precisely that assumed in the text above to have actually existed in Sparta; "that a knowledge of letters for practical purposes should be common to all, but that no specific encouragement should be given to the cultivation of elegant or speculative literature,"¹ although neither are formally excluded. In the whole two and twenty books of the combined treatises, not a syllable transpires intimating either directly or by innuendo, that the Spartan was less competent to judge from personal experience in such matters than the Athenian, or that any remark made, or principle inculcated, was repugnant to his habits or feelings; while in various passages² specially allusive to Sparta, both writing habits and written laws are assumed to have existed in that state from the time of Lycurgus downwards.

It is to be regretted that, in the face of these facts, and others referred to in the text of the present and previous chapters of this work, a writer of such high credit as Mr. Grote should, in a critical history of the Greek nation, have formally pronounced the Spartan people, the type and representative of one of the two grand subdivisions of that nation, to have been, at the acme of their moral and political power and influence in Greece and in the civilised world, "destitute even of the elements of letters."³ This conclusion is grounded on the sole authority of a text of the *Panathenaica* of Isocrates, a most partial and prejudiced witness at the best, and more especially so in a treatise, the plain object of which is to exalt the glory of Athens at the expense of Sparta, by a tissue of unscrupulous exaggeration and misrepresentation. The passage of that treatise here more immediately in question, is but one among other gross falsehoods which could never have found favour with any but a bigoted Athenian public; and the only apology for which, on the part of the otherwise amiable author, is that suggested by himself, the advanced age of ninety-four at which his work was composed, and the consequent failure of his faculties, which he himself acknowledges and excuses on the same plea.⁴

¹ De Legg. p. 809. sq.

³ Hist. of Greece, vol. II. p. 517.

² p. 858 c. z.

⁴ See further, Appendix N.

APPENDIX L. (p. 484. sqq.)

ON THE LETTERS OF BELLEROPHON.

IL VI. 168. :

πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὄγε σήματα λυγρά,
 γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῶ θυμοφθόρα πολλά,
 δεῖξαι δ' ἠνώγει ᾧ πενθερῷ ὄφρ' ἀπόλοιτο.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ Λυκίηνδε θεῶν ὑπ' ἀμύμονι πομπῇ
 προφρονέως μιν τῖεν ἄναξ Λυκίης εὐρείης
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥώς,
 καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε, καὶ ἦτε σῆμα ιδέσθαι,
 ὅττι ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο πάρα Προίτιο φέροιτο.
 αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ σῆμα κακὸν παρεδέξατο γαμβροῦ
 πρῶτον μὲν ῥα Χίμαιραν

The properly technical terms defining the character of the epistle are, in this passage, *γράφειν*, *πίναξ* *πτυκτός*, *σῆμα*; the first signifying "to write;" the second, the form and material of the epistle; the third, the characters employed. Even those who reject the opinion that the characters were alphabetic, do not discover in these three terms any thing actually inconsistent with that opinion. A more serious objection has been founded on the poet's employment of the verb *δεῖξαι*. "That phrase," it is urged, "would, in its ordinary import of 'show,' or 'exhibit,' be inapplicable to the mere delivery of a letter, and must refer to some species of conventional cipher or hieroglyphic, intelligible only to those to and from whom it was transmitted." Upon this view however, it would also be necessary to assume that the contents of the tablet were open to the inspection of the bearer, since a man cannot be said to show to another what is concealed or shut up from himself. The same inference would result from the supposed symbolic nature of the writing. There could be little use in closing up or concealing what, even if seen, were incomprehensible to all but those who possessed the key to the cipher. Yet the epithet "folded" (*πτυκτός*), applied to the epistle, sufficiently proves, by reference to the whole train of Greek idiomatic usage in every age, that the tablet was so closed and concealed; that it was in fact a sealed letter. On this point indeed there is no difference¹

¹ Apollodorus (II. iii. 1.) and Plutarch call it *ἐπιστολή*; Cicero, *tabellas obsignatas*. Heyne: "Quæ tabulæ fuerint, ex ipsis Homeri verbis intelligas: fuere complicatæ; pertulit adeo eas Bellerophon obsignatas." With Herodotus, in like manner, VII. ccxxxix., a sealed letter is *δελτίον δίστυχον*. With Herodian, VII. vi. (xiv.), as with Homer, it is *πτυκτός πίναξ*. Conf. Heyn. Obs. ad II. vi. 168.

of opinion among critics either antient or modern. Any argument therefore, in favour of the symbolic import of the writing, derived from the use of *δειξαι*, must fall to the ground, that term being, in its literal sense of "show," equally inapplicable to a "sealed letter," whether its contents were couched in one species of writing or another.

In connexion with the above argument grounded on the use of *δειξαι*, another negative inference has been drawn from the non-occurrence of *αναγιγνώσκω*, or parallel phrases denoting "to read," in this passage or in the Homeric poems. It must here be observed that the term *αναγιγνώσκω*, like most others in the same category, bears in itself no essential relation to the alphabetic art, denoting simply to "recognise," or take up the sense of a thing; and is only transferred, in more technical use, to the "recognising" or taking up the sense of written characters. In the same way *γράφω* means simply to engrave or mark, and was afterwards transferred, by a similar process, to the engraving or marking of letters. *Γράμμα* is a thing engraved, afterwards an alphabetic element. How far therefore, in any case, these or other similar terms are to be taken in a primary or in a technical sense, must depend on the discretion of the interpreter; nor perhaps would it have been easy for the poet to introduce any one of them, in such a manner as to interfere with the views of one prepossessed in favour of their more elementary import. If *πίναξ πτυκτός*, instead of a sealed letter, be understood to denote a mere hieroglyphical tablet; if *γράψαι*, instead of to write in the familiar sense, be explained as the mere engraving of some enigmatical cipher on the surface of that tablet; if the *σήματα* are to be interpreted as figurative rather than alphabetic "signs,"—upon the same principle, had the term *ἀνέγνω* occurred in this very passage to signify the inspection of the tablet by Jobates, it might be interpreted merely of his "recognising" or comprehending the symbolic import of those signs.¹

But in reasoning separately on the powers of these two verbs, *δειξαι* and *ἀναγνῶναι*, we must not overlook an important connexion between them as affecting any such question. *Δείκνυμι* or *δείκω*, and *αναγιγνώσκω* are in their primary signification correlative terms, denoting, the one to "show," the other to "recognise or apprehend" the import of the thing shown. The latter, as we have seen, has in the abstract no more to do with the act of "reading" than the former with that of "presenting" a letter. The fact,

¹ Even *γράμματ' ἀνέγνω* might be explained of his having "recognised the import of the things engraved."

therefore, that the one came, in the progress of language, to be used in the more technical sense of "read," affords a fair ground of conjecture that the other may, in the course of the same vicissitudes of idiom, have been employed in that of "present." And this conjecture is raised to certainty by the analogy of the deponent *δέχομαι*, to "receive" or "accept from,"¹ and by that of the Homeric use of the middle *δέκνυμαι* in the same sense. An author is always his own best interpreter; and in the sequel of this very passage the poet himself supplies evidence that he meant the phrase to be so understood; for, a few verses lower, the term *παρεδέξατο*, applied to the "acceptance" by Jobates of the tablet, responds to *δείξαι*, as denoting its "delivery." Here again allowance must be made both for poetical and antiquated diction, and for the license claimed by and conceded to poets of all ages in the adaptation of subtle or unpoetical arts to their verse. If an example can be adduced of the familiar employment, by one of our own standard poets, of this same expression "show" for "deliver" in the case of a sealed letter, it were hard to deny Homer the same indulgence. The case in point is to be found in Pope's elegant version of this very passage, where few readers probably have ever been aware of any peculiarity; yet the anomaly, if such it be, is still more glaring than in Homer:

"To Lycia the devoted youth he sent,
With tablets sealed that told his dire intent;
But when the tenth bright morning orient glowed,
The faithful youth his monarch's mandate showed
The fatal tablets, till that instant sealed,
The deathful secret to the king revealed."

It is certain that, in the familiar sense, Bellerophon here as in the original showed no mandate, but presented his dispatch to the king, who opened and read for himself.

The third of the three properly technical terms above enumerated, *σῆμα*, has, like those already considered, no necessary connexion with writing of any kind.² It denotes in its origin, like *γράμμα*, a

¹ See Damm. *δέκω*, *δέλω*, do in manus; *δέκομαι*, capio manu.

² Another passage of the Iliad (vii. 175. sqq.), in which the term *σῆμα* occurs in a still more ambiguous sense, has been adduced as evidence, sometimes against a knowledge of writing sometimes in its favour. The seven heroes, when drawing lots for the honour of fighting Hector, make each his mark or cipher, *σῆμα*, on his own lot. The lots are then shaken together in a helmet. One is drawn and handed round till acknowledged by its owner. This mode of sortition is not perhaps the most effective or impartial that could be devised in an age either of

line or mark, in its familiar application a sign or token. It may here indicate therefore, a sign either of a sound, a word, or an idea, and may be rendered, according to the discretion or caprice of the interpreter, either letter, cipher, or symbol. Although the phrase is not used in the familiar language of later times in the sense of alphabetic letter, yet such, by reference to poetical or primitive usage, as has been admitted by the more candid opponents of Homer's alphabetic knowledge, would here be its natural signification.¹ An objection has however been discovered in the designation of the tablet by the singular *σήμα*, as implying a single sign or symbol, not groups of characters. But this obstacle is removed by the occurrence in the previous text of the plural *σήματα*, in identically the same sense as *σήμα*, and supplying further affirmative evidence of the connexion of both terms with the alphabetic art in the poet's usage, by the very curious parallel which results between their own power and that of their vernacular synonymes, *γράμμα* and *γράμματα*, in later times. *Γράμμα* in the singular denotes, first, engraved line or mark; secondly, alphabetic character (letter); thirdly, written document, letter, epistle. The plural, *γράμματα* signifies either the written substance of an epistle or the epistle itself (litteras, lettres). In like manner *σήμα*, signifying in its primary sense engraved line or mark, denotes in this passage, in the singular a letter or epistle simply; in the plural its substance or contents.² Adding these considerations to the argu-

letters or of barbarism. But whether the *σήμα* was an alphabetic letter or word, a cipher, a symbol, a number, or a mere mark or scratch, remains altogether doubtful.

¹ Eumelus (765 B. C.), in his Delian Prosodium (Paus. IV. xxxiii. 3.), has *Μοῖσα . . . ἐλεύθερα σάματ' ἔχουσα*. There seems here no ground whatever for rejecting the authorised reading, nor can it admit of any other plausible interpretation but as allusive to the written compositions of the Muse of Ithome. The attempts at emendation are as unsuccessful as superfluous.

² Etym. M. *γράμμα δὲ χαρακτήρ, γράμμα ἢ ἐπιστολή*. Conf. Thucyd. V. xxix. 1.; Theocrit. xxiii. 46.; Xenoph. Cyr. Inst. viii. vi. 17. Isæus uses the phrase *γράμματα σεμνά* to denote the moral import of a document, with a power consequently almost identical with that of the *σήματα λυγρὰ* of Homer. Reiske, p. 148. The parallel between the obsolete idiom of Homer and the vernacular of Thucydides, which extends also to the Latin, French, and English tongues, will more plainly appear from the following collation of examples. Homer: *πότεν δ' ὄψε σήματα*; litteras dedit; il lui donna des lettres; Thucydides: *ἐσπέμπευ γράμματα*. Homer: *ἦρε σήμα ἰδέσθαι* ὅτι ῥά οἱ Πρότοιο πάρα, . . . he asked to see the letter from Prætus; and: *ἐπειδὴ σήμα κακὸν παρεδέξατο*, on receiving the fatal

ment founded in the text above on the phrase *θυμοφθόρα πολλή*, there ought to remain no reasonable doubt on any unprejudiced mind that the characters of Bellerophon's epistle were alphabetic; and that any apparent ambiguity in the poet's expression is owing, partly to the primitive state of the practice of writing and its terminology at the period in which he flourished, partly to the difficulty, common to himself with other poets in more civilised times, of adapting the technical terms of subtle arts to the purposes of his muse.

With Glaucus's description of Bellerophon's letters may be compared the following address of Ovid to one of his own epistles: ¹

Ite hinc difficiles, funebria ligna, tabellæ,
Tuque negaturis cera referta notis.

If Ovid, in the age of Augustus, was at liberty to use the term "mark" for alphabetic character, and to call his letter a "mournful slab of wood," in order to give a poetical turn to his allusion to epistolary correspondence, surely a like indulgence may be extended to a poet of the ante-Olympic era.

APPENDIX M. (p. 490.)

ON THE OBJECTIONS TO A PRIMITIVE WRITTEN TEXT OF HOMER
FOUNDED ON THE PECULIARITIES OF HIS DIALECT.

THE arguments against a written Homer, grounded on certain peculiarities of idiom and orthography in the existing text of the poems, especially on the traces of a former use of the digamma in their dialect, have been upon the whole comparatively little countenanced either by Wolf or his more critical disciples. It was hoped therefore, that there might have been no call for here opening up a discussion which, beyond the few general remarks offered in a preliminary chapter, belongs rather to the department

letter. So Thucydides: *τοῦτο μὲν τὸ γράμμα μάλιστα τὴν Πελοπόννησον διέθορύβει*. We have only, in each passage of the Iliad, to substitute *γράμμα* in the same case and number as *σημα*, and the analogy is complete.

¹ Amor. i. xii. 7.; conf. Virgil. *Æn.* iii. 444. Add the verse of Timon, ap. Sext. Empir. adv. Mathem. i. ii. 53.:

ἀνδρὶ διδασκαμένῳ Φοινικικὰ σήματα Κόδμων.

of etymology or palæography than to that of literary history, and which besides has obtained, above all others perhaps within the range of classical criticism, a fatal celebrity for dry pedantic subtlety. The arguments in question have however lately been renewed in a more confident tone, and with an elaborate profuseness of learned detail, which, added to the otherwise practical value of the researches¹ with which they are combined, has not been without influence on the critical public. It becomes, therefore, necessary here to enter somewhat more at large on the general subject than might otherwise have been desirable.

The two more important of these objections may be stated as follows :

I. "The digamma was originally 'a pure consonant' in the Greek language, and possessed all the powers of that class of elements, in creating position, obviating elision, fixing metrical quantity, and the like. Its consonant power was, however, gradually modified in more refined usage, and finally among the Ionians became obsolete with the character itself. Hence the anomaly, that while in one text of Homer the digamma is found forming metrical position, as in *φαρμακα* *Feιδως*, *αρμα* *Favaktos*, in others it possesses no such influence, as in *αρμαθ'* *Favaktwn*, *αγασσομεθ'* *Feιδος* *Feιδovres*. But had Homer himself committed his poems to writing, or had they been written while the digamma power still existed in his dialect, the digamma character would have been employed at least in the former class of passages. That it was not so employed is proved by its acknowledged absence from the text of the poems at any epoch to which their written existence can be traced, and by an equal absence, on the part of the antient editors, of all knowledge of its former presence in the manuscripts. The poems therefore, it must be concluded, were neither committed to writing by their author, nor until after the final extinction of the digamma in the poetico-Ionian dialect."²

II. The second objection to a written Iliad is grounded on the uncertainties of grammatical form and flexion in the poet's idiom, especially on the numerous varieties or licenses of metrical usage in the same words, or in words subject to the same law of formation. "These anomalies," it is maintained, "indicate a language as yet dependant for its cultivation on the taste or caprice of the popular poets, to the exclusion of any such degree

¹ Giese de Dialect. Æol. p. 159. sqq. 169. sqq.

² Giese, op. cit. pp. 160. 171. sq. 177. 185.; conf. Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. II. p. 197.; Smith, Dict. of Ant. vol. II. p. 502.; Bernhardt, Grundriss der Griech. Liter. pt. I. pp. 219. 223.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. I. p. 38.

of literary culture as would admit of two such voluminous poems being embodied in writing."¹

First then with respect to the digamma. The primary assumption that this element originally possessed the full power of a pure consonant, the assumption on which this whole theory is essentially based, is here met at the outset by a simple denial. No such power, it is contended, ever belonged to the digamma, or Greek Vau. It was never, in any state of the language, more than what it has been described in a previous chapter of this work², "a liquid guttural or aspirate, like the Semitic element the form and name of which it inherited, imparting emphasis to the initial vowels of words or syllables, and possessing with certain limitations the power of creating metrical position." But these vague and indefinite properties, as will be shown in the course of the following remarks, were not such as to entitle it at any period, or in any variety of Hellenic orthography, to a regular or habitual place in the written texts of the popular epic poems.

In order to a right estimate of the whole bearings of the question here involved, it will be proper in the first place, to consider wherein consists the essential character of that class of elements called consonants, as distinguished, on the one hand from the vowels, on the other from that intermediate class of elements usually comprised under the head of aspirates, the functions of which are to modify, without essentially altering, the character of words or syllables. In the first place then a pure consonant, in the Greek as in most other languages, may as a general rule be described as the essentially radical element of words, a vowel as the secondary or auxiliary element. It is true that, while there are in the Greek vocabulary radical terms consisting of vowels alone, there are others containing consonants which are merely auxiliary, and without claims to primary radical power. But this in each case is the exception to the rule, and in the latter case a rare exception. The rule itself will be best illustrated by examples of roots in which both elements are combined. Take for instance the primary Greek root βαλ, to strike. The vowel here may be extensively varied, or even altogether omitted, without any detriment to the radical value of the word; as in βελ (βελος), βολ (βολη), βλ (βλητο). But the moment either of the consonants is subtracted or another substituted in its place, αλ, ελ, ολ; μαλ, μελ, μολ, both sound and signification are

¹ Giese, op. cit. p. 157.; Bernhardt, op. cit. p. 226.; Müll. op. cit. loc. cit.

² Vol. I. p. 85.

completely changed. Any such subtraction or substitution of pure consonants, is certainly an anomaly unexemplified and inconceivable in the actual formation or flexion of the Greek tongue. This strange anomaly however is what is assumed by the theory here in question, as to every word of which the digamma, in the primitive Greek dialect, formed an element.

It is indeed true, as already stated, that in certain cases consonants may, even in primitive Greek roots, be omitted or varied without affecting the sense of those roots. Such licenses take place in all languages; but there is no analogy between these incidental anomalies and the arbitrary suppression at pleasure, or the entire dismissal, as here supposed, of a particular consonant from the vocabulary. For example, that in rare or partial instances words commencing with a λ, or some such liquid letter, may also be pronounced without it, as in λειβω, ειβω, can be quoted but as a natural and elegant variety of etymological formation. These are in fact different words expressing the same idea. But that in *all* words beginning with λ, such as λεγω, λειπω, λυω, the λ should either be completely dropped, or what is worse, omitted or added at pleasure, so that they might also be pronounced at discretion εγω, ειπω, υω, were something unheard of. This however is what is assumed in the theory of the consonant-digamma, according to which such words as *φεω*, *φελω*, *φαναξ* might also be pronounced and written *επω*, *ελω*, *αναξ*.

Next to its radicality the most essential property of a Greek consonant is its density or solidity, as contrasted with the tenuity or liquidity of the vowels and of other weaker elements. This property is chiefly exhibited in the power of creating metrical position; a power possessed by consonants not as a mere accidental or occasional privilege, but as a fundamental and inalienable right. But this right is completely violated, or rather set aside, in the digamma theory, where such phrases as *επι φιδων* are contracted into *επιδων*, *απεφοικισε* becomes *απφικισε*, *φιμαι* admits such constructions as *αμφω δ' ιεσθην*, and so forth. It certainly seems surprising how any competent Greek scholar should ever have been led to class an element subject to such accidents under the head of pure consonant.

Attempts have however been made, by the more ingenious advocates of the consonant-digamma theory, to evade some of these difficulties, on the plea that Homer's dialect can, after all, as modified by Ionian influences, supply no genuine criterion of the primitive powers of the element; and that appeal must be made preferably, as authorities on its earlier history, to other purer dialectical standards, to those more especially of the Æolian family, in which

the digamma sound was more thoroughly indigenous and longer preserved. It seems, at the best, very doubtful how far in this or in any similar question it may be allowable to set aside the authority of Homer, the fountain head of all practical knowledge of the epic dialect, in favour of any other later standard of idiom, merely from that idiom happening to have longer retained a particular element in vernacular usage. But be this as it may, the appeal to the other supposed higher authority is not fortunate. The evidence both of the Æolian lyric poets, among whom alone traces of a digamma remained in the later poetical style, and of the Æolian monumental inscriptions, is perhaps still less favourable than the usage of Homer to the consonant power of the digamma. The grammarians who allude to the use of the element in the text of the Æolian poets describe it as there also of the same inconstant and fluctuating nature as in the old epic dialect¹; and this view is amply borne out by the remaining compositions of those poets. In their text, as in that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, sometimes the digamma appears to possess the full power of a consonant, sometimes it forfeits that power altogether. Its influence also varied in the works of different authors, the same word "digammatised" by one remaining unaffected in the text of another. The extant monumental inscriptions where the digamma occurs as a written element tell the same story. The following illustrations, derived from both these sources, have been restricted chiefly to words in which the influence of the initial digamma, whether as illustrated by the text of Homer, by the authority of the grammarians, or by the analogy of the kindred dialects, is best ascertained, and most familiar to scholars:

οικος. This word, habitually affected by the digamma in Homer, is quoted accordingly by Dionysius Hal., among his standard examples derived from the primitive dialects. Yet in Sappho the element is powerless; *ουκ ασινης παρφοικεις*; *ου γαρ τλασομ' εγω σὺνφοικειν*; and Alcman has *αγρφοικος*.

ειπειν. Among the passages of the Æolian lyric poets commonly cited by modern critics, as illustrating the use of the digamma in the text of those authors, are two lines of the celebrated dialogue between Alcæus and Sappho:

θελω τι Φειπην, αλλα με κωλυει
και μη τι Φειπην γλωσσ' εκυκα κακον.

Yet elsewhere we have in the same poets: *εν Σπαρτα λογον ουκ απαλαμνὸν Φειπην* and *αικ' Φειπης τα θελεις*.

¹ Priscian, i. p. 546. ed. Putsch.

ειδον. In this word, so extensively digammatized by Homer, and Latinised as video, the element seems to assert its consonant power but in a single passage of the Æolian poets, *ως σε γάρ Φιδω*. In numerous instances, on the other hand, the term is used in such a manner as to exclude that power: *ὄσσον Φιδειν, τοῦτ' ὅ σὺν Φοῖδα, φαῖνν' ὃν Φειδος, πρὸς Φιδοισαν*.

εργον, αναξ. In these terms the consonant power is promiscuously enforced or discarded in Æolic usage, precisely as in Homer, at the discretion of the individual poets. Alcæus: *πρωτιστ' υπο Φεργον εσταμεν τοδε*. But Sappho: *Λυδιὸν κἀλδὺν Φεργον*. Alcman has: *οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ Φάνασσα*, and *καὶ τοῖ Φαναξ*, but also *Εὐτειχη τ' Φανακτα*.

ου εο. Even here, where the consonant power of the digamma is held throughout the Hellenic dialects to have been most universally and permanently enforced, Alcæus seems to discard it: *νοῶ δ' Φεαντω παμπαν αερρεται*.¹

The same or even greater lubricity is observable in the orthography of the Æolian monumental inscriptions.² In the Elean tablet the digamma is appended to several of the words known to have been susceptible of digammatic influence: *Φαργον* (= *Φεργον*), *Φετος*, *Φεπος*, and others. In the Petilian inscription on the other hand, and in one Bœotian monument, we find *δημωργος*, and in several Bœotian inscriptions *ενεργεταν*. *Φοικια* appears in the Petilian and in an antient Argive inscription, and in the Bœotian monuments is the customary orthography. Yet in the latter the digamma also occasionally disappears, as in *αγρυκχος*. On the same monuments we find, side by side, *Φαναξιων* and *κλιωναξ*. An Olympic helmet has *ΔιΦι*; but the Elean inscription, though of more antient date than that helmet, prefers the contracted form *Δι*. The Melian inscription has *αΦυρο*: but in all other Æolian monuments the word is written in the usual manner.

It appears therefore that every authority or example, of every age, poetry or prose, literary texts or inscribed monuments, hitherto quoted in illustration of the nature of this element, proves it to have been throughout of the same fluctuating unsteady nature as in the text of Homer. There is one authority however, hitherto overlooked, which might and ought to have been appealed to, even preferably to Homer, for light on the primitive powers of the

¹ See the remains of Alcman, Alcæus, and Sappho in the collections quoted in Chapters iv. and v. of Book III. in this volume.

² See Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. Gr. vol. i. p. 9. sqq. 735. sqq.; Franz, Elem. Epigraph. Gr. p. 62. sqq.

digamma, and which furnishes perhaps the most conclusive argument yet adduced against the modern theory; we allude to the text of the Æolian Hesiod. A few previous remarks will be necessary on the local history of the digamma in the native district of that author.

The use of this element appears to have been longest retained in monumental usage by the Bœotian states. Down to Olymp. cXLV. it occurs in the Bœotian inscriptions (in the irregular mode above noticed) in most of the words where traces of it are perceptible in Homer; as in *Φοῖκος*, *Φερος*, *Φίτος*, *Φαναξ*, and others. At the above epoch however, the Attic, or rather the modern Hellenic dialect and orthography superseded, at least in the public documents, and apparently in a very rapid manner, the old provincial practice, and the digamma henceforward disappears entirely from those monuments. Now any such summary banishment on the part of any people, whether by tacit consent or by imperial decree, of a "pure consonant" from their vocabulary, without the substitution of some cognate equivalent, to maintain the radical sense of the words in which the consonant so banished had previously existed, were, it may be broadly asserted, a thing unheard of and inconceivable. The notion of a gradual discontinuance of such an element is sufficiently improbable, but its sudden dismissal is incredible. The mere substitution, by the Bœotian authorities, of certain more polished for other ruder dialectical forms of the common language, were nothing remarkable, and has frequently happened in similar cases. But the alteration which it would here, in terms of the consonant-digamma theory, be necessary to assume, would have involved such a revolution in the nomenclature of the country as would have deranged or confounded all the relations of society. Men might have agreed to substitute the more elegant form *μετα* for *πεδα*, *ξυν* for *συν*, or to omit or add a *τ* in *πολεμος*; but the notion of their having consented to the sudden banishment of a pure consonant, of a *π* or a *δ*, for example, from their entire vocabulary, so that the name of a man formerly *Προξενος* was to become *Ροξενος*, and such words as *πυλη*, *παλλω*, *ποσος* were to be transformed into *υλη*, *αλλω*, *οσος*, is obviously absurd. Such a change were only conceivable in the case of some subsidiary sound not radically essential to words, but merely endowed with a power of modifying and sustaining other letters and syllables. Such a sound the digamma evidently was among the Bœotians at this period, and such it was also beyond a doubt at every period of its existence in the Greek alphabet.

This ascertained inveteracy of the element in Bœotian usage down to so late an epoch, naturally points out the primitive poetical

literature of Bœotia, and by consequence the Works and Days of Hesiod, the oldest and most genuine representative of that literature, as the proper source in which to seek illustrations of the primitive power of the element in literary practice. Hesiod in fact, combines in his person all the requisites for constituting his text the best and truest type of the influence and use of the Æolian digamma. A poet of purest Æolian descent, himself a native of the region of Europe, his parents of that of Asia, in each of which regions the element continued to retain its powers most inveterate to the latest period, he boasts also an antiquity equal or little inferior to that of Homer himself. Every suspicion too, in his case, of exposure to Ionian "undigammatical" influences is excluded by his own express statement, that he had never crossed the sea in his life but from the Æolian Bœotia to the equally Æolian Eubœa. But Hesiod's use of the digamma, both in its strength and in its weakness, in its constancy and its lubricity, is identical with that of Homer, as well as with that of his own Æolian kinsmen in Lesbos, Elis, Orchomenus, and Magna Græcia, from the seventh down to the second century B. C. The element possessed therefore, as little the power of a "pure consonant" in the most primitive Æolo-Bœotian epic dialect, as in the supposed degenerate usage of the Iliad and Odyssey.

If there be any weight in the modern theory, that in whatever period or country the digamma happened to be still prevalent in vernacular or monumental usage, it must necessarily have been employed in the manuscript or purely literary orthography of that period or country, such employment would infallibly, and *à fortiori* have found place, in the earliest copies of the standard national poem of a region distinguished, above all others in Greece, for its inveterate attachment to the element. Yet there occurs among the antient critics as little allusion to a written digamma in the older editions of Hesiod as in those of Homer. The fallacy, therefore, of any palæographical argument or inference founded on the history of either text is equally obvious. It might perhaps be urged, by those who deny all spread or influence of practical literature beyond the limits of Ionia prior to the time of Pisistratus, that wherever composed, the poems of Hesiod would be first committed to writing in that country, and would hence be subjected to the same orthographic law as the poems of Homer. Admitting however the Ionian scribes to have sent over to the Bœotians an editio princeps of their national poet, where one of their own "pure consonants" was omitted, and where consequently not only the hiatus and other anomalies involved by that omission abounded, but the radical sense of many words was cor-

rupted or extinguished; what would have been the course of the Bœotians themselves in so strange a predicament? Assuredly, if the employment of the digamma in poetical orthography by all poets or editors themselves habituated to the vernacular use of that element, were as indispensable as is assumed in the popular digamma theory, the first care of the Bœotian readers of the Bœotian poet would have been, in their transcripts of the poem, to remedy so offensive an omission. Would the curators, for example, of the Heliconian shrine, in that boasted antient copy of the national bard suspended in metal plates over the sacred fountain of the Muses, have been willing to dispense with an essential element of its text, merely because the same element had been denied a place in the versions of a school of Ionian scribes altogether ignorant of the digamma power, or of the genius and spirit of the dialect in which the work itself was composed?

It seems difficult to escape the inference from the above series of illustrations, that whatever may have been the case with monumental inscriptions, the digamma never at any period, either in Ionia, Bœotia, or Æolia, in the epic poetry of Homer or Hesiod, or in the lyric odes of Alcæus or Sappho, formed a necessary ingredient of manuscript orthography. The reason seems also apparent. Being a mere liquid element, the powers of which could be sustained or dispensed with at the discretion of the poet, it seemed more elegant as well as convenient to omit it constantly, than to insert it constantly, where its effects were so inconstant. The remaining alternative, to omit it or insert it by turns in the same word from metrical considerations, as its powers were alternately to be exercised or suspended, would have had a singularly incongruous effect, and would have been an anomaly which, as repugnant to the general law and usage of polite orthography in every age in similar cases, we are not entitled, on mere speculative grounds, to assume could ever have been sanctioned either by Homer himself or by the primitive literature of his country and race.¹

¹ The author is not aware that there exists any authority for the assumption of Giese (op. cit. pp. 170. 176.), that the digamma was ever actually employed in this strangely anomalous manner in the written text of the Æolian poets any more than in that of Homer. The notices of the grammarians on which Giese seems to ground this opinion apply, in so far as deserving of critical attention, not to a written digamma, but merely to the metrical influence of the element in the dialect of those poets; to its power of creating position, obviating hiatus, and the like. This power is naturally recognised by those grammarians in the works of Æolian authors composing in the Æolian dialect, a dialect in which the influence of the element was in every age admitted and understood;

Attention will now be briefly directed to the other argument against a written Homer, founded on the uncertainties of verbal forms and flexions in the poems, especially on the numerous varieties and licenses of metrical usage in the same words, or in words subject to the same general law of metrical analogy "These anomalies," it is urged¹, "exhibit an idiom as yet in that unsettled state, which shows it to have been still dependant for its development or cultivation on the taste and caprice of the popular rehearsals; and preclude consequently the existence of such a state of literary culture in the poet's time, as could admit of two such voluminous compositions having been committed to writing." Here we have another signal example of the fallacy already repeatedly noticed, of judging the literature of the dark ages of Greece by laws which would be absurd in their application to the parallel stage of letters in any historical period.

It will not surely be denied that the ballad poetry of Germany was preserved in writing, during many centuries of a poetical and grammatical fluctuation in the dialects in which it was composed, equalling, or greatly surpassing, any similar fluctuation that can be found in the idiom of Homer. If therefore the argument regarding the Greek poems be worth any thing, it would equally prove that the German language could not have been a written tongue at the period when the existing Nibelungen Lied was composed, or indeed prior to the days of Luther. A still more pointed illustration may be derived from the early English poets. The text of Chaucer, between whom and Homer there are various other features of analogy, presents a mass of poetical and grammatical licenses rivalling, or even surpassing, those of the Iliad and Odyssey. Although the English, as a comparatively unpoetical tongue, lent itself less freely to poetical modifications, yet all or most of the dialectical phenomena recapitulated by the opponents (Giese, p. 158.) of a written Iliad, find their parallel in Chaucer, and would by consequence equally prove an unwritten Pilgrimage to Canterbury. Many of these anomalies are inherited by the English poet from his predecessors; many, perhaps more, originate with himself.

The following illustrations have been selected out of others innumerable, pervading every page, almost every stanza, of the Canterbury Tales.

Subjoined are examples of parts of speech which occur under while they overlooked or denied the same power in similar texts of Homer, he being considered as an Ionian, not as an Æolian poet.

¹ Giese, op. cit. p. 157. sqq.; Bernhardt, Grundr. der Griech. Literat. pt. i. pp. 222. 225.; Müller, Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 38.

varieties of form adapted at discretion by the poet to his metre or his rhyme.

Himself and himselven; hir, hirë, her, herë (their), pronounced as a monosyllable or as bisyllabic, according as may be required; ours and ourn; arn and ben (are); con and can; mighte and moghte; willen and wollen; haven and have (3d p. plur.); whan and whannë (when); aboute and abouten; sote, swote, swete (sweet); die and dey; had and yhadde; slain and yslawe; funden and yfonde (found); comen and come; and so throughout the participles.

A few more specific illustrations are added:

Wedding, coming, are sometimes iambic feet, as above written; sometimes trochees, wëdding, cõming, as now.

Many of our now familiar idioms were in Chaucer's usage poetical licenses. Cróppës, lórdës, the regular forms in his day, are also employed by him *ad libitum*, monosyllabically, as now (crops, lords).

The varieties frequently occur in contiguous verses:

The day is cõmen of hirë departing,
I say the woeful day fatál is come.

In the Prologue, v. 13., the regular infinitive to seken becomes in v. 18., for the sake of the rhyme, to seke; and in the next verse (19.) the latter word seke is repeated, also for the sake of the rhyme, in the sense of sick, usually written sike by Chaucer.

In v. 6133, 6134., to be seie (seen) rhymes to pleie (play). The more regular form of the first term was then, as now, seen.

In v. 6011, 6012. a wood león rhymes to conclusiõn.

In v. 6375, 6376. a wood leown rhymes to adown.

To exhaust this subject would be to transcribe half the text of the *Canterbury Tales*.¹ Dante in like manner uses *nui* and *noi*, *lume* and *lome*, *tui* and *tuoi*, *fa* and *face*, and other duplicate forms, to suit the convenience of his rhyme.

So little does the familiar practice of writing interpose obstacles to the licentious fluctuation of forms in a naturally unsettled and semibarbarous tongue, that it may in many cases, as in that here in question, rather tend to promote those irregularities. As the learned Chaucer, on the strength of his high poetical and literary authority, interlards his text and corrupts his native language, with novelties of his own invention or of foreign importation, so Homer, a poet of extensive travel, and of equally high authority in his day, may have exercised and doubtless did exercise, a similar privilege of seasoning the transmitted poetical dialect with the spirited varieties of idiom prevalent in different parts of Greece.

¹ See the *Oxf.* 4to edit. and Tyrrwhit's Prelim. Dissert.

APPENDIX N.

[Supplement to Appendd. J. and K.]

REPLY TO MR. GROTE.

IN Nos. J. and K. of the Appendix to this volume, I have pointed out what appear to me certain erroneous views, promulgated by Mr. Grote in the first two volumes of his History of Greece, relative to the early practice of writing in that country : first, relative to the antiquity and genuine character of the written records of the Peloponnesian states ; secondly, relative to the knowledge possessed by the Spartans of the art of writing. Mr. Grote did me the honour to answer these criticisms at very great length, shortly after the first publication of this work, in two Appendices to a new edition of the second volume of his History. Had his vindication been limited to the simple form of an Appendix, I should probably have been contented to await some similar opportunity of stating what occurred to me in reply. But as his answer not only assumed the bulk, but was circulated in the form of a pamphlet, I considered it due to my own credit, as well as the importance of the subject, that my reply should also be distributed at once in a separate form. It was so accordingly in April 1851. I have now thought it right, in further imitation of Mr. Grote's example, to bring my additional remarks, as a supplement to this edition, into more immediate connexion with the line of historical argument to which they belong.

PART FIRST. SUPPLEMENT TO APPENDIX J.

MR. GROTE, in numerous passages of his History of Greece, has laid it down as a fundamental law or canon, to be observed in all researches into the remoter more obscure periods of antiquity, that no fact or event is to be admitted as real or historical on the authority of popular tradition alone, or without some subsidiary proof or evidence from authentic historical testimony. Where such subsidiary proof is wanting in the national tradition of any people, that tradition, he argues, is to be dismissed by the critical historian as no better than fiction or fairy tale. Not but that it may, possibly, contain a basis of fact ; but in the absence of authentic historical testimony, we are not justified in assuming that any such basis exists.

Mr. Grote, in following out this principle, pronounces the po-

pular tradition of Greece, during the period defined by that tradition as prior to the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, to be altogether unsupported by any such subsidiary evidence from authentic sources. He sets aside accordingly, all claim to a historical character advanced for it by previous inquirers; treats it in a separate form under the head of mythology; and is very severe on Mr. Fynes Clinton for having attempted, by the appliances usually resorted to in such cases, to elicit the element of truth which that meritorious scholar thinks he can discover in the Trojan and Theban wars, or in other prominent chapters of ante-Dorian legend.

Mr. Grote nowhere very specifically defines what he understands by authentic historical testimony. I presume that he has thought it unnecessary to do so, as acquiescing in the common doctrine which restricts historical narrative, as distinct from popular legend, to what is attested to a greater or less extent by the evidence of written transmission. Such evidence admits, I apprehend, of being classed under the three following heads, or degrees of authenticity. First, the evidence of contemporaneous written records; secondly, written records so nearly contemporaneous as to afford a reasonable presumption that the persons by whom they were prepared or transmitted possessed a more or less accurate knowledge of the events recorded; thirdly, in default of either of these more tangible kinds of proof, a presumption at least that the practice of writing prevailed, at the period when the events took place, in a degree sufficient to interpose, in regard to the more important facts of national history, a certain restraint on that license in which the popular organs of tradition in a totally illiterate age are apt to indulge.

When therefore we find that Mr. Grote, after having discarded the legends of Thebes and Troy as no better than fiction, owing to the absence of any such historical testimony in their support, adopts the substance of the immediately ensuing legends, such as the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians, and the migration of the Æolian and Ionian colonies, &c., as historical facts, we are naturally led to infer that he accords them this privilege, in consequence of their being attested by some of those same historical proofs, the want of which led him to reject so many other equally inveterate national traditions. We are therefore entitled to feel some surprise, when we find him, in the course of the same line of argument, pointedly denying the existence of any written historical record prior to 776 B. C., a date several centuries posterior to the conquest and migrations above mentioned. It was here therefore that the question naturally occurred to me: How does Mr. Grote reconcile his belief in the historical substance of these legends with the canon laid down by himself, and so rigidly enforced in

regard to the speculations of other writers? If the existence of all ante-Olympic records be discarded, and the testimony of popular or poetical tradition, without such subsidiary evidence, be worthless, in what mode does he understand the events in question to have been commemorated with such fidelity as to admit of his conceding their claim to historical truth? "What proof has he that the Greek tribes who possessed the western shores of Asia Minor, or the Dorians who dwelt in Peloponnesus at the earliest dawn of authentic history, were not, like the races of Attica or Arcadia, the aboriginal inhabitants of the countries in which alone we have historical proof that they ever existed?"

To this question Mr. Grote has given no categorical answer in his just published tract; nor do I see that it admits of any answer which could reconcile the apparent discrepancy between his theory and his practice. He does not, it will be remembered, find fault with Mr. Clinton, and other scholars who assume a basis of fact in the Trojan war, because their speculations on the nature and amount of that fact are less ingenious than his own speculations on the nature and amount of the fact which he also recognises in other quite as mythically recorded traditions; but he finds fault with them for assuming that such mythical traditions contain any fact whatever, in the absence of that historical proof or evidence, which he yet asserts to be equally wanting in the case of the traditions which he himself accepts as true.

But although Mr. Grote has not, in his reply to my original remarks, explained the grounds on which he claims *to himself* the privilege of violating the law which he enforces *against others*, he has explained the mode which he pursues when acting upon that privilege. The following extract comprises, I think, the substance of the elaborate details into which he enters upon this point. He says (Append. p. 638.) that he has "not admitted such matters as a "Dorian conquest of portions of Peloponnesus, an Æolic or Ionic "migration to Asia, &c., as historically true, simply on the authority "of tradition; but only where the certified course of events, and the "position of the people afterwards, point to them as the natural "and probable antecedents." This is what Mr. Grote now says. But what does he say, in the first volume of his History (p. 572. 1st ed.), of this very test of antecedent probability, as applied by others to the legend of the Trojan war? "A certain strength of testimony, "or positive ground of belief, must first be tendered, before we "can be called on to discuss the antecedent probability or improbability of the incidents alleged." In the context from which this passage is extracted, the required amount of testimony is further defined as "adequate contemporary testimony." Unless,

therefore, Mr. Grote can produce "adequate contemporary testimony amounting to a positive ground of belief," that the Dorians were a foreign rather than an indigenous race in Peloponnesus, the existence of which testimony he himself altogether denies, he is not, according to his own canon, entitled so much as to discuss the probability, still less to assume the fact, that such was the case.

I desire no better corroboration than Mr. Grote himself in these two self-contradictory passages supplies, of my assertion, that the rules by which his own researches are guided differ widely from those by which he judges the researches of others.

Setting this aside however, the explanation given by Mr. Grote, of his present method of dealing with legendary tradition, amounts substantially to this: that, where historical testimony fails, he considers himself at liberty to resort, in support of his views, to arguments or illustrations derived from Speculative historical probability. I agree with him that such arguments, when judiciously and impartially applied, are in themselves sound and legitimate. That is precisely what I contend for. What I have objected to is, that in claiming this liberty to himself he denies it to others; and I shall endeavour to show, that if the argument from antecedent probability be fairly applied, it will afford essentially better evidence of the reality of a Trojan war which he denies, than of the reality of a Dorian conquest which he admits.

There can be no better-certified fact, than that a great part of Peloponnesus was possessed from a very remote period by a race called Dorians. But the fact that such possession was the result of a violent conquest of that peninsula, by a foreign tribe previously inhabiting another remote part of Hellas, rests, according to Mr. Grote, who denies any written records in Greece before 776 B. C., solely on popular tradition; and on a popular tradition professing to reach back several centuries prior to that earliest historical epoch. Mr. Grote, in spite of this deficiency of historical proof, adopts the fact of the conquest as being a natural and probable antecedent of the possession. I also adopt the fact of the conquest; not however because it is a natural antecedent of the possession, which I deny. I adopt it in deference to inveterate national tradition, supported by the third class of subsidiary historical evidence above adverted to; the presumption namely, which I admit on grounds fully stated elsewhere (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* b. III. ch. vii.), that writing was practised during the period over which the tradition extends, however imperfectly, to such an extent at least, as to check, in regard to the more fundamental points of national history, the license of mythical legend.

I shall now endeavour to show that, as referred to Mr. Grote's

own test of antecedent probability, the tradition of the Trojan war has a decided vantage-ground of historical truth over the tradition of the Dorian conquest; and, further, that it is at the best very questionable, whether, in the latter case, the two facts of the possession and the conquest can justly be considered, *à priori*, as standing to each other in any such mutual relation of probability as that which Mr. Grote assumes.

The Peloponnesian Dorians were a pure Greek people, differing in no essential respect, as to language, religion, or manners, from the tribes among whom they dwelt. There is therefore, *à priori*, no natural or probable reason for supposing them to have been a foreign colony; nor consequently, for considering their tradition to that effect of greater, or indeed as much intrinsic value, as the equally inveterate tradition of the Romans that they were a colony of Trojans.

The case is very different with the Æolian Greeks who, according to their tradition, settled in the Troad about or shortly before the epoch at which the Dorians settled in Peloponnesus. The Æolians, also a pure race of Hellenes, were complete aliens in the land of Asia Minor; aliens in language, origin, and religion. The legend therefore, that they crossed into their Asiatic seats from Greece, obviously supplies a much more natural and probable antecedent to the fact of their being settled in Asia, than the legend that the Dorians descended from Mount Pindus into Peloponnesus supplies to the fact of that people being settled in the latter country. But the circumstance that the Æolians, a comparatively small body of alien Hellenes, should have usurped possession of one of the finest provinces of a great continent inhabited by rival foreign nations, nations who in all probability had made earlier advances in the arts of civilised life than the Greeks, is a phenomenon which requires to be accounted for in some more special manner, than by the simple assumption that the intruders had migrated thither from Greece in search of new habitations. Even had there been no positive tradition on the subject, we should have been led to trace so extraordinary an effect to an extraordinary cause; and to assume, as probable at least, that in some early hostile collision between the rival European and Asiatic powers on the opposite sides of the Ægean, those of the Asiatic side had been so worsted and weakened, as to have been obliged to abandon one of their frontier provinces to the victor. When therefore I find one of the most inveterate and universally accredited traditions of primitive Greece, that of the Trojan war, embodying the entire substance of such a conflict of rival confederacies, a conflict in which the immediate ancestors of the

Æolian colonists subdued the entire maritime district occupied in historical times by those colonists, have I not some ground for asserting that the legendary invasion and conquest of the Troad, form a more natural and probable antecedent of the "certified" existence of Æolo-Greek colonies in Asia, than the legend of the Return of the Heraclidæ forms of the "certified" existence of Dorians in Peloponnesus? Yet Mr. Grote, in the face of his professed deference to the law of antecedent probability, rejects the Trojan war *because* unsupported by authentic historical evidence; while, on the strength of the same law of antecedent probability, he admits the Dorian conquest *although* unsupported by authentic historical evidence.

My present object however, is not to discuss the relative degrees of inherent probability or improbability in the different chapters of Greek mythical history, but to justify my former statement, that the rules followed by Mr. Grote in his own researches, differ widely from those which he lays down for the guidance of the researches of others. It would not indeed be either profitable or agreeable to discuss any kind of question upon such unfair terms. But if Mr. Grote is willing to relinquish permanently the high pedestal of rigid critical demonstration, from which he originally announced his intention of surveying the subject at large of Greek mythical antiquity; and if he is willing to treat that subject on the only basis on which obviously it can be properly treated, that of Speculative historical probability (the very condition of the whole inquiry being an absence of strict historical proof);—if he is willing to do this, there is reason to hope, should it be our lot to discuss such matters hereafter, that we shall have no great difficulty in understanding each other, or even perhaps in agreeing substantially on some of the more important points in debate. But if he continues to pursue his present plan, of only stepping down from his pedestal now and then when it may happen to suit the convenience of his own argument, and mounting it again when it may appear to give him a vantage-ground against an opponent, I scarcely see how he can escape the charge of inconsistency and fallacy, which I formerly urged against him and have here endeavoured to substantiate.

This fallacy however is not confined to Mr. Grote. It is common to the school of criticism to which he belongs, and which I shall here designate as the German ultra-sceptical school of research in matters of prehistorical antiquity. This school has now lost much of its popularity in Germany.¹ But the English

¹ Since the above was written, the author has observed that Welcker,

branch of it appears to be flourishing, as occasionally happens with colonies, in the ratio in which the parent state declines. In an article of the *Edinburgh Review* upon my lately published work on Grecian literature, I am called severely to account for admitting an element of fact in the Legend of Troy, on this same ground of the absence of subsidiary historical proof; although the reviewer admits that my arguments from analogy and probability are strong. In a subsequent conversation with the writer of that article, an old and valued friend of my own, I obtained from him an admission, that he too acknowledged the historical substance of several other traditions which were equally unauthenticated by historical evidence. I asked him upon what ground he rested his privilege to dispense in his own case with laws which he so rigorously enforced against me; and his answer was about as satisfactory as that given by Mr. Grote, in his just published tract, to the question to the same effect which I formerly ventured to address to him. Another learned and ingenious friend of Mr. Grote and myself, who did me the favour to peruse in MS. a portion of my work above mentioned, also objected to the line of argument taken by me in my chapter on primitive Greek legend, on precisely the same ground as the *Edinburgh reviewer*. In the course of a short correspondence which ensued on the subject, he stated, that he thought it not improbable that Agamemnon might be a real man, but that he was not prepared to go further. I replied, that this concession appeared to me to be subversive of his whole argument; the admission of one real man in the Trojan legend, being as incompatible with his theory of the entire unreality of the whole of that legend as the admission of fifty; which remark closed the correspondence.

The other minor inconsistencies which I made bold, in my original note, to point out in Mr. Grote's mode of dealing with his subject, are all more or less involved in his more fundamental

the ablest historical critic among living German philologists, in repudiating Mr. Grote's scepticism, admits a basis of fact in the Trojan war of much the same description as that here contended for; and on similar grounds he extends his admission to the Theban wars, and quotes passages of the more recent works of K. O. Müller, Niebuhr, and other eminent German scholars to a like effect. (*Epic. Cyc.* pt. II. pp. 7. 20. 26. 31. 46. 50. 223. 320.) The prevailing defect of our English school of classical criticism, which from the time of Bentley to that of Porson was distinguished for originality and independence, has been of late years its apathy of the Germans. Here, as in some other cases, now that the example has been set by the masters, the disciples will not be long probably in retracing their steps.

fallacy above examined; and I must say that his present attempt to reconcile them appears to me but to place them in a more glaring light.

In my original note I observed that Mr. Grote, "while admitting the authenticity of the Olympic register in its full extent, denied all authority to the Spartan and other earlier Dorian archives, on the ground that, as the latter are not mentioned or cited until a comparatively late period, there is no evidence that they were a genuine contemporary notation of events;" and I added, that "this objection proved too much for his own argument, inasmuch as the same test of authenticity on which he insists in the case of the Spartan registers, failed to an equal or greater extent in the case of the Olympic register itself." In reply to this Mr. Grote, in his pamphlet (p. 632.), makes the following assertion:

"As to the authenticity of that portion of the Spartan genealogical lists which falls later than 776 B. C., *I never raised the least question*.¹ I admit to the Spartan, and various other genealogical documents, a credibility equal to that of the Olympic register, for the same space of time."

And again (p. 634.): "Colonel Mure accuses me of advocating the exclusive infallibility of the Olympic register. I have made no such pretensions on its behalf. I have admitted the Spartan and other genealogies to be equally credible up to the same point of time, or 776 B. C."

I confess I was startled by these two declarations: having been left under the firmest impression, by my perusal of Mr. Grote's History, that his doctrine was quite the reverse of what he here asserts. I have again consulted his book, and now beg to call his attention to the following passage (vol. ii. p. 59., first ed.):

"Looking to the acknowledged paucity and rudeness of Grecian writing, even down to the 60th Olympiad (540 B. C.), . . . the presumption is that written enrolment of family genealogies did not commence *until a long time after 776 B. C.*; and the obligation of proof falls upon him who maintains that it commenced earlier." Mr. Grote may now have changed his opinion, and if he has I am very proud to have made a convert of him; but he will hardly deny that the statements in his pamphlet are a plain contradiction to the statement in his History. The latter statement, I must add, was made with specific reference to the Spartan genealogies, and enforced by other incidental passages in the same part of his work.

One of Mr. Grote's main objections to the admission of any

¹ The Italics are my own, unless where it is stated to the contrary.

genuine character in the Spartan records is (or was), that while the Olympic register began with human events, and persons of a comparatively recent and historical period, the others carried back their notation to a purely fabulous ancestry, extending to Hercules, Perseus, and Jupiter. And after severely censuring myself and Eratosthenes for attempting to draw a line of distinction in any such case between the fabulous and the real, he concludes with the subjoined statement of his own more accurate norm of criticism (p. 631.).

“Not being able to ascertain the time at which these genealogies were first framed, I confess my inability to draw the line of separation between the fabulous and the real.”

Compare this with the following passage in p. 633. :

“I accord to the genealogies as much confidence as to the Olympic register; for I recognise their authenticity up to 776 B. C.; but I accord no more.”

Here again I am willing to understand that Mr. Grote may have good reason for some sudden change of opinion, on the strength of which he is able to specify, and that to a single year, in his p. 633., a line of separation which in p. 631. he declared his inability to ascertain, and which he ridiculed me and Eratosthenes for supposing capable of being so much as conjecturally defined. But the two passages above cited are certainly not consistent with each other.

I will now state, on my own behalf, what is the principle on which I draw my distinction (a purely speculative one I admit, and which I do not pretend like Mr. Grote to establish to a single year) between the fabulous and the real in the early Spartan records. I consider, on what appear to me to be valid general grounds of historical probability, not of demonstrated fact, grounds which I have fully stated elsewhere, that the art of writing was more or less practised in Peloponnesus from about the epoch of the Dorian conquest, or shortly after. I am further led, on the same grounds of general probability, to believe that the practice of registering names and events in writing may have commenced in Sparta about or soon after that epoch; partly because the best-attested notices of a very early practice of writing in Peloponnesus are connected with Sparta; partly because I find that the Spartan genealogical records ranked with the earliest and gravest Greek authors of the historical era, as the most antient and best-accredited documents of their kind. The circumstance that these records may, at what precise epoch I do not pretend to decide, have been prefaced (if indeed such was the case) by purely fabulous lines of descent, appears to me to be no better

reason why they should not be genuine and real from the earlier period which I assume, than from the year 776 B. C., in which year Mr. Grote draws a line of separation which he professes to be unable to ascertain.

In p. 647. vol. i. of his History, Mr. Grote gives his adherence to the "just and well-known position" of Varro, which defined the period from the first Deluge down to the first Olympiad (or 776 B. C.) as the Mythical Period; and the latter date as the commencement of "true or objective history." But in page 7. of his second volume he specifies the Return of the Heraclids (1048 B. C.) as the "point at which we pass, as if touched by the wand "of a magician, from Mythical to Historical Greece." Here again I am at a loss to comprehend how these two definitions are to be reconciled with each other.

All these inconsistencies in Mr. Grote's general argument are a consequence, I repeat, of the one fundamental fallacy with which he sets out, that of attempting to lay down dogmatical rules, and draw systematic distinctions, in matters incapable from their very nature of being so regulated or defined. I maintain here, as I have maintained elsewhere (Hist. of Grec. Lit. vol. i. ch. ii.), that from the rise of authentic contemporary history, which can first be recognised in Greece about the period of the Persian wars, up to the remotest fabulous age, no *generic* distinction can be drawn between the absolutely fabulous and the absolutely real in Greek tradition. During that whole period, questions of historical truth or falsehood, are all questions, more or less, of speculative historical probability, not of strictly demonstrable fact. The difference between different periods, as referred to such strictly historical tests, is a difference not of quality but of degree. I further maintain therefore, that any such tripartite classification as that of Mr. Grote — who first condemns in the mass the whole Greek tradition prior to the exact year of the Dorian conquest as pure fiction, *because* he has no means of demonstrating it to be true; who next suddenly admits Greek tradition from the Dorian conquest down to 776 to be Mythology founded on a broad basis of fact, *although* he has no means of demonstrating the existence of that fact; and who thirdly, admits Greek tradition from 776 downwards to be "true or objective history," although there are no contemporary historians for about two centuries afterwards; — any such dogmatical classification must be a fallacy. Nor can there be any better evidence that it is a fallacy, than that so able and acute a writer as Mr. Grote should have been led into such a maze of inconsistencies and self-contradictions in his attempts to expound and maintain it.

Mr. Grote (p. 630.) charges me with having wrongly quoted O. Müller as a fellow-believer in the genuine character of the earlier Dorian records, and asserts that distinguished scholar's opinion on the subject to have been identical with his own. In support of this assertion he quotes an insulated passage of Müller, which he has totally misunderstood as will appear presently. Now I would request any person who has a competent knowledge of the German tongue, to read the portion of Müller's original work on which I rested my citation of him (Dor. vol. i. pp. 129. sqq. b. ii. c. 7. edit. 1824), and then decide whether I am not justified in quoting that author, in the most unqualified manner, as entirely favourable to my view and opposed to that of Mr. Grote. Müller begins by saying that writing came but slowly from Asia into Greece, and was at first imperfectly practised in the latter country; but that still the rude and scanty notices which it supplied, formed valuable foundations for history and chronology. He first directs his attention to the records of Elis; where he describes the "Disk" of Iphitus and its inscription, in which was commemorated the institution of the Olympic Ekechiria or Sacred Peace, and which mentioned Iphitus and Lycurgus (B. C. 884) by name as the authors of that institution. He adds: "There is no reason to doubt the genuine antiquity of this inscription, which was also recognised by Aristotle." In the sequel he mentions the Spartan registers, or *anagraphæ*, one of the more antient of which "contained the oracle delivered by the Pythoness to Lycurgus, as quoted by Herodotus." In regard to a much earlier Spartan notation, recording the death of king Procles, he speaks doubtfully. He admits that it may have been an interpolation on the original register, but on the whole inclines to believe it genuine. At Corinth he recognises the existence of similarly genuine registers of the royal race of Bacchiadæ (B. C. 925—695); "for assuredly," he adds, "no one would have been bold enough to have forged such a series of documents." He subsequently alludes to the celebrated prose Rhetra given by the Pythoness to Lycurgus, and says: "I see no reason why it should not have been written as well as the contemporary Ekechiria and the antient Pythian Oracle; the less that, as it was embodied in prose form, it is not easy to understand how it could have been preserved otherwise than in writing." He concludes as follows: "These documents, if we possessed them, would afford a valuable foundation for an account of the three centuries before the commencement of regular history."

In the face of all this Mr. Grote maintains that Müller is quite

of his opinion as to the spuriousness of these same documents ; and, in support of this assertion, quotes from "The Dorians" the following passage, which I have been unable to verify in my German edition of that work :

"I do not contend that the *chronological* accounts in the "Spartan lists form an authentic document ; more than those in "the Catalogue of the Priestesses of Herë, or in the list of Halicarnassian priests. The *chronological statements* in these Spartan "lists may have been *formed from imperfect memorials* ; but the "Alexandrian chronologers must have found such tables in existence."¹ Is it not as self-evident as precision of language can make it, that Müller is here not alluding to the original documents, the "imperfect memorials" as he justly describes them, the genuine antiquity of which he so fully recognised, but to the systems or tables of time founded on those memorials by speculative compilers of a subsequent period ?

It is proper that, in here adverting to the complete agreement between Müller and myself in regard to these details, I should observe that I was originally led to embark on this whole subject, in connexion, not so much with the history of Greece, as with the history of Greek literature. My primary object was to establish, not the strictly authentic value of these primitive notations as historical records, but the fact that such genuine memorials, which I, like Müller, characterised as "meagre and imperfect" (Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. i. p. 17.), were written at a remote period, and extant in later times. I am aware that, from the close connexion of the two subjects, I may sometimes have been led, carelessly or unconsciously, to use forms of language or of argument applicable to the former rather than to the latter head of inquiry ; and hence may have been led into ambiguity or apparent incongruity of expression, several instances of which have been alluded to by Mr. Grote, and of others I am myself aware.

Mr. Grote remarks, that I have "advanced in favour of the "Olympic register a pretension which never occurred to him until

¹ I have since found the passage in a note of Müller to the English translation of his work (2d ed. vol. i. p. 146.). Mr. Grote however, according to a practice of which other examples will occur in the sequel, has quoted only so much of it as he supposed, though vainly, to favour his own argument ; omitting what still more tends to strengthen mine. The latter half of the note, in its integral form, is as follows : "But the "Alexandrian chronologers must have found such tables in existence, "since they could not have been produced by mere computation ; and yet the "date of 328 years before the first Olympiad was entirely founded on "them."

"he read it in my work; by announcing it as a national system of chronology adopted by the combination of the Hellenic confederacy in 776 B.C." The passage to which he refers, and of which he quotes only one half, certainly does not bear him out in this statement. What I there say is this: "*Admitting the full authenticity of the Olympic paraepgmata*, the fact of the Hellenic confederacy combining for the adoption of a common national system of chronology in 776 B.C.," &c. The announcement therefore was made hypothetically, and certainly, at the time when I wrote, with reference to Mr. Grote's claims in favour of the Elean register rather than to my own. I do not however deny, that when I published the first part of my History of Grecian Literature, I was under the impression which Mr. Grote has here attributed to me; and have categorically expressed myself to that effect in the main text of my book (vol. III. p. 420.). But I have since been led to a different opinion, by researches undertaken in connexion with the sequel of my work, devoted to the origin and flourishing period of Greek historical literature.¹ I am still far from doubting the genuine antiquity of the Olympian records of the victors in the games. But I entertain very strong suspicions of that of the chronological tables current in later times, as representing those records; just as O. Müller doubted the authenticity of the tables founded on the imperfect Spartan memorials. I must add however, that I do not very well see how Mr. Grote, "admitting the full authenticity of the original Olympic register," in the sense in which he not only admits but broadly asserts it, can escape the conclusion which he ascribes to me. Admitting that register, from the epoch of its supposed origin, to have been so regular and constant as to have at once, "as if by the wand of a magician," transformed the annals of Greece from mythical into historical; admitting it to have been so universally known and highly accredited, and to have shed so beneficent an influence around it, as to have called into existence numerous other registers equally authentic, and even to have rendered those which before were confused or fabulous, rivals to itself in veracity and correctness from its own starting point in 776 B.C.;—did I admit all this (which I understand to be Mr. Grote's doctrine), I think I could hardly escape the conclusion, that such an exemplary model of national chronology must, in all probability, have enjoyed from the first the benefit of national sanction; especially on the part of a people in the habit of assembling at the place where the record was kept, and of whom the Hellenodiceæ, charged with its preservation, were the constituted officers.

¹ See vol. IV. p. 77. sqq.

PART SECOND. SUPPLEMENT TO APPENDIX K.

THE second of Mr. Grote's Appendices contains an answer to my strictures on his doctrine, that the Spartans in the time of the Peloponnesian war were "destitute of even the elements of letters." His attempt further to vindicate this doctrine appears to me singularly unsuccessful; and the admissions which he is himself obliged to make will, I can hardly doubt, be considered by scholars of judgement and experience as tending, even more than my arguments, to invalidate his views. I have therefore hesitated whether it might not be more advisable to allow the question to rest where it is. I understand however, that Mr. Grote's History is used as a text-book in some of our public academies, among the youth of which his deservedly high authority on other points might obtain for his doctrines, on this one also, an unqualified and confiding acquiescence. I have therefore thought it right to use my humble endeavours to prevent those young gentlemen from being led into a grievous error, on a question of assuredly no small historical importance: Whether the magistrates, ambassadors, generals, and other public officers of the mightiest state in Greece, at the acme of Hellenic civilisation, could read their own state documents, or even write their own names.

I shall first offer a concise statement of my own view of this matter, with a general summary of the grounds on which it rests. I shall then add a similar statement of the view of Mr. Grote, to the best of my understanding of it; and shall conclude with a few special remarks on the facts or authorities by which each of us has endeavoured to support his case.

That the Spartans were not a literary people, in the familiar sense of the term, is certain; and they are accordingly sneered at on this account by Attic writers, sometimes in terms which might imply, if taken by the letter, that they were altogether unable either to read or write. A reference however to more impartial authorities shows that at least the upper class of citizens, that is, the dominant race of Dorian Spartiates, were provided as generally as the citizens of other Greek states, with such practical knowledge of the art of writing, as is requisite for carrying on the ordinary business of civil government with dignity and effect. The fact that they were so provided is stated by Plutarch, a writer of a comparatively late period, but one who, while quite impartial, had made the history, manners, and customs, of Lacedæmon a subject of diligent study. The statement occurs in two different works; first in the Life of Lycurgus (c. 16.): "They learned letters, "in so far as required for useful and necessary purposes; but the

"rest of their education was directed to the arts of good government," &c. ; and again in his Laconian Institutes (c. 4.), where it is repeated in nearly the same terms. This statement is corroborated by numberless passages of antient writers of the highest authority ; especially of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.¹ In their works, not only does mention occur of the habitual practice of recording events at Sparta, in the several forms of public register or monumental inscription ; but Spartan citizens of all ranks are introduced by them carrying on written correspondence of various kinds ; and Spartan commissioners are described, often many at a time, as discussing, concluding, and ratifying written treaties of peace. These notices are the more important, from the clear evidence which they afford, not only that writing was familiarly practised in Sparta, but that the historians above cited considered its being so practised as a natural and ordinary occurrence ; for nowhere is there a symptom of their having viewed it in any other light. Nor, in the entire volume of authentic Greek history, in so far as I have consulted its pages, is there a single instance of a Lacedæmonian having been found less well qualified as a penman, when necessity or convenience required, than a citizen of any other state. The part taken by the Spartan interlocutor in Plato's Dialogue on Laws ought also, I apprehend, to be nearly conclusive on the point in any unprejudiced quarter. A large portion of that Dialogue turns on the necessity and advantage of the art of writing as an element of public discipline, and on the extent to which it ought to be required or encouraged among the citizens. The Spartan is present throughout, as an approving or assenting party to all that is said on the subject, without so much as a hint or innuendo being let fall, by him or by his fellow-spokesmen, that he was either illiterate himself, or member of an illiterate community. I have said before, and I repeat now, that it would have been preposterous for Plato to have made a member of such a community act the part which Megillus acts in the Dialogue on Laws.

But perhaps the most important evidence on the subject is the extent to which, and the mode in which, secret correspondence

¹ In my original note, my references were limited to Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon ; first, because I preferred drawing my facts from the fountain-head of contemporaneous history ; secondly, because I considered the passages cited from those authors as so perfectly conclusive, that even the most determined controversialist could hardly demur to their evidence. Others from later authors have now been quoted, either in the text or margin of this Appendix. To them may be added Plutarch in Agesil. c. 13. and 21. ; Diod. Sic. xiv. c. 13. in fine.

was carried on by the Lacedæmonian government, both in its foreign diplomacy and in its ordinary official communications. There are few peculiarities of local Hellenic usage more celebrated, or more frequently alluded to by ancient writers, than the "Lacedæmonian Scytalë," as it is familiarly and habitually styled. This mode of correspondence, minutely described by Plutarch, Gellius, and other authors, was carried on by means of a cylindrical staff, or rather truncheon or baton, of polished surface and uniform thickness. One such truncheon or baton was kept by the Ephori, who appear to have reserved for themselves, as representing the high controlling power of the state, the exclusive privilege of corresponding in this singular form. Another baton of exactly equal dimensions was possessed by each functionary, civil, military, or diplomatic, when absent on duty. When either party had anything to communicate, he wrapped a stripe of parchment round his baton, in parallel spiral folds, somewhat as we now see done on the handle of a tennis racket or battledore. On the stripe thus arranged he wrote his dispatch; and unfolding it gave the parchment to the messenger. The writing thus became illegible, until it reached the person to whom it was addressed, who wrapping the parchment round his own baton was enabled to peruse the contents. (Plut. in Lys. xix.; A. Gell. xvii. 9. 9.; Schol. Aristoph. Lys. 986., Av. 1283.; Schol. Thuc. i. 131.; Cicer. ad Attic. x. 10.; Athenæus, x. p. 451. D.; Apoll. Rhod. apud eund.; Clem. Alex. Strom. p. 367. A., ed. 1688.)

The term Scytalë sometimes denotes the baton, sometimes the parchment-roll. When Pausanias, the victor at Plataea, was suspected of treachery by the Ephori, they dispatched a herald to him with a Scytalë,—here obviously the parchment-roll,—containing an order for his return home forthwith along with the herald (Thucyd. i. 131.).

Lysander, after his victory over the Athenian fleet under Philocles, sends home the treasures captured on that occasion, under the charge of Gylippus, one of his principal officers; and lodges in the interior of each package a Scytalë on which was written an inventory of the contents. Gylippus, not aware of this precaution, opens and extracts from the top of each of the packages a portion of its treasure, to the amount in all of 300 talents of silver. On his arrival at home the Ephori, by examining the Scytalæ detect the fraud, and Gylippus is condemned to death. (Diod. Sic. xiii. c. 106.)

Heralds and other confidential messengers of the Ephori also occasionally carried a Scytalë: in case, during their mission, further communication might be necessary between them and their employers. When the conspiracy of Cinadon was discovered, the

Ephori, unwilling to arrest him in the city, send him on a pretended confidential mission into the country, having been previously in the habit of so employing him. He is intrusted with a Scytalë containing a list of the names of certain Helots whom he was to arrest. This Scytalë was evidently the parchment-roll. But Cinadon was also probably the bearer of the wooden baton, on the further pretence that confidential communications might have to pass between himself and the Ephori, after his arrival at his place of destination. When arrested he is forced to write out, probably on his own Scytalë, the names of his accomplices, which are immediately dispatched to Sparta. (Xenoph. Hell. III. c. 3.)

The Lacedæmonian herald, when introduced on the stage by Aristophanes (Lysist. 986.), is bantered in an amusing but not very decent manner about his Scytalë, here evidently the wooden baton. This instrument he keeps concealed on a secret part of his person ; very naturally, as it was obviously the duty of every official bearer of the baton, to prevent other persons from becoming familiar with its exact form or dimensions.

Correspondence by Scytalë was also carried on with states in alliance with, or dependant on Sparta ; whether through their own magistracy or Spartan resident agents does not appear. When Teleutias was appointed Harmostes of the army of Olynthus, a Scytalë was dispatched to each of those allies with orders to pay him obedience. (Xenoph. Hell. v. ii. 37.) I refrain from quoting other passages, of which many might be added. (Conf. Plut. Vit. Lysand. 19., Alcibiad. 28., Artax. 6., Agesil. 15.)

It is evident that every Spartan who aspired to the rank of Ephorus, or indeed to any public office of importance, required to be qualified for carrying on this important species of correspondence. As the Ephori, five or more in number, were changed annually, we have the more conclusive evidence that the qualification was general if not universal among the upper ranks of citizens.

Let us now see what is Mr. Grote's opinion as to the competency of the Spartan statesmen for the management of their public diplomacy. According to that historian, the citizens were, in the mass, destitute even of the elements of letters. Literary instruction formed no part of their education, either public or private. Nor, with the exception perhaps of some few individuals who may have been eccentric enough to harbour a taste for such acquirements, was there a man among them who could either read or write. The Ephori formed no exception to the general rule. The whole correspondence of the state, open and secret, was carried on by professional scribes ; foreigners, it is presumed, for the most part, as all instruction in letters was denied to the

citizens; and, in many cases slaves, as I am led to suppose from one or two incidental remarks of Mr. Grote, in his explanation of his views. One of these scribes was attached to the person of each leading public functionary. When the Ephori had anything to write they dictated it to their scribe. He wrote and they sent the letter, without being themselves able either to read it or to verify the correctness of its contents. The letter so prepared and sent, on reaching the general, admiral, or other public officer to whom it was addressed, was read to him by his scribe. His answer was dictated to the same scribe, and by him written and dispatched to the Ephori; the officer himself being as unable as they were, either to write his own letter or to read those he received from others. The secret correspondence by *Scytalè* was conducted in a similar manner. The magistrates dictated, but the scribes alone wrote or could read the mysterious communication. The whole secret was in their hands. The numerous Spartan commissioners, described by Thucydides from time to time, as discussing and concluding written treaties of peace, were in the same predicament. Here too the whole was managed by the scribes. The commissioners supposed the document to be drawn up correctly, but none of them were able to verify its accuracy. The monumental inscriptions existing from remote antiquity in the agora, theatre, and temples, were equally a dead letter to the citizens. If a noble Spartan was desirous of knowing the sense of some dedication supposed to celebrate the memory of one of his ancestors, perhaps of the famous Chionis, victor in seven Olympiads and colonist of Cyrene, whose monument is described by Pausanias, he was obliged to send for the scribe. The same was the case with the oracles preserved with such care in the state archives, a portion of which Cleomenes had been at pains to carry off from the Acropolis of Athens, as the only trophy of his victory. Highly prized and deeply venerated as these sacred books were by the nation, they could only be read and interpreted by the scribe. The same was the case with the Heraclid genealogies, the genuine character of which Mr. Grote has now conceded up to 776 B.C. It was all alike; diplomatic letters, secret instructions, treaties of peace, public monuments, oracles, genealogical records were all unintelligible to the citizens, unless in so far as interpreted to them by their clerical instructors.

I think it may safely be asserted that a more improbable theory than this was never imagined by an intelligent man. The whole secret correspondence of the statesmen, ambassadors, generals, and admirals, of the mightiest, the most profoundly politic, the most wary, the most thoroughly Macchiavellian government of ancient Greece, was thus placed at the entire mercy of an

oligarchy of clerks! The destinies of the nation were at any epoch of crisis in the hands of these individuals. A single act of treachery on the part of one of them might bring the commonwealth to the brink of ruin. The Athenians had but to bribe the clerk of the Ephori, during a busy period of the Peloponnesian war (and what bribe would have been too great for such an object?), to espouse their interests and betray those of his government during a week, and their proud enemy would have been prostrate at their feet. Their accomplice, when instructed to write an order to the chief of an armament to repair forthwith to Amphipolis, had but to write Samos instead; when the order was for Chios, to substitute Corcyra; an Athenian armament of double force being in each case prepared to receive and destroy the host of illiterate dupes at the place appointed. The temptation was the more irresistible, owing to the almost total impossibility of detection. The depth and universality of the prevailing ignorance would afford the culprit full time to escape, and enjoy the rich treasures at his disposal, in place of the petty salary and black broth of his previous masters.

The chief authority on which this strange theory has been constructed, is one of those passages of Attic writers to which I have already alluded, where the contempt of the Spartans for polite literature is sneered at in terms which might imply, if taken by the letter, that they could neither read nor write at all. It occurs in an oration of Isocrates², one half of which is devoted to the most fulsome

¹ Panath. p. 276. Mr. Grote has devoted several pages of his pamphlet to an elaborate attempt to prove that I am wrong in describing the Athenian public, which gave a willing ear to this effusion, as a "bigoted public." Without subscribing unreservedly to Mr. Grote's proposal to exonerate from the charge of bigotry, a people who put to death or banished some of the best and wisest men of the age, in what is at least commonly called a spirit of bigotry, I can yet assure him that it was not my intention to use the expression in the sense in which he has understood it. The term Bigoted is, I apprehend, one of those which admits in English as in other tongues, both an absolute and a specific construction. Were I to say that the French were a bigoted people, I should do them injustice. But were a popular French writer to circulate a tract praising his own and abusing the English nation, in a style similar to that employed by Isocrates in praise of Athens and abuse of Sparta, I should be quite justified in saying that such a composition was one "not likely to find favour with any but a bigoted French public."

The introduction, by Isocrates, of an imaginary and nameless Philolaconian advocate affecting to advocate the Spartan side of the question on which circumstance Mr. Grote mainly grounds his vindication of the orator's impartiality, appears to me but to aggravate his iniquity; inasmuch as insidious malevolence is worse even than open scurrility.

and extravagant laudation of his own Attic countrymen, and the other half to a most exaggerated and malicious abuse of their Lacedæmonian rivals. I have rejected its evidence, first because the place and mode in which it is introduced are such as to deprive it of all authority; and secondly, because its falsehood is demonstrated by such an overwhelming mass of other and better testimony. Mr. Grote however adduces in support of its validity a passage of Xenophon, whose statement, if it bore the interpretation he has put on it, would deserve far more credit than that of Isocrates. I was well aware of the existence of this passage when I wrote my original note. But as its terms appeared to me to have no specific bearing on either side of the question, I saw no necessity for quoting it. I am now disposed, on collating it with another parallel passage of the same author, also cited by Mr. Grote, to believe that its evidence, in so far as it goes, is in my favour. I subjoin both texts in Mr. Grote's translation of them.

"Other Greeks, who profess to give their sons the best training, "place them, as soon as they can understand what is said to them, "under the care of a pedagogue, . . . and send them to the houses "of teachers, in order that they may learn letters, music, and the "exercise of the palæstra. But Lycurgus . . ." &c.—*Rep. Lac.* ii. i.

"Other cities, leaving the citizens to educate their children as "every man pleases, enact laws prohibiting murder, theft, and so "forth, with penalties on transgressors. But the Persian laws take "care beforehand that the citizens shall never contract such a character as to desire what is wicked or base."—*Cyropæd.* i. ii. 2.

Every author is his own best interpreter: and I ask the critical reader, whether the mutual light which these two curiously parallel texts shed on each other, is not proof sufficient, that the expression in the first clause of each is but an elegant rhetorical turn given by the author to an intimation, in the one case that the Spartans attached less importance than their fellow Greeks to literature, in the education of their youth; in the other case that the Persians attached less importance to penal enactments against crime, than to a good education, in insuring moral habits. If we assume, on Xenophon's authority, that the Spartan youth were not taught to read at all, we must also assume, on his authority,

I must also confess my surprise, that so sceptically cautious a critic as Mr. Grote should gravely discuss the merits of this rhetorical episode, as if it narrated a real occurrence. To me, credulous as I may be in questions of Greek mythology, the whole discussion between these two disputants appears to have about as much foundation in fact, as the pleadings for and against Orestes in the Attic Areopagus.

that the Persians had no laws against murder and theft; which were absurd. Nay more, we must assume, what Mr. Grote seems quite to have overlooked, but what he will probably agree were little less absurd, that the exercise of the palæstra was, by the Spartan legislator, as systematically excluded as the art of writing from his code of state education; for it certainly is so excluded by the letter of Xenophon's text. It would also be somewhat strange if Xenophon, while aware that the Spartans were never taught to read or write, should yet have introduced Spartans of all classes habitually reading and writing in the course of his historical narrative.

Another passage cited by Mr. Grote as subsidiary to the text of Isocrates, is the statement of Hippias in the Platonic dialogue which bears his name, that there were many men in Sparta "who could not so much as count." In the literal sense, this statement is obviously worth about as much as that of Isocrates. But in the figurative sense in which it is evidently meant, as implying that there were not only many illiterate men in Sparta, but more than in most other Greek states, I do not dispute its accuracy. In all countries, as Mr. Grote himself justly remarks, even persons who may have been once well taught their letters, are apt to forget them in after-life, where there is little opportunity or inducement to practise. In Lacedæmon, where letters were taught and used solely or chiefly for purely necessary purposes, cases of this kind would more frequently occur than where polite literature was a popular pursuit. I have never contended for more than such a general knowledge of letters in the Spartan community, as would afford to all the citizens who had talent and ambition to distinguish themselves in the more responsible offices of the state, full scope for prosecuting their career. Men who had no such talent or ambition, and who had not the additional inducement to keep up their stock of learning which a literary state of society would have held out, might naturally relapse into the condition alluded to by Hippias. His statement however, it must also be remembered, tells both ways: "There were many who could not count;" but that implies that there were many also who could.

I shall abstain from following Mr. Grote through his long, and as appears to me very unprofitable analysis of a passage of Aristotle, the bearing of which on the present question I have not been able to discover. The statement of the philosopher, when relieved of the mass of conjecture and commentary with which Mr. Grote has overwhelmed it, amounts simply to this: that the Spartans were not taught many things essential to what is commonly considered a good education; a statement in which I entirely concur.

Such are the chief authorities urged by Mr. Grote in favour of his own doctrine. I shall now make a few remarks on the mode in which he treats some of those adduced by me in favour of mine. In my original note on the subject I cited Herodotus (vii. 239.) in the following terms :

“Demaratus, the exiled king of Sparta, when at the court of Xerxes, writes a secret dispatch to his countrymen, apprising them of the imperial project of invading Greece; *and adopts a novel, and somewhat puzzling expedient, for concealing the contents of his letter in case of treachery by the way. The Spartans, on receiving the epistle, are themselves at some loss for a solution of the enigma, which is effected by Gorgo the wife of Leonidas.* On the letter being read, copies of it are circulated among the Greek states.”

The reader will be as surprised probably to learn as I was to observe, that Mr. Grote, in quoting this passage, has not only omitted the part of it which I have here written in Italics, but has done so without the insertion of any dots, asterisks, or other conventional marks, usually employed to indicate that an author's text has not been quoted in its integrity. Is it not evident that the words so suppressed contain the cream of the story, as favourable to my view and opposed to his own? The Spartan authorities are puzzled by the receipt of an unintelligible epistle. They consult among themselves, and call in the assistance of their wives, in a matter apparently considered within the sphere of female knowledge; and one of the ladies is the first to solve the enigma. Where were Mr. Grote's imaginary scribes all the while? Why were they not sent for? And how came the women to be consulted before the scribes? Mr. Grote attempts to evade the irresistible force of this passage by impeaching the historian's veracity, and pronouncing the whole story about Demaratus and his letter to be “preposterous and inadmissible.” I shall leave him to settle that point with Herodotus and his commentators. But is it not surprising that he does not perceive, what I formerly pointed out, that the value of this story, as of many others similar narrated by Thucydides and Xenophon, lies not so much in the demonstrable truth of the thing narrated, as in the proof which the narrative itself whether true or false supplies¹, that these historians, all of

¹ Mr. Grote shows himself throughout altogether blind to the force of this species of evidence. Elsewhere I had appealed to a passage of Plato, in which he alludes to the written laws of Lycurgus, as evincing a belief on the part of the philosopher that writing was familiar in Sparta from a remote period of antiquity. In the same passage Plato alludes also to the works of several antient poets as written texts. Mr. Grote on this remarks, that the passage of Plato “is no more a proof of the “existence of written laws in the time of Lycurgus, than of the existence

whom were perfectly conversant with the state of literature in Sparta, held precisely the same opinion on the subject for which I am here contending? I can hardly believe that any unprejudiced reader will interpret the passages which I have cited from their works, in any other sense than as implying, first a full conviction on their part that the upper class of Lacedæmonian citizens habitually read and wrote; and, secondly, a complete ignorance of Mr. Grote's theory as to the exclusive appropriation of literary habits to professional clerks.

I subjoin in its genuine form, another passage of my original note: "Pausanias, the Spartan commander at Platæa, when in Thrace on service, opens up a traitorous correspondence with the same Xerxes, and the contents of one of his letters is given by Thucydides. *The Spartan magistrates at home, suspecting what was going on, dispatch a Scytalæ to him intimating his recall.* He obeys, but on his return continues the secret negotiation. The matter is discovered by means of one of his own confidential messengers, who, suspicious of treachery on the part of his employer, towards himself as well as the state, *from having observed that none of the couriers previously sent on similar errands had returned,* determines, before starting, to open and read his master's letter. . . . Finding that the letter contained, among other things, an injunction to destroy the messenger, he shows it to the Ephori and Pausanias is put to death. (Thuc. i. 131.)"

Here again Mr. Grote has suppressed, in the same manner above described, several sentences of my citation essentially favourable to my argument and destructive of his own. I advert more especially to the sentence relative to the Scytalæ, of which more in the sequel. On his own abridged version of the story he remarks as follows: "Thucydides gives the exact words of a letter "from Pausanias to Xerxes; shortly afterwards he gives also the "exact words of a letter from Xerxes to Pausanias. Will any one "infer from this last letter that Xerxes could write? I apprehend "such an inference to be no way justifiable. As with Xerxes so "with Pausanias," &c. On the merits of this logic, and nearly a page to a similar effect, I leave the reader to form his own judgement. What I infer, and what every unprejudiced student of Thucydides will infer, is, that Thucydides believed that Xerxes, and Pausanias, and the messenger of Pausanias, and the Ephori,

"of written poems before the time of Homer." Possibly; but it is a proof that Plato believed there were written laws at Sparta in the time of Lycurgus; which is all I wanted to prove. Plato could hardly have believed this, in the face of the fact (assumed by Mr. Grote to be notorious), that even in his own time there was not a man in Sparta who could read.

could all read and write perfectly well ; and that is quite enough for my purpose.

Mr. Grote however goes on to comment as follows on the sequel of the historian's narrative, which I did not quote, as it did not appear to me to bear on my subject : " If we wanted any proof " how unfamiliar the Spartans were with reading and writing, we " should find it in the conduct of the Ephors, when the Argilian " slave came to them and laid before them the actual letter of " Pausanias, sealed with his seal and addressed to the Persian satrap. *They are not satisfied, nor will they proceed on this evidence.* They require the slave to plant himself as a suppliant at " the sanctuary of Tænarus, where they contrive a secret conceal- " ment behind a partition, in order that they may hear with their " own ears the spoken words of Pausanias to the slave. I shall " not say that this proceeding proves that neither Pausanias nor " the Ephors could read or write. But I do say that it is exactly " what would have taken place if we assume that hypothesis."

The Italics in the above extract are Mr. Grote's, employed to give greater effect to his statement. But the statement of Thucydides is very different. He says : " The Ephori, on being shown " the letter, *were the more convinced* (μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν) ; but " yet they were determined that the culprit should be convicted on " his own evidence," &c. This whole narrative of the last days of the hero of Plataea is deeply interesting on three several accounts. First as proving that the Ephori were, or at least that Thucydides believed them to be, perfectly competent to carry on their diplomacy without the aid of a scribe ; secondly, as showing the boundless control which they possessed over the conduct and destinies of the kings ; and, thirdly as showing, on the other hand, like so many other similar narratives, the veneration which these haughty magistrates entertained for the sanctity of the royal race of Heraclidæ, and their unwillingness to proceed to extremities even against one of that race who they themselves were well convinced was a traitor, unless on the fullest and most incontrovertible evidence of his guilt. It could hardly fail to occur to them, although it did not occur to Mr. Grote, that the letter might after all be a malicious forgery of the " slave." And had they slain their king on its evidence alone, what an awful responsibility would they have incurred !

I shall leave Mr. Grote the full benefit of his commentaries on some six or eight other equally convincing passages cited by me. These are : one from Thucydides, relative to the intercepted letters of Artaphernes ; several from the same author and from Xenophon describing written Spartan treaties of peace : and two others from

Xenophon, one narrating the conspiracy of Cinadon¹, and the other (vi. c. 5.) describing the registration of the names of six thousand Helots in the course of a few days after the battle of Leuctra. On a third passage of Xenophon, which I described as giving a letter "from a Spartan sea officer to his admiral," Mr. Grote remarks, that the letter is "*not* from a Spartan sea officer to his admiral, but from the surviving Secretary (ἐπιστολεὺς) of the "slain admiral." In his further comments on the passage he assumes this Epistoleus, whose name was Hippocrates, to be one of the fraternity of scribes which he has called into existence for behoof of illiterate Spartan statesmen; and quotes another parallel passage of Xenophon, where a similar personage, called Hypermenes, is mentioned as acting under Mnasiippus, an admiral commanding a fleet of sixty ships before Corecra. If I have erred in calling the Epistoleus a sea officer, I have erred in good company, as I find that the best lexicographers give that explanation of the term. I maintain further, with them², that he was not only a sea officer but a sea officer of very high rank, being immediately next in command to the admiral. This is evident from the second of the passages quoted by Mr. Grote; where Hypermenes, the Epistoleus of Mnasiippus, after the death of that admiral at once takes the command of the fleet. It is further evident from another passage (Hellen. ii. 1.) not cited by Mr. Grote, where no less a person than Lysander, the conqueror of Athens, is appointed Epistoleus to the navarch Aracus. According to Mr. Grote Lysander, already one of the most illustrious men in Sparta, was condemned to act on this occasion as a common clerk; in a servile capacity, that is, or little better. The letter written by Hippocrates, the surviving Epistoleus of the slain Mindarus, (and who is here also evidently the second in command), though pithy, is dry and brief; a circumstance which Mr. Grote urges as proof of the "rudimentary"

¹ I must however beg the reader, if he is not satisfied, carefully to peruse this whole narrative (Hellen. iii. 3.) in the original; in order that he may judge for himself, whether Xenophon could have described such a series of transactions as occurring among a people destitute of the elements of letters; and more especially, whether Mr. Grote is justified in his hypothesis that Cinadon himself could not write, in the face of a distinct assertion of Xenophon that he could (τὰ ὀνόματα ὧν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε). It will be observed that Cinadon was one of the inferior order of citizens.

² Conf. Sturz. Lexicon Xenophont. I find, like Sturz, no passage where the title can properly bear any other sense. If Mr. Grote, in his history of the Spartan wars, has invariably described this officer as a scribe or secretary, he must have run into some very curious blunders.

state of the art of writing in Sparta. I have never insisted on much more, having from the first admitted that elegant literature was little cultivated in that republic. The letter however, if understood as I understand it, to represent the ordinary style of correspondence between Spartan officers, not between their clerks, proves nothing more than that their epistles were as laconic as their discourse, especially when they wrote, as Hippocrates here did, in a hurry, and on an occasion of great emergency. A professional clerk would probably have written in a very different style.

But the most extraordinary part of Mr. Grote's argument is that in which he alludes to the Laconian Scytalē. I remember feeling some surprise, in reading the portion of his second volume in which he treats of the character and habits of the Spartans, that he should have omitted all notice of this curious peculiarity of their public diplomacy. But my surprise is increased to astonishment, when I now find him alluding to it in terms which lead to the inference, either that he doubts or denies its existence, or that he is quite unconscious of its importance, or of the extent to which it prevailed. He says, in reference to a passage of Archilochus in which the Scytalē is mentioned, (a passage which, I believe, no respectable scholar of the present day, except Mr. Grote, understands in any other sense than I do,) that "Colonel Mure explains the word Scytalē to allude to the practice of "writing on a long narrow stripe of parchment," &c.; and he adds "that such a mode of carrying on a correspondence, *be it ever so well established*, justifies no inference," &c. In the sequel, with more immediate reference to my allusion to the herald's Scytalē in Aristophanes, he remarks, that "the meaning of Scytalē is a "staff, which staff is connected with the herald, as being always "carried by him in the discharge of his functions, and as insuring "him respect. . . . But the herald was a messenger, not a post-man. His office was to deliver messages, not letters. . . . That "the herald, who carried a staff as his symbol of office, should be "spoken of by poets as a staff, is the natural course of metaphor. " . We call a coachman a good or a bad whip," &c. [!] I cannot comprehend how a gentleman who has written an elaborate history of the Peloponnesian war can, in a question as to the practice of writing in Sparta, express himself regarding so important an element of that question in such a manner as Mr. Grote has done, throughout the portion of his pamphlet from which the above extracts are taken. On the subject at large, I shall merely refer the reader to the passages relative to the "Laconian Scytalē" cited by me in the previous pages¹, with a request that he will test

¹ Page 536. sqq.

by those passages, the degree of importance or prevalence which Mr. Grote attaches to that celebrated mode of correspondence.

How far the Spartan herald's office was limited to the delivery of messages, to the exclusion of letters, is a question which Mr. Grote may settle with Thucydides. That historian certainly describes a herald as performing the latter duty; as the bearer, namely, of a letter by Scytalë from the Ephori to Pausanias. The passage in question was cited by me in my original note, in terms which I have repeated above in p. 543. But Mr. Grote, as I formerly observed, in copying my citation, has happened to omit that particular portion of it in which the Scytalë is mentioned.

With regard to the herald in Aristophanes, whose Scytalë Mr. Grote understands to be nothing more than the staff of office carried by him in the discharge of his functions, to insure him respect, it certainly seems odd, in this particular instance, where a display of the instrument was more peculiarly required, not merely to secure respect but to shield from ridicule, that the bearer of it should have kept it carefully concealed in the more private parts of his dress. One might as well suppose that an English nobleman of high rank, when desirous of producing an effect in some distinguished foreign circle, would, instead of displaying his star on his breast and his garter on his knee, carry both carefully buttoned up in the pocket of his smallclothes. But, apart from this particular case, I deny that the term Scytalë was ever used, as Mr. Grote supposes, in the bare sense of herald's staff or badge of office. In not one of the numerous passages in which it occurs can it be so rendered, without doing violence to the laws, either of common sense or of sound critical interpretation.

Mr. Grote's reasoning on the whole subject here at issue, proceeds throughout on the principle, that where we find persons familiarly alluded to by historians as carrying on habitual correspondence by letter, open or clandestine, or even as writing letters, we are not authorised to assume that those persons were able to write themselves, unless we have a distinct assurance from our informants that their letters were actually penned on paper with their own hands, and not by an amanuensis. The following extracts comprise the pith of his argument on this head: "When we hear of written orders issued by the Ephors, we are not authorised to conclude that these magistrates themselves either did write or could have written them." — "Will any one infer from the letter of Xerxes to Pausanias that Xerxes could write? I apprehend that such an inference would be no way justifiable." — "As with Xerxes, so with Pausanias. Everything which

“he (Pausanias) did, might have been done without any power of “reading and writing possessed by himself.” — “We cannot infer, “from this treaty, that any one at the four (contracting) cities “could write or read, except a few scribes.” — “Commissioners on “both sides meet and discuss. When they have agreed, the “secretaries on both sides reduce the treaty to writing. All this “may be done equally, whether the commissioners are able or “unable to read.” And so forth.

It is not very easy to treat such reasoning with gravity. I apprehend however, that according to the received idiom of every language, when persons are represented as habitually writing letters or corresponding by letter, or as contracting written treaties of peace, or issuing written orders, we are bound to suppose that those persons could write and read, unless it is stated that they could not. The burden of proof here obviously lies on Mr. Grote, not upon me. But throughout the score and upwards of passages which I have cited, allusive to the practice of writing among the Spartans, there is not one which hints at the writer being obliged to avail himself of any other hand but his own. The only instance which Mr. Grote himself has claimed to discover of a letter written by a Spartan clerk, is that of the Epistoleus Hippocrates above referred to. But that example, even on his own most erroneous interpretation of the title Epistoleus, would be worth nothing as bearing on his case; since the letter of Hippocrates was written in his own name, and on his own account, and not as agent for another. But even admitting that scribes were extensively employed in Sparta, did Mr. Grote, or any one else, ever hear of a large body of magistrates, statesmen, and ambassadors, who were in the constant habit of employing clerks in their correspondence, without one of them being able himself to verify the accuracy of the letters written at their own dictation by those functionaries?

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END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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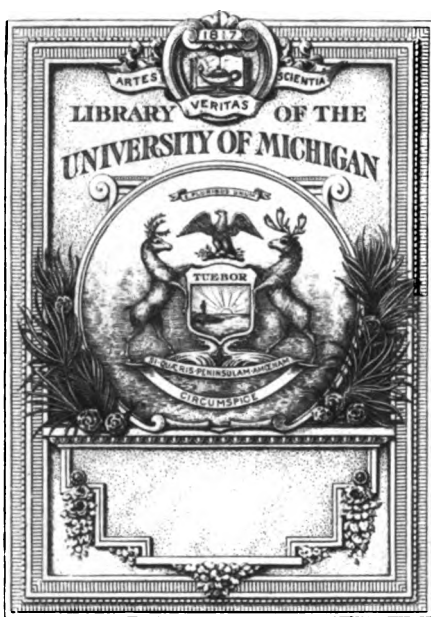
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CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
OF
ANTIENT GREECE.

VOL. IV.

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A
CRITICAL HISTORY
OF THE
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
OF
ANTIENT GREECE.

BY
WILLIAM MURE
OF CALDWELL.

VOL. IV.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS
1859

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P R E F A C E.

THE principal addition to this volume, as now reprinted, is a closer collation ¹ than we were formerly led to institute, of the account given by Herodotus of the early part of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, with that given by Darius himself in the Behistun inscription. Some further illustrations have also been supplied of the chronology of the same Greek historian's life ², and of the more fabulous parts of his narrative.³

Many errors of detail, overlooked in the revisal of the first edition, have now been corrected. Several of these blemishes have been pointed out by Mr. Rawlinson, in the introduction and notes to his lately published translation of Herodotus. For this service, with others derived from that able and comprehensive work, and for the spirit of candour and courtesy in which our own labours have there, generally, been noticed, we take this opportunity of tendering our acknowledgments, as well to the editor-in-chief as to his distinguished coadjutors. To some of his criticisms on our statements or opinions, in the justice of which we are less able to concur, attention has been directed in the notes or appendices to this volume.

We also desire to express our sense of the valuable aid for which we have been indebted to the Paris Collection of Fragments of Greek Historians, and to

¹ P. 340. sqq.

² Append. G. p. 538. sqq.

³ Additional notes to pp. 365, and 391.

the commentaries of its learned and ingenious editor Professor C. Müller. Without that aid, portions of this as also of our fifth volume could with difficulty have been composed. We make this acknowledgment the more readily, from having been constrained in several instances to differ materially from Professor Müller, on points of speculative criticism to which in common our attention has been directed.

The Reader is requested to bear in mind that the term "mile," as used in our text, chiefly in citations from Herodotus, as a more common measure of distance than the Greek stadium, denotes the Roman mile of eight stadia, which is 142 yards less than the English mile. On the other hand, the foot of the Greek measure of computation by foot and a half or cubit, also at times employed, exceeds the English foot by somewhat less than one-tenth of an inch, and the Greek cubit, consequently, exceeds by about one-eighth of an inch the foot and a half English.

In the map of Hecatæan geography, which accompanies this volume, the author has exerted himself to correct such errors as existed in that appended to the first edition. In regard to such as may still remain, the indulgent reader will recollect that the difficulties in which the details of so antiquated a system necessarily involve the unprofessional geographer, also tend in a proportional degree to deprive him of much of the aid he would in ordinary cases be entitled to expect from professional art and experience, but the main positions will, it is hoped, be found generally correct.

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ERRATA.

Page 172, line 15, omit the words "or Mæander."

„ 347, „ 5, *for* "eighteenth or Ramesseïd dynasty," *read* "eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties."

„ 399, „ 12, *for* "interpretation of an oracle," *read* "notice of an oracle affecting his interests."

CRITICAL HISTORY,

&c.

BOOK IV.

ATTIC PERIOD.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ATTIC PERIOD.

1. COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PRESENT AND THE PAST PERIODS.—2. DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ATTIC PERIOD. THE ATHENIANS DEFICIENT IN THE IMAGINATIVE FACULTY. ALTERED POSITIONS OF ATHENS AND SPARTA IN REGARD TO POLITE CULTURE.—3. CAUSES OF THE CHANGE. THE ATHENIANS DEFICIENT IN INVENTIVE GENIUS; AND IN MUSICAL TALENT. DECLINE OF ELEGANT CULTURE IN SPARTA.—4. POLITICAL VICISSITUDES OF GREECE DURING THE ATTIC PERIOD.—5. GENERAL VIEW OF GREEK LITERATURE FROM 560 TO 510 B. C. PISISTRATUS. HIS LITERARY CIRCLE. THE PISISTRATIDÆ. POLYCRATES OF SAMOS. BACKWARD STATE OF ATTIC LITERATURE DURING THE "TYRANNY." POETRY AND PROSE FLOURISH IN THE IONIAN COLONIES.—6. GENERAL VIEW OF GREEK LITERATURE FROM 510 B. C. TO THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR IN 404 B. C. POETRY. PROSE LITERATURE.—7. GENERAL VIEW OF GREEK LITERATURE FROM 404 B. C. TO THE CLOSE OF THE ATTIC PERIOD.—8. STATE OF EDUCATION IN GREECE DURING THE ATTIC PERIOD. SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS. LIBRARIES. BOOK TRADE.—9. PATRONS OF LITERATURE. PISISTRATIDÆ. POLYCRATES. PERICLES.—10. HIS CONNEXION WITH ASPASIA. HERMO OF SYRACUSE. THE DIONYSII. THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHS.

1. In the early volumes of this work, the vicissitudes of the Grecian family of tongues have been traced from its remote Indo-Pelasgic origin, down to the settlement of its noblest branch as a distinct language

Comparative view of the Attic and the preceding periods.

in the region where it afterwards so brilliantly flourished. We have seen how, in the legends of the *Æolo-Thracian* sages, were shadowed forth the first successful essays of the Hellenic nation, in those elementary styles of poetry and music which form the foundation of all polite literature; and how, in the different tribes of that nation, were matured those distinctions of character and dialect, which in every age constitute so important a feature in the genius of Hellenism. We have marked the spirit of local emulation among those tribes, fostering a corresponding spirit of heroic adventure; which afterwards, by a nobler impulse of national feeling, was directed towards great common enterprises against rival nations, resulting in extensive schemes of conquest and colonial settlement. We have seen how the minstrelsy in which those enterprises were celebrated, was matured from the fugitive ballad into the heroic *Epopee*; and how, under the influence of an opposite train of social causes, this highest style of poetical art, after having been carried by one master genius to perfection, gradually languished and decayed. We have however also seen, that this deterioration of Greek Epic style was but a prelude to a no less genial, though less expansive exercise of the poetical faculties, in the variety of forms comprised under the common title of Lyric poetry. We have witnessed, in fine, in these successive phases of national talent, the workings of the wayward infancy and lively youth of the Hellenic mind. In the period before us we shall contemplate its mature manhood; and the first symptoms of that decay which, in the inevitable course of human vicissitude, it was destined to undergo.

All literature ranges itself under the two general departments of Poetry and Prose. Each of these departments comprises various orders or styles of composition, standing in a certain relation or analogy to parallel orders in the other department.

Poetry comprises the Epic, Lyric, Didactic, and Dramatic orders of composition.

In Prose literature, History stands in the relation above noticed to Epic poetry; Oratory to Lyric poetry; the Dialogue to the Drama. The title Didactic, or Instructive, is common, in each department, to the branches of literature the nature and object of which it more immediately denotes.

Of these orders or styles three, Epic poetry, Lyric poetry, and Didactic poetry, have been treated in previous portions of this work. The subject of Epic poetry may indeed be said to have there been exhausted, in regard to all the higher objects of inquiry which it presents. Original genius in that branch of composition was limited in Greece to the Poetical age; and, during that age, all the epic works possessing claims to genuine inspiration were produced. Those to which attention will hereafter be directed are marked, either by servile imitation of the old Homeric manner, or, where aiming at originality, by laboured effort and pedantic artifice. This extinction of Epic genius must however, on grounds elsewhere fully stated, be considered not so much the fault of the poets as of the age in which they lived. Even a second Homer, appearing in the age of Sophocles, could not have produced a second Iliad; while, had Sophocles been contemporaneous with Homer, he might have proved no mean rival of his great epic master.

With the Lyric Muse the case was different. The causes which obtained for her a place in the order of cultivation second to that occupied by her Epic sister, have also in the previous volumes been carefully considered.¹ That patriarchal simplicity of heroic life, and that identity between the imaginative impulses of the individual and those of the entire nation, which were essential to the perfection of the one style of composition, were proportionally less favourable to the other. The higher efforts of lyric art depended for their success on those more complicated social relations, which tend to concentrate the sympathies around local and real, rather than national and ideal objects. But the same causes which retarded the advance of lyric poetry, secured for it, when brought to maturity, a more enduring prosperity and a more varied sphere of influence. As the poetry of civilised life, it continued to be cultivated with success, in some one or other of its branches, during the whole flourishing age of Greek literature; and even in the lower stages of national debasement, the comparatively feeble or laboured efforts of the superannuated Lyric Muse were at times lighted up by a spirit savouring of better days, but of which little or no trace is perceptible in the epic poetry of the same period.

The other order of Poetical composition, above classed under the head of Didactic, as having been also cultivated during the Poetical period, was as yet too much in its infancy, or had assumed too little of a distinctive character, to entitle it to treatment as a separate branch of subject in the history of that period. Its leading productions were, both in form

¹ Vol. I. p. 171. sqq.; II. p. 2. sqq.

and style, so nearly related either to the purely epic or purely lyric order of composition, that it appeared the more convenient course to treat them as themselves varieties of one or other of those orders. Such are the *Works and Days*, and the *Theogony*, of "Hesiod;" such the metrical Commentaries of Solon and other poets of the Gnostic school. During the Attic period Didactic poetry, while assuming a more distinct independence of character, can advance comparatively little claim to general influence or popularity; prose being now commonly preferred in treating the class of subjects to which the title Didactic properly belongs.

The remaining orders of composition above specified, the Drama, and Prose writing, under its several varieties of history, oratory, didactic prose, and the more elementary styles of miscellaneous literature, first rose to the rank of cultivated branches of pursuit during this period. Within its limits they attained their highest excellence, and it also witnessed the early stages of their decline. Prose composition consequently, and the Drama, possess a prior claim on attention in this portion of our subject. Before however entering in detail on the origin or history of either, it will be proper to take a concise general view of the characteristics of the entire Attic period of Grecian literature, in itself, and as contrasted with that which preceded.

2. The primary source of that excellence which the Greek nation attained in every branch of polite art, was the high perfection in which it possessed the two varieties of mental faculty on which success in every human undertaking depends—the faculty of Imagination, and the faculty of Judgment or Intellect;

Distinctive characteristics of the Attic period.

the just blending and balancing of which secured to the same favoured people an equally ample endowment of the faculties of Invention and Taste.

The period treated in the previous volumes was that during which the imaginative powers were chiefly in the ascendant ; yet still so far restrained or chastened by the rival influence, as to obviate those extravagant ebullitions of excited feeling, or those grotesque aberrations of fancy, which usually characterise the literary efforts of nations in a similar state of society.

In the present period we shall find the faculty of Intellect obtaining in its turn an ascendancy both in the character and the literature of the Greeks : an ascendancy however far from despotic, but modified by the lately dominant influence, in a degree sufficient to insure a genial warmth and vitality, even to the more studied productions of the now comparatively reflective and philosophical Hellenic muse.

The Athenians deficient in the imaginative faculty.

These observations will enable us the better to appreciate one of the most interesting features in the history of Grecian literature, the harmony between the character of this its most important era, and the character of the people by whom, or under whose auspices, during that era its principal works were produced. While the Athenians are preeminently entitled to rank as representing the intellectual element of the Greek character, they are, as compared with their Ionian and Æolian kinsmen, proportionally wanting in its imaginative element. Abundant evidence of this deficiency is supplied by the annals of the foregoing Poetical period, the genius of which offered the greatest scope to the play of the fancy in literary composition. Throughout that entire period,

comprising, between the probable age of Homer and the year 560 B.C., some four or five centuries, and presenting in every other part of Hellas brilliant displays of imaginative genius, Attica cannot boast of a single genuine development of native poetical talent. The only cases where an exception might possibly be urged are those of Solon and Tyrtaeus. But Solon, while belonging as much or more to the present than to the past age, or forming at least a transition from the one to the other, was himself a poet by art and intellect rather than by nature; and, had he lived in the time of Pericles, would probably have been a prose author. The Attic nativity of Tyrtaeus remains at the best somewhat doubtful. But even granting it to be ascertained, when we remember that his muse was dumb so long as he remained in his native Attica; that his migration to the supposed less genial soil of Sparta was the immediate cause of his poetical activity; that his inspirations were elicited solely by Spartan objects and interests; and that no trace of Attic associations can be detected in his verse, it must be admitted that the exception, in his case, acquires all the weight which usually attaches to an example in confirmation of the rule.

Another phenomenon in the history of Greek polite culture, which here forces itself on the attention, is the difference between the relative positions which Sparta and Athens occupied in regard to elegant literature in the Poetical period, and those which they respectively hold in that on which we are now entering. During a great part of the former period¹ Sparta was nearly as much the metropolitan centre of literary pursuit, and the chosen home of men of genius,

Altered positions of Sparta and Athens in regard to polite culture.

¹ Vol. III. p. 46. sqq.

as Athens was in the age of Pericles. Although, from causes already examined, she was never in any age herself prolific in authors, she had yet in those early days her Cinæthon in the epic department of poetry, and her Gitiadas and Xenodamus among the musicians of recorded fame; while it was in the capacity of Spartan guests or citizens that most of the celebrated Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian masters, Terpander, Thaletas, Sacadas, Alcman, Polymnestus, composed and taught. That Sparta was also familiar from the eighth century downwards with the Homeric poems is evinced, as well by the tradition of their importation into Greece by Lycurgus, as by the fact of Terpander, the state-musician of Sparta, having adapted portions of them to his musical compositions. Athens on the other hand, during the same Poetical period, produced neither epic poet nor musician; and far from being able to boast either a Terpander or an Alcman among her adopted citizens, the single lyric artist whom she claims, is only known to have been an Athenian from the circumstance of his having preferred Sparta as the field for the exercise of his talents. Even the poems of Homer were, if we may trust her own tradition, unknown or little cared for in Athens until the time of Solon and Pisistratus. Before the days of those two enlightened citizens, Attica was in fact in all that concerns literature, a still more barren waste than Lacedæmon became in her turn during the period now before us, in which Athens appears as the hotbed of Hellenic talent, and the centre of every species of intellectual pursuit both to her own citizens and to the foreigners who flocked to her schools.

Causes of
the change.

3. This remarkable interchange of habits and tastes between the two leading states of Greece, is one of

those phenomena which the more careless student of history is apt to overlook altogether; which often cause serious embarrassment to the critical inquirer; and which as often lead the more subtle speculator into fallacious theories, in his attempts to trace them to their origin. The best and simplest explanation of the problem which here presents itself, in so far at least as Athens is concerned, has already been given in the remark above made, as to the ascendant of the Intellectual over the Imaginative faculty, in that particular modification of the Greek mind which fell to the lot of the Athenians. This peculiarity naturally rendered the full development of their equally peculiar order of talent for literature, dependent on a corresponding advancement of their social condition. The circumstances are here parallel to those formerly noticed as having tended during the Poetical period, first to retard, and then to stimulate, the cultivation of lyric art. As in the Hellenic nation at large a certain advance of civilisation was required to bring that more intellectual order of poetry to maturity; so the peculiar genius of the Attic Hellene required a still further advance of social life, to bring his peculiar order of literary talents into activity. Those talents accordingly, though enlivened in the vigour of their cultivation by a share of the brilliant fancy common to the rest of the Greek race, will yet be found, as compared with those of rival tribes, to be far more dependent, for their full development and successful exercise, on the resources of the intellect than on those of the imagination.

Hence may be explained, not only why Attica was barren of men of genius during the Poetical age, but the no less striking fact, that while admitted to have

The Athenians deficient in inventive genius,

carried to perfection all the higher branches of composition which flourished during the present more enlightened period, the drama, history, oratory, and didactic prose, she did not initiate a single one of them. Original invention in elegant pursuit is the special province of the Imagination ; to mature and perfect the inventions of others is that of the Intellect. Prose composition in all its departments had reached an advanced stage of maturity before Athens produced a prose writer. Oratory was first raised to the rank of a written order of composition by Sicilians. Didactic prose, comprising grammar and criticism, also took its rise in the colonial states of Greece ; to whom the Athenians owed their first instruction in those departments. If there be any branch of literature in which Athens might seem to possess a legitimate claim to priority, it is the drama. Yet even here her title is defective. The germ of all scenic entertainment is confessedly traceable to the Dorians. And even admitting the merit, which cannot be denied to Athens, of having formed the classical drama out of the ruder elements supplied by the dithyramb of Arion, or the comedy of Susarion, to be equivalent to invention, this single exception would tend in some sense to confirm the rule. The Attic drama is of all orders of poetical composition the most artificial ; being in fact an ingenious compound of the same epic and lyric elements which had already, in their separate form, reached their highest excellence in the works of Homer, Archilochus, and Stesichorus : it is consequently, of all, the one least dependent on the spontaneous working of the imagination, and most dependent on the exercise of the intellect. It may be further remarked, as another practical proof of the justice of this estimate

And in
musical
talent.

of Attic genius, that of all the tribes of Greece the Athenians were the least distinguished by talent for the art of music. Nor is this deficiency limited to their early days. It is observable throughout the whole period of their ascendancy in elegant pursuit. While the *Æolians* muster, in every age, by far the most numerous array of masters of first rank, *Terpander*, *Arion*, *Sappho*, *Stesichorus*, *Xenocritus*; the *Dorians* had also their *Thaletas*, *Sacadas*, *Crates*, and *Latus*; the *Ionians* their *Archilochus*, *Polymnastus*, and *Timotheus*. But not a single native Athenian musician of high celebrity is upon record, scarcely the name of an Athenian musician of any rank at any period. This remark may be extended from the art of music, to the branch of poetry which chiefly depends on musical accompaniment. Athens cannot boast at any epoch of her history a single melic poet of high distinction. It is true that much fine melic composition is embodied in the Attic drama, and in so far the great masters of the Athenian stage may rank as melic poets. But here again they must rank as poets of the artistic rather than the original order. The dithyrambic branch of lyric composition, the only branch ever popular at Athens, was also the most artificial; and scarcely one even of the more distinguished dithyrambic poets was a native of Attica. This defect of Attic genius also shows itself in the lateness of the epoch at which the Athenian musical festivals, in the proper sense, were established, and in the small celebrity which they enjoyed as compared with those of Sparta. The Spartan *Carnea* and *Gymnopædia* are the most antient institutions of the kind on record; and those which exercised the most beneficial influence on the art of Grecian music. No

notice occurs of any similar institution at Athens before the time of Solon¹; and such as afterwards existed are acknowledged, by the Athenian critics themselves, to have done more to corrupt than improve the musical taste of the nation.²

Decline of
polite cul-
ture in
Sparta.

The decline among the Spartans of that taste for polite literature which distinguished their early days, finds its explanation in the political institutions of the state rather than in the character of the citizens; unless indeed, in so far as the institutions of every country must be considered as reflecting in some degree the character of the people. Although the letter of the Spartan legislation can hardly have been less rigorously enforced in the age of Lycurgus, or in that of the rulers who rank as his immediate successors, than in later times, there is yet reason to believe³ that the ascetic spirit of that legislation was extended with the extension of the Lacedæmonian power. In those primitive times, the rude discipline of Lycurgus could have formed but a slender mark of distinction between the Spartan manners and those of the kindred states of Peloponnesus. His laws did little more probably than reduce to method and permanence, stereotype as it were, those primitive usages which were once more or less common to other subdivisions of the Dorian race. Hence while the neighbouring states, unfettered by the restrictions to which Lacedæmon had subjected herself, continued to advance, simultaneously with the rest of Greece, in social refinement, the Spartans remained stationary. And as

¹ The first establishment of a lyric solemnity, in the proper sense, at Athens, is ascribed by Plutarch to Pericles, in Vit. XIII.

² See Vol. III. p. 91.

³ See Vol. III. (2nd ed.) p. 201.

this stationary condition of manners coincided with a still increasing ascendancy of Sparta in political affairs, it was natural for the republic to connect these two circumstances, the backwardness of her social habits and the advance of her political power, in the ratio of cause and effect; and to plume herself more and more on her rude simplicity of life, as both the source and the evidence of her superiority to her neighbours. The result could hardly fail to be a progressively increasing disregard of those more genial pursuits on which she formerly prided herself; and a more exclusive devotion to those martial and political objects, by which the faculties of her citizens seem to be absorbed during the period of Grecian history now before us. The inducements which, in this altered state of things, the other leading Greek republics offered to the cultivation of native genius, or to the settlement of enlightened foreigners in their capitals, now naturally became as much superior, as they had formerly been inferior, to those held out by Lacedæmon.

4. Such appear to be the broader features of distinction between the Attic period of Grecian literature, and the Poetical period which it succeeded. It will be desirable, before treating in detail the varied heads of subject comprised in the history of the former, to take a concise general survey of the chief vicissitudes of its intellectual culture, in connexion with a parallel view of those vicissitudes of civil history on which the destinies of literature must always greatly depend.

Historical
vicissitudes
of Greece
during the
Attic pe-
riod.

The period to which, according to the plan laid down in the opening chapter of this work, the title Attic has been given, extends from the year 560 B. C.,

to the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.¹ The more momentous political events which it comprises are subjoined in chronological order :

B. C.

- 560. Usurpation of the supreme power at Athens by Pisistratus.
- 546. The Lydian monarchy overthrown by Cyrus, and the Greek colonies of Asia subjected to the Persian empire.
- 527. Death of Pisistratus.
- 521. Accession of Darius Hystaspes to the Persian throne.
- 514. Hipparchus slain by Harmodius and Aristogiton.
- 510. Expulsion of Hippias from Athens, and end of the Attic "Tyranny."
- 499. The Athenians aid the Ionian colonies in their revolt against Darius ; Sardis burnt.
- 494. Miletus taken by the Persians.
- 490. Invasion of Attica by Datis and Artaphernes. Battle of Marathon.
- 480. Invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.
- 479. Battles of Plataea and Mycale.
- 477. Political ascendancy of Athens under the administration of Cimon and Aristides. The colonies of Asia Minor and the islands become her tributaries. Climax of Athenian power and prosperity during the ensuing half century.
- 469. Pericles begins to direct the affairs of Athens.
- 445. Thirty years' truce between Athens and Sparta, and their respective confederates.
- 444. Ascendancy of the democratic party, headed by Pericles, at Athens.
- 435. War between Corcyra and Corinth.
- 431. Rupture of the Thirty years' truce, and outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.
- 430. Plague at Athens.
- 429. Death of Pericles.
- 425. Capture of Sphacteria and its Spartan garrison by Demosthenes and Cleon.
- 424. Taking of Amphipolis by the Spartans. Disgrace and exile of Thucydides the historian.
- 422. Deaths of Cleon and Brasidas in the battle of Amphipolis.

¹ This epoch has been considered preferable to that of the foundation of Alexandria adopted in Vol. I. p. 6.

B. C.

- 415. Athenian expedition against Sicily. Mutilation of the Attic Herma. Alcibiades quits the Athenian fleet at Catana, and takes refuge in Sparta.
- 413. Destruction of the Athenian armament in Sicily.
- 412. Theatre of war transferred to the coast of Asia.
- 411. Ascendancy of the aristocratic party in Athens. Appointment of Alcibiades to the command of the Athenian forces.
- 407. Alcibiades again superseded and exiled.
- 406. Battle of Arginusæ. Death of Euripides.
- 405. Death of Sophocles. Battle of Ægospotami.
- 404. Surrender of Athens to Lysander. Close of the Peloponnesian war.
- 401. Expedition and death of Cyrus. Retreat of the Ten thousand.
- 395. Defeat and death of Lysander at Haliartus in Bœotia.
- 394. Victory of Agesilaus at Coronea.
- 378. Rise of the Theban ascendancy under Pelopidas and Epaminondas.
- 371. Battle of Leuctra.
- 362. Battle of Mantinea, and death of Epaminondas.
- 359. Accession of Philip to the throne of Macedon.
- 357. Outbreak of the Social war.
- 352. Philip master of Thessaly.
- 338. Battle of Chæronea. Philip master of Greece.
- 336. Death of Philip, and accession of Alexander.
- 334. March of Alexander against Persia.
- 332. Foundation of Alexandria.
- 323. Death of Alexander.

This period may, with more immediate reference to the connexion between the above series of political events and the parallel vicissitudes of literature, be appropriately considered under three subordinate epochs :

- I. From the usurpation of Pisistratus to the reestablishment of the Athenian Commonwealth by Clisthenes in 510.
- II. From the latter event to the conclusion of the

Peloponnesian war, and submission of Athens to Sparta in 404.

III. From the political ascendancy of Sparta, as then established, to the close of the period.

560—510. B. C.

General
view of
Greek literature
from
560 B. C. to
510 B. C.

Pisistratus.

5. Before the era of Pisistratus, Solon had been author of the first recorded attempt of an Attic statesman, to promote among his fellow-citizens a taste for elegant literature. By him were established the periodical recitals of the Homeric poems, in the public festivals, by professional rhapsodists. Pisistratus, following up and improving this institution, undertook, with the aid of several men of letters resident at his court, a compilation and arrangement of those poems in the order of their epic sequel. This compilation appears to have comprised, besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which alone in critical quarters possessed undisputed claim to emanate from the genuine Homer, the greater part of the works known in later times by the title of Homeric or Cyclic poems. Allusion also occurs to a similar compilation by Pisistratus, of the poems of Hesiod¹; and a like service appears to have been rendered by him or his literary coadjutors to the works attributed to the legendary bards, Musæus, Orpheus, Pamphos, and others. These improved editions of the national poems were prepared, it may be supposed, for the "public library" established by the usurper in his native city.² It seems however doubtful, whether the phrase Public library can here properly be taken in the sense which attaches to it in modern times, as denoting a miscellaneous collection

¹ For these details see Vol. I. p. 188. 204. sqq., 213. 518.; conf. Hereas in Plutarch, *Vit. Thes.* xx.

² *Athen.* i. p. 3.; *Aul. Gell.* vi. 17.

of books accessible for perusal or consultation to the citizens at large ; in which sense it appears to be applied by ancient authors to the institution of Pisistratus. His library was probably little more than a repository of what formed in those days the state literature of the Greek republics. Such were the oracular or Sibylline books, which in the early days of Athens and Sparta, as of Rome, constituted an important engine of state policy ; and to which class belonged the hymns of "Musæus" and "Pamphos" above noticed. Such were also the state editions of Homer, Hesiod, and other popular poets, recited in the public solemnities.

Cleomenes king of Sparta, on his occupation of Athens in 509 B.C., is said by Herodotus¹ to have carried off the sacred part of this collection. The remainder is described, on less valid authority, as having been transported by Xerxes to Susa ; and as having afterwards, when that metropolis fell into the hands of the Macedonians, been restored by Seleucus Nicator to the Athenians.² This story is far from probable. That a Persian monarch, when bent on destroying the most sacred monuments of the conquered city, should have attached so great value to a few manuscripts of Greek poets or soothsayers, is difficult to believe. Nor is it likely that a collection of such celebrity as to possess interest even in the eyes of a barbarous invader, would have been forgotten by the Athenians themselves in abandoning the city, when at pains to remove other state valuables of a portable description. But whatever may have been its fate, there is no authentic trace of its existence after the Persian war.

¹ v. 90.

² A. Gell. loc. cit.

His literary circle.

As coadjutors of Pisistratus in his literary undertakings are mentioned Onomacritus of Athens, Orpheus of Croto, and Zopyrus of Heraclea. Onomacritus, besides his share in the Homeric labours of his patron, was specially intrusted with the compilation of "Musæus;" and in the course of this performance, he is said to have been detected by the lyric poet Lasus, in the act of interpolating spurious verses of his own, on the no less spurious works which bore the name of the Thracian bard.¹ Some authors give him credit for most of the poems that passed current under the title Musæus in later times, and for several of those popularly ascribed to the Thracian Orpheus. Orpheus of Croto and Zopyrus also possess claims to original authorship in the same branch of poetry cultivated by their colleague Onomacritus. All these personages² appear to have belonged to that mystically religious school of authors whose works were known by the common title of Orphic, and were nearly connected, in doctrine and style, with the productions of the Pythagorean and other mystical schools of philosophy, which flourished about this time.

To Pisistratus is assigned³ the institution of the greater Panathenæa, with which festival the recitals of Homer, and some other literary entertainments of a popular nature, were chiefly connected. It was also under his government, and it may be presumed under his auspices, that in the year 535 B.C. the first attempts were made by Thespis to mature the dithyrambic

¹ Herodot. vii. 6.

² Vol. I. p. 206.; conf. Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 332. sq.; Pausan. i. xxii. 7., viii. xxxi., i. xxxvii. 3., ix. xxxv. 1.; Suid. v. Orpheus; Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 311. 353. sqq. 386.

³ Schol. Aristid, p. 323. ed. Dind. vol. iii.

mimes of the local Dionysiaca into the Athenian tragedy. Of the Attic comedy, although it had probably assumed, before the time of Thespis, a certain regularity of dramatic arrangement, we hear little or nothing until a later period.

The influence of this enlightened usurper was as zealously exercised in the arts of design as in literature. He was the founder of several fine public buildings¹; and one, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, was conceived by him on such a scale of grandeur, as to place the execution of his plan beyond the resources of Athens or of Greece during her flourishing age. The pleasure grounds and porticoes afterwards known by the title of Lyceum, as a favourite resort of the citizens for gymnastic and literary recreation, were originally his private gardens, thrown open for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen.² Pisistratus was further honourably distinguished among the tyrants of this and the last generation by the humanity of his government. No act of wanton cruelty or oppression has been imputed to him. The value even of this negative testimony to his amiable qualities is the greater, from its contrast to the marked tendency of the popular Greek historians to blacken the characters of the petty despots, so many of whom sprang up about this time in different parts of the confederacy. The merits of Pisistratus as a man, are eulogised even by those who least admired his conduct as a citizen.³

Hippias and Hipparchus, his sons and inheritors of his power, also inherited, the latter more especially,

The Pisi-
stratidæ.

¹ Smith, Biogr. Dict. vol. III. p. 171. sq.

² Theopomp. ap. Athen. XII. p. 533., conf. ap. Suid. et Harpocr. v. *Λύκειον*; Schol. ad Lucian. Pisc. 52.

³ Plut. Sol. 29. Herodot. I. 59. Thucyd. VI. 54.

his taste for elegant pursuit, and share with him, under the family title of Pisistratidæ, the credit of his principal undertakings. Their court remained a favourite resort of foreign men of letters. The more celebrated of these were the lyric poets, Anacreon, Simonides, and Lasus the preceptor of Pindar.¹ Hipparchus, if not the first author of the popular Attic custom of erecting Hermæ or columnar way-posts in the thoroughfares of the Attic Demi, was the first who decorated those monuments with appropriate inscriptions for the entertainment and instruction of the passers by.² Contemporaneous with the Pisistratidæ, and celebrated like the chief of the family for the institution of a public library, was another enlightened tyrant, Polycrates of Samos. His court, like that of Athens, was a favourite resort of men of genius; among others of Anacreon, who acted as preceptor to his son.³

Polycrates
of Samos.

Backward
state of
Attic literature
under the
Pisistratidæ.

But however great the merit of these princes as promoters of literature within the limited field of exertion which royal patronage could provide, there can be little doubt that in some essential respects, their influence tended to obstruct rather than advance the objects which they had at heart. Those spontaneous developments of talent to which nations are indebted for great original works, are in all ages more or less inseparable from a warm sentiment of patriotism concentrated around a popular form of government. The term Popular government must not, in this general application of it, be strictly understood in the sense of Free constitution now habitually

¹ Herodot. vii. 6.; Pseudo-Plat. in Hipparch. p. 228.; Ælian. V. H. viii. 2.

² Pseudo-Plat. loc. cit.

³ Herodot. iii. 121.; Strab. xiv. p. 638.

attached to it; for the patriotic feelings of many nations have been centred, with the warmth which leads to such results, on forms of government far from popular in the constitutional sense. In the case of the Greeks however, the phrase may truly admit of the more limited signification; for in no instance do the national sympathies of any Hellenic state, in historical times, appear to have been permanently enlisted in favour of any government which can be called monarchical in the modern sense. The sway of a single ruler, however mild and generous, was so repugnant to the feelings of Greek freemen, that whenever they felt conscious of the power, they seldom wanted the will, to exchange even the most prosperous state of "tyranny" for the turmoil of republican faction with all its attendant evils. This tone of feeling necessarily placed the Greek sovereign, whatever his own inclinations, under the necessity of governing with a strong hand and a jealous policy, such as could not fail to cramp the intellectual energies of his subjects; and the Pisistratidæ here formed no exception to the general rule. To whatever extent they may, by their wealth and taste, have contributed to nurse the infancy of their native literature, its vigorous youth and manhood required to be trained under a more free and independent form of education. Accordingly, amidst all their efforts to supply materials for mental improvement from abroad, there is little trace of any attempt on the part of their subjects to turn to account the rich resources of their own genius. During the fifty years of the Tyranny no literary work worth preservation was produced by a native Athenian. The first appearance of Phrynichus, the earliest Attic tragedian whose popularity survived his own age, dates

about the time of the expulsion of Hippias in 510 B.C.; and the first dramatic work entitled to rank as truly great or national, the Sack of Miletus by that poet, was brought out more than sixteen years later. It is plain that this tragedy could not have been acted, still less could the burst of feeling with which it was received have found vent, under the previous monarchical rule; its power over the sympathies of the audience being inseparable from the indignation excited against the Persian monarch, with whom the Pisistratidæ were connected by ties of friendship and political interest.

Poetry and
prose flourish
in the
Ionian
colonies.

Among the other Greek states, the Ionian colonies continue during the Pisistratian era to maintain their former superiority to Athens, both in the excellence of their works, and in priority of invention. Prose composition, in its historical department, was steadily advancing towards maturity by the efforts chiefly of Milesian writers, Cadmus, Hecatæus, Dionysius; to which names may be added that of Acusilaus, an Argive by birth but an Ionian in dialect and style. In didactic prose similar progress was making under the auspices of Pherecydes of Syros, Anaximander of Miletus, and Pythagoras of Samos, all Ionians, the latter however domiciled in Magna Græcia. Of the two older — epic and lyric — branches of poetical composition, the latter continued to flourish with much of its former lustre. The list of distinguished lyric poets whose active lives fall in whole or in part within this half-century comprises, in the properly melic department, the names of Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, and Lasus; with that of Hipponax the iambographer, and those of the elegiac or gnomic poets, Xenophanes, Theognis, and Phocylides. Of these all

were Ionians except Ibycus of Rhegium, Lasus of Hermione, and Theognis of Megara, natives of Dorian states. The name of no epic poet of this epoch has been recorded.

510—404 B. C.

6. The restoration of Attic freedom by Clisthenes in 510 B. C. imparted the first real vitality to native Attic literature. There are few more interesting phenomena in the history of our species, than the harmony between the career of Athens in political power and the career of Attic genius in literature and art, in the century after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ. During the thirty years between that event and the close of the Persian war in 479 B. C. the tragic drama was matured by Phrynichus, Chœrilus, Pratinas, and Æschylus, into those elementary forms of dignity and beauty which it continued to expand and embellish throughout the ensuing Periclean age. The remainder of the century witnessed, besides the more finished productions of the tragedians above named, the whole career of the succeeding authors of highest eminence; of Sophocles, Euripides, Ion, and others who competed with them, often successfully, for the prize. The early history of the Comic drama evinces still more clearly the vital connexion between the political and literary energies of the Athenians. It is certain that in the hands of the Dorian Susarion, about the close of the Poetical period (564 B. C.), comedy had already acquired a development, little short of what tragedy could boast in the time of Thespis thirty years afterwards. Yet during the eighty years that elapsed between Susarion and the

General
view of
Greek literature from
510 B. C. to
404 A. C.

Poetry.

Persian war, in the last fifty of which tragedy had been steadily advancing to perfection, we hear nothing of the sister dramatic muse. The meagre notices of the "revival," as it has been called, of Susarion's comedy, shortly before the Persian invasion (480 B.C.), by the obscure poets, Euetes, Euxenides, and Myllus, imply that the art had lain dormant during the intermediate time. The cause of its rapid progress and popularity in the next generation, connects itself obviously with the simultaneous ascendancy of the democratic principle in Athens, and with the uncontrolled freedom afforded to the peculiar class of satire which constitutes the soul of the genuine Attic comedy. Accordingly, the most brilliant age of the Athenian democracy, extending over the middle and latter portion of this century, is also the most brilliant age of comedy as carried to perfection by its three greatest masters, Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes, and by their little less illustrious competitors, Crates, Pherecrates, Amipsias, and Plato.

Tragedy remained during the entire Attic period the all but exclusive privilege and glory of Athens. The only other part of Hellas where comedy became a cultivated order of literature was Sicily; chiefly under the auspices of Epicharmus, a Dorian of Cos, settled, first when an infant at the Hyblæan Megara, afterwards in the neighbouring metropolis of Syracuse. He flourished about the time of the obscure authors above mentioned as the revivers of Susarion's comedy at Athens.¹ This coincidence, with the priority of Sicily in other new branches of compo-

¹ A more ancient Sicilian comedian, quoted by Epicharmus himself, was Aristoxenus of Selinus, who seems to have stood to Epicharmus somewhat in the same relation as Thespis to Phrynichus. Hephæst. Gaisf. p. 45.

sition, which began about the same time to be cultivated in Athens under Sicilian masters, certainly favours the opinion, countenanced also by Aristotle¹, that the successful efforts of Epicharmus to improve the Comic drama of Sicily, had stimulated the advance of that of Athens.

Another inferior order of Sicilian comedy, called the Mime, was raised during this century to the rank of a cultivated order of literature by Sophron, its imputed inventor.² These entertainments, said to have been much relished by Plato³, and to have been first introduced by him at Athens, seem to have been but an improvement on the old Doric mimes, or rude dithyrambs of the Dicelistæ and Autocabdali, described in a previous volume.

Athens produced no poet of celebrity, during this century, in any branch of composition but the drama. The little success of the attempts made by Panyasis of Halicarnassus, Chœrilus of Samos, and Antimachus of Colophon, to reap laurels on the exhausted field of epic poetry, abundantly justify the backwardness of the Athenian men of letters to waste their time in similar efforts.

Lyric poetry continued to flourish in other parts of Greece. The most celebrated names of this epoch are those of the Bœotian Pindar and Corinna, of the Ionian Simonides and Bacchylides, and of the Dorian Timocreon. The deficiency of the Athenians in talent or taste for pure lyric poetry, or the entire absorption of such as they possessed by the lyric element of their drama, is further evinced by the fact

¹ Poet. 3.

² Aristot. Poet. 1.

³ Quintil. i. x. 17.; Diogen. La. iii. 18.; Suid. v. Sophr.; Tzetz. Chil. x. 1003.

that scarcely one of the more esteemed masters, even of that meretricious order of lyric performance which from its popularity at Athens was called the Attic dithyramb, was a native Athenian. The more celebrated composers in this department were, Lasus of Hermione, its supposed originator under the Pisistratidæ, but who continued to flourish after their expulsion, Melanippides of Melos, Phrynys of Mitylene, and Timotheus of Miletus. Lamprocles alone, a poet apparently of some merit, is claimed by the Athenians as their fellow-citizen. Another of inferior rank, Cinesias, is disputed between Athens and Thebes.

Prose literature.

In the more intellectual branches of literature, History, Rhetoric, and the several orders of Didactic composition, Athens still lags behind her colonial neighbours. She cannot as yet claim a prose historian as her own citizen. The younger Pherecydes, though commonly styled of Athens, from having fixed his abode there, is understood to have been a native of the Ionian isle of Leros. Of the other leading contemporaneous writers of the same class, Charon was an Ionian of Lampsacus, Xanthus a Lydian, Hellanicus an Æolian of Lesbos, and Herodotus a Dorian of Halicarnassus. To a colonial author, Glaucus of Rhegium, Greece was also indebted for her first recorded essay in Literary history.

In the literature of philosophy the other Greek states, especially the Sicilian and Italian colonies, still maintain their preeminence, without as yet a successful attempt at rivalry on the part of Athens. Nor indeed, before the middle of the fifth century, do the moral or speculative sciences appear to have been habitually taught in that city as a separate branch of pursuit. In so far as cultivated at all, they are fami-

liarily alluded to as forming but a part of the same course of polite education, which in those days was chiefly in the hands of the music masters and professional rhapsodists.¹ The great names in the philosophical literature of this epoch are, Heraclitus of Ephesus, Parmenides and Zeno of Elea, Empedocles of Agrigentum, Anaxagoras of Clazomene, Diagoras of Melos, and Democritus of Abdera.² The credit of Athens, even as a promoter of foreign talent, is here not unsullied. The same Democracy which enjoyed the licentious satires of the comedian against the absurdities of the popular superstition, denied all free expression of opinion to the sage who proposed, even in the most respectful forms of argument, to substitute for those absurdities sounder views of the truths of natural religion. Of the three more distinguished teachers, Anaxagoras, Diagoras, and Zeno, who, under the patronage of Pericles or other enlightened citizens, settled at Athens, the first two were banished by the Democracy for presuming to teach anything worth learning on those higher subjects; and Anaxagoras, in his absence, was condemned to death by the same illiberal tribunal. Their subsequent treatment of Socrates, whose career of public instruction also falls for the most part within this epoch, but who takes no literary rank in the proper sense, not having committed his lectures to writing, forms an appropriate sequel to that which the enlightened strangers who preceded him had experienced at their hands. This

¹ Plat. Lach. p. 180.; Plut. vit. Pericl. 4.

² Archelaus, the reputed master of Socrates, is of doubtful nativity. By some he is called a Milesian; by others he is claimed, not without plausibility, as a native Athenian; even in his Attic capacity, he is chiefly distinguished for having first introduced the physical philosophy from Ionia into the city.

spirit of intolerance in matters of speculative doctrine or opinion, is the greatest blot in the character of Athens, especially of her democracy, under which it solely or chiefly displays itself. It appears also in the more offensive light, from its contrast to the liberality by which, in this respect, the rest of the Greek nation was so honourably distinguished.¹

Even in rhetoric, the art in which her superiority to all rivals is so well established, Athens must yield the palm of originality to Sicily. The honour of having first constituted eloquence a branch of literature is due to that island. The oratory of nature must, it is true, have attained in the time of Pericles at least as high a stage of excellence at Athens as elsewhere. It is however not with the oratory of nature, of which Homer was as great a master as Demosthenes, but with the literature of oratory that we have here to deal. The earliest professional teachers in that department were Corax and Tisias both of Syracuse, and Empedocles of Agrigentum ; all nearly contemporaneous. Corax and Tisias were authors of the first recorded treatises on rhetorical composition. Gorgias of Leontini, by his improvements on their system, and by the brilliancy of his own style, secured a more extended popularity to the new profession. To these Sicilian masters, especially to Gorgias, all the great professional orators of Athens were indebted, directly or indirectly, for their education. The first recorded prose writer produced by Athens was the orator Antiphon, a younger contemporary of Gorgias, during the latter half of the fifth century B. C.

The lectures of Gorgias, and other contemporaneous teachers of the same class, the more popular of whom

¹ See Appendix A.

were Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis, embraced also the sciences of grammar, literary criticism, logic, and speculative philosophy. To them and other foreigners, the Athenians were solely or chiefly indebted for their first more extended proficiency in those several branches of pursuit. Their rhetorical compositions also at times assumed the form of historical essays, moral allegories, and treatises on the art of government.

In the literature of science in the narrower sense, the names of the great physician Hippocrates, a Dorian of Cos, and of the astronomer Meton of Athens, alone take rank with those of the principal authors in other departments of prose.

Didactic or Gnostic poetry, the poetry of the early philosophers, of Solon and the Seven sages, still continued to be preferred to prose by some of their successors; among whom the more distinguished were Parmenides of Elea and Empedocles of Agrigentum.

During the latter half of the fifth century B.C., successful efforts were made, still chiefly by colonial writers, in various branches of miscellaneous prose literature, political, scientific, and familiar. Among the authors of this class whose works obtained permanent popularity, the most distinguished were Democritus of Abdera, the Homeric rhapsodist Stesimbrotus of Thasos, and Ion of Chios the tragic poet.

404—323 B. C.

7. During the remaining seventy years between the close of the Peloponnesian war and that of the entire Attic period, the poetical genius of Athens, which in the previous century had reached its climax

State of
literature
from 404
B. C. to the
close of the
Attic pe-

riod—323
B. C.

of excellence simultaneously with that of her political prosperity, appears subdued and paralysed by the disasters with which that century had terminated. Under the pressure of those disasters, the tragic drama, the chief or only solid basis of Attic renown in the nobler branches of poetry, sank and expired. Sophocles and Euripides, by a striking and affecting coincidence, died the year before the fatal battle of *Ægospotamoi*, which subjected their native city to the Spartan yoke; and they left no successor whose works acquired permanent popularity or celebrity.

Comedy however continued to flourish. Even national calamity furnished materials for brilliant sarcasm to the Athenian Comic muse. But the humiliation of the Democracy, with whose fortunes her own had from the first been associated, involved a corresponding degradation of her character. Her satire now began to be directed against objects of an inferior order, and to be wielded by less vigorous hands. Aristophanes it is true, with his rival Plato, survived the fall of the city; but his greatest works, with scarcely an exception, were produced prior to that catastrophe. Still however, inferior as the muse of the Middle comedy, for so this second stage of the art was called, may have proved to her predecessor, in genuine Attic humour, the falling off involved no diminution in the number or enthusiasm of her votaries. The Athenian citizen seems rather to have sought consolation for his misfortunes, in a more exuberant indulgence in such sources of jovial excitement as were still at his command.

Another order of poetical entertainment, which under these circumstances could hardly fail to extend its previous popularity, was the Attic dithyramb.

Accordingly these performances, though stigmatised by professional critics of every age as a corruption of the antient pure style of lyro-dramatic poetry, involving a parallel corruption of the sister art of music, assumed from day to day, with a greater complication of artistic forms and a greater display of meretricious graces, a stronger hold on the Athenian public. Nor was this deterioration of taste confined to Athens. The old classic orders of Greek lyric poetry seem to have become virtually extinct about this time throughout Greece, and their place to have been usurped by this same Attic dithyramb under its several varieties. Athens, now as formerly, can claim as her own citizens but few of the leading professors in this department. The most celebrated are, Timotheus of Miletus, Philoxenus of Cithera, Telestes of Selinus, and Polyidus of Athens.

This epoch produced no epic poet with any pretensions either to merit or popularity.

The decline of poetical literature was nobly compensated by the rapid development of genius in the more intellectual branches of pursuit. The same national misfortunes which quenched the inspirations of the tragic dramatist seem, by sobering and chastening the Attic mind, to have given a sudden vitality to its hitherto dormant talents for History, Oratory, Philosophy, and miscellaneous literature. The high perfection to which the first three branches of composition were now carried, forms both the alleviation and the glory of the seventy years of political discord and national decay in the Hellenic states, which terminated with the final extinction both of republican liberty and of original genius in art and letters, under the Macedonian ascendancy.

In historical composition Colonial Greece, though no longer able to cope with the standard Athenian authors in that department, continues at least to maintain the respectable position she had held in the days when Athens was still her pupil. The historians of this epoch who rank next to Thucydides and Xenophon, are Philistus of Syracuse, Ctesias of Cnidus, Ephorus of Cuma, and Theopompus of Chios.

In oratory Athens now bears away the palm from every rival. To this epoch belong, in whole or in part, the active lives of eight of the ten Attic orators of the classical canon, inclusive of the four greatest, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lysias, and Isocrates. The two exceptions are, Antiphon the father of the native Attic school, and Demetrius Phalereus the last of the ten. No orator of high celebrity flourished in any other state.

In philosophy Athens, eminent as she now becomes, has still but a share of the great men of the age. Of her three principal authors, Plato, Xenophon, and Speusippus, the former, founder and chief of the Academy, is rivalled by the Stagirite Aristotle, founder of the Peripatetic sect. Xenocrates of Chalcedon, successor of Speusippus in the Academy, Archytas of Tarentum, also celebrated as a warrior and statesman, and the astronomer Eudoxus of Cnidus, educated and settled at Athens, uphold in their several departments the credit of colonial learning.

State of
education
during the
Attic pe-
riod.

8. Elementary education appears to have been universal among the free citizens of the Greek states during the entire Attic period. Scarcely an allusion occurs, if indeed an authentic one can be found, to an

illiterate Hellene. Even the Spartans, so proverbially deficient in polite culture, were constrained by the spirit, if not by the letter of their state discipline, to acquire at least the arts of reading and writing.¹ It is also probable that the slave population of the large towns was to a great extent similarly qualified, especially in Athens, where much of the practical economy of trade and manufacture, with the details of expenditure and bookkeeping, was in the hands of that class. Schools and schoolmasters accordingly, are represented as in every part of Greece an essential element of the social system²; and the instruction, even of the upper classes, was carried on much more generally in those schools than in the mode of private tuition.³ The office of the pædagogue, or private tutor, frequently mentioned as superintending the education of young men of rank, was subordinate to the system of public instruction. His duties were, to conduct his pupil to and from the academy, to superintend his moral conduct and manners, and keep him out of danger or mischief. Few of them appear to have been men of a high standard of acquirement, or qualified to assist their pupils effec-

¹ For a full discussion of the whole question of Spartan literary education, see Vol. III. 1st. ed. pp. 451. sqq. 501. 504.; 2nd ed. Append. N. p. 521.; and the author's "Remarks" (Longman, 1851) in reply to a dissertation against his views, appended to the third volume (3rd edition) of Mr. Grote's History of Greece.

² One of the most curious and apparently authentic notices on the subject is that preserved by Plutarch (Vit. Themist. x.). When the population of Attica abandoned their own country to Xerxes, and took refuge in great part at Trœzen in Peloponnesus, the Trœzenians, among other munificent hospitalities, decreed, on the motion of a citizen named Nicagoras, that schoolmasters should be provided at state expense for the juvenile portion of their guests. Conf. Herod. vi. 27.; Thuc. vii. 29.; and supr. Vol. III. pp. 448. sq.

³ Plat. Amat. p. 132. A.; Protag. p. 325.

tively in their prescribed course of study¹; and, in Plato's time, those entrusted even with youths of highest rank appear to have been commonly slaves.²

The most distinct account of an elementary course of education is given by Plato. As soon, he informs us, as a boy has acquired, under the care of his parents, his nursemaid, or his pædagogus, a sense of the distinction between right and wrong, he is sent to school, to be instructed in reading, writing, music, and orderly habits. When he has learnt his letters, and begins to understand what he reads, his master selects his task from such works of good poets, as abound in sage admonition, and celebrate the acts of virtuous men, whose fame may inspire him with zeal to emulate their worth; which lessons he is also made to learn by heart.³ He is then taught the use of the lyre, and exercised in reciting to its accompaniment passages of the standard lyric poets; that his mind may thus be imbued with those principles of rhythm and harmony, so essential through life to order, consistency, and self control, as well in speaking as in acting. Upon this follows a course of athletic exercises in the gymnasium, which finishes the education of the boy, and fits him for the higher training of the citizen.⁴ The only part of this higher training here specified by Plato is the study of the law: but from other sources⁵ we learn that in his time the elementary education of

¹ Plat. de Legg. p. 808. D.

² Plat. Lys. p. 208. C., 223. A.; cf. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. II. 1.

³ Æsop and Theognis appear to be mentioned by other authorities among the more popular of these elementary class books. Aristoph. Av. 471.; and ap. Plut. ed. Xyland. vol. II. p. 395. D. 777. B.; Lucilius ap. A. Gell. I. 3.

⁴ Protag. p. 325. sq., conf. de Legg. p. 809.; Aristot. Polit. VIII. 2. sqq.

⁵ Plat. Axioch. p. 366. E., de Legg. loc. cit.; Aristoph. Nub. 200 sqq.

the ephebus, or youth of the upper class, was followed up in the Lyceum, the Academy, or other similar public institutions, by a more enlarged course of instruction, comprised under the heads of rhetoric and philosophy; a course analogous to the university education of our own age. It comprehended mathematics, astronomy, dialectics, oratory, criticism, and the elements of moral and political science. The masters by whom it was conducted were commonly called sophists, or rhetors, till about the time of Plato, when the more honourable title of philosophers was generally preferred. The higher branches of the art of war were also taught by professional masters to those ambitious of military command.¹

Schools
and school-
masters.

It is remarkable that the frequent notices which occur of schoolmasters and their schools, supply so little clear information as to the habits or social position of this important part of the community; nor does it appear whether they were a distinct class, or merely a lower grade of sophists or rhetors. They seem however to have belonged to the upper rank of citizens in some states, and to have been received in the best circles.² Such as they were, the lessons they taught were limited to the Greek tongue. Instruction in foreign languages was never esteemed in Greece either a necessary or an important branch of general education. This is a peculiarity which forms also a signal defect of Greek culture as compared with that of modern times. The explanation of its causes, in so far as capable of being explained, has been offered in other parts of this work.³

¹ Xenoph. Memor. III. 1.

² Ion Chius, ap. Athen. XIII. p. 604. sq.

³ Vol. I. p. 142. sqq. (2nd ed.)

In Athens, and probably in other Greek republics, every citizen was under at least a moral obligation¹ to provide his sons with a competent knowledge of letters. The discipline of the schools was also under state control.² Yet the government nowhere seems to have provided or maintained them, or to have appointed or paid the schoolmasters, whose livelihood depended on the fees of their pupils.³ The amount of those fees has not been recorded. But more distinct notices have been transmitted of the charges made by literary professors of the higher class. The fees said to have been paid for a course of instruction to some of the earlier and more distinguished sophists and philosophers are so extravagant as to be scarcely credible, even when attested, as they are in some instances, by the best contemporaneous authority. Protagoras is taunted by Plato⁴ as the first professor of the higher branches of learning who taught for hire. If this imputation be well founded, his older contemporaries Zeno and Gorgias must have been speedily led to follow his example: for Zeno⁵ is said by Plato himself to have been paid 100 minæ, or upwards of 400*l.*, by each disciple, for a course of lectures; and Gorgias⁶ also to have been richly remunerated by his pupils. The fees of both Protagoras and Gorgias are rated by other authorities⁷ at the same amount as those of Zeno. This sum, taking into account the high value

¹ See Vol. III. p. 448. sqq.

² Draco and Solon ap. *Æsch.* adv. Timarch. p. 32. sqq.

³ Plato, *Eryxias*, p. 402. D.

⁴ In *Protag.* p. 349., conf. 329.; *Aristot. Eth. Nic.* ix. 1. 5.

⁵ *Alcibiad.* i. p. 119.

⁶ *Hipp. Maj.* p. 282.

⁷ *Suid.* v. Γοργ; *Diod.* xii. 53.; *Quintil. Inst. Or.* iii. 1.; *Diog. Laert.* ix. 52.: conf. *Xenoph. Sympos.* i. 5. iii. 6.

of the precious metals in antient times, would be equal to about 2000*l.* of our money. But prices were afterwards greatly reduced¹, as the number of professors increased, and the former blind veneration for their magic powers of communicating knowledge, or for the value of the knowledge communicated, declined. Isocrates, the younger contemporary of Protagoras, and probably the better master of the two, was satisfied with ten minæ, or forty pounds, for a course²; which sum seems afterwards to have remained the ordinary rate of payment.³

¹ Prodicus is described as being satisfied with payments varying from one to fifty drachmæ, according to the value or difficulty of the science taught. But these may have been the prices of single lectures, not of entire courses. Plat. Axioch. p. 366., Cratyl. p. 384.

² Plut. Vit. Demosth. 5., Vit. Dec. Oratt. in Isocrat. p. 143. Tauchn.

³ Demosth. contr. Lacr. p. 938.; Plat. Apolog. Socr. p. 20.

The virulent terms in which Plato and other Socratics (Plat. Protag. p. 349., Soph. p. 223. sqq., Axioch. p. 366.; Xenoph. Mem. i. ii. 6., i. vi. 13.) inveigh against the practice of teaching for money, as sordid and degrading to the character of a man of science, appear quite senseless, if taken in what certainly seems to be their literal import, as applicable to the acceptance even of a reasonable remuneration for the instruction communicated. A more extravagant utopianism can hardly be imagined, than a rule to preclude men of learning from the right enjoyed by all other men, of gaining their livelihood by their talents and labour. Such a rule would have proved a far more serious obstruction to the advance of knowledge, than the most excessive spirit of extortion in those proposed to be subjected to it. It would virtually have prevented all but rich men, and by consequence the greater part of those best qualified to teach, from teaching at all: for a man can as little carry on the work of instruction as any other business of life without the means of subsistence. In charity to Plato therefore, we must assume him to allude rather to the mercenary conduct of some of the popular masters of his own age, in exacting exorbitant fees from wealthy or easy-tempered pupils, than to the acceptance of an equitable, perhaps voluntary payment for services rendered. The rest may be ascribed to the spirit of malicious exaggeration in which Plato, throughout, handles the character and habits of the "sophists." The contrast also, between his scornful denunciations of these favourite objects of his sarcasm, and the easy, even complimentary manner in which (Alcib. p. 119.) he mentions the acceptance, by Zeno the philosopher, from rich Athenian pupils, of sums equal to the most extravagant demanded by Gorgias or Protagoras, is very curious.

Libraries.

No distinct notice occurs of the existence, during the Attic period, either at Athens or elsewhere, of a public library, in the familiar sense of a miscellaneous collection of books for the use of the citizens; although, as in the time of Pisistratus, standard editions of the popular works recited in the public solemnities, and more especially of the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, were preserved at Athens under the charge of the city clerk.¹ Private libraries had, however, already become sufficiently voluminous or curious to merit being specially recorded. Such were those of Euripides² the poet, and of Plato³, part of whose collection was purchased at Tarentum in Italy from the heirs of its former proprietor Philolaus, and another part at Syracuse; those of Euthydemus mentioned by Xenophon⁴, of Aristotle, of Nicocrates of Cyprus, and of the Athenian archon Euclides.⁵ The varied character of the works stored in the library of a literary professor, towards the close of this period, is illustrated by a scene in a comedy of Alexis, the humour of which turns on the gluttony of Hercules, a hero habitually burlesqued for that failing in the Greek satirical literature. The youthful demigod, when directed by his master, the poet Linus, to select the book he preferred from his preceptor's collection, described as containing the poems of Homer, Orpheus, Hesiod, Chcerilus, Epicharmus, the tragedians, and the popular prose classics, makes choice of a cookery book.⁶ That books of all kinds

¹ Plut. Vit. Dec. Oratt. in Lycurg. p. 151. Tauchn.

² Athen. i. p. 3.

³ Diog. La. viii. 15., iii. 13.; Procl. ad. Tim. p. 24.; Tzet. Chil. x. 1004.

⁴ Memor. Socr. iv. ii. 1.

⁵ Athen. i. p. 3.; Strab. p. 608.

⁶ Athen. iv. p. 164.

then commonly in use, abounded during the greater part of the Attic period appears, not only from the general familiarity which the educated ranks possessed with the text of the national classics, but still more from the absence of any allusion to a scarcity of copies as interposing a serious obstacle to the attainment of such knowledge. The book trade, as a distinct branch of commerce, seems indeed to have been still but limited, as in truth it was comparatively in every age prior to the invention of printing; and remained probably in a great measure in the hands of professional copyists. Booksellers¹ however, and a book mart² at Athens, are mentioned by authors flourishing during the Peloponnesian war; and occasional notices occur of book scribes or copyists³, and of bookbinding.⁴ A trade in books or paper is also mentioned by Xenophon⁵ as having been carried on about the same date, between Greece and the coasts of the Euxine sea.⁶ A considerable time however seems to have been required to bring the works even of the most popular authors into general circulation; and the disciples of distinguished philosophers, Hermodorus for example,

¹ Aristomen. ap. Jul. Poll. vii. xxxiii. 211.

² Eupolis, ap. J. Poll. ix. v. 47.: conf. Aristoph. Aves. 1037. sqq.

³ Cratin. et Antiph. ap. J. Poll. vii. 211.

⁴ Antiph. ap. J. Poll. ibid.

⁵ Anab. vii. v. 14.

⁶ Some commentators have proposed to alter the genuine reading *βιβλοι* of this passage into *βυβλια*, "ropes or mats" of the papyrus reed; on the ground that such articles were better adapted to the wants of the barbarous natives of the Euxine coast, than either books or paper. With better reason might it be said, that the many flourishing Greek colonies on the same coasts would require a plentiful supply both of books and writing material: which they would be more likely to provide from the metropolitan seats of literary commerce in Greece or Egypt than from their own local resources. Conf. Diogen. La. Vit. Zenon. xxvii.

a scholar of Plato, appear to have made profit by being the first to transport copies of their masters' lectures into distant localities.¹

Patrons of
literature,
Pisistra-
tidæ, Poly-
crates,
Pericles.

9. In drawing this summary to a close, a few remarks are due to the patrons of literature, by whom, in addition to Pisistratus and Polycrates above noticed, this period was adorned. It is remarkable that while Clisthenes, the restorer of Athenian liberty after the usurpation of the Pisistratidæ, was the most distinguished ancestor of Pericles, the character of Pericles himself bears in many respects a strong resemblance to that of the celebrated founder of the Tyranny subverted by Clisthenes. In their fine taste for literature and art, in their zealous promotion of those pursuits, in their hospitality to foreign men of genius, in the despotic sway which each in his different mode exercised over his fellow-citizens ; in the peculiar style, as well as power of their oratory, and, if we may

¹ Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 21. ; Zenob. et Suid. in *Λόγοισιν Ἐρμόδωρος ἐμπορεύεται*. This line has been assumed by modern commentators to allude to the sale of books in the ordinary course of commerce as a thing hitherto rare or unheard of in Sicily, in the time of Plato or of his disciple Hermodorus. But any such interpretation seems incompatible, first, with the general state of literature in either Greece or Sicily at that time ; secondly, with the admitted fact that Plato himself had been a purchaser of books in Sicily ; thirdly, with the import of the term *λόγοισι*, which here obviously does not so much mean books in the material sense, as literary compositions, works of genius. The rare or novel practice (if any) here referred to, is the employment of a special agent to bring certain works into circulation ; Hermodorus, as we learn from Cicero, having been empowered by Plato himself to act in that capacity. The just historical inference therefore to be drawn from the adage is, not that the sale of books was unknown or uncommon, but that the circulation of new works was slow, both in Sicily and in Greece generally, in the time of Plato. The same inference may be derived from the story in Plutarch (Nicias, 29), of the plays of Euripides having been recited as novelties, during the Peloponnesian war, by Athenian prisoners to their Syracusan captors.

trust the tradition of their countrymen, in their personal appearance¹, the parallel between the enlightened tyrant of the one period, and the enlightened demagogue of the other, is singularly close. Pericles was the most accomplished orator of his day; and is also reported to have been the first Athenian who wrote his speeches before delivering them; a tradition to which however little weight can attach.² He was versed in the philosophy of his time, as taught by masters whose lectures were delivered in the city, under such protection as he had in his power to afford them against the reigning popular prejudice. He is also said to have turned his scientific attainments to beneficial account in the affairs of the state, by quieting the alarm which eclipses, and other natural phenomena, created among the more simple-minded citizens; and which so often interfered with the conduct of important public enterprises. He was an accomplished musician; and, though not described as having himself cultivated poetry, was a zealous patron of that branch of the art which chiefly flourished at Athens. The national enthusiasm for scenic entertainments rendered the popular dramatic writers comparatively independent of the kind of patronage which it is usually in the power of rank to bestow. But such as Pericles had at his command was liberally accorded, and appropriately combined with that encouragement of the arts of design for which he is also deservedly celebrated. Among other great architectural works, he built a noble theatre. He also obtained a law, granting to every Attic citizen the price

¹ Plut. Vit. Peric. p. 155.

² Suid. v. Περικ. It seems to be contradicted by Plut. Vit. Dec. Orr. in Antiph. p. 129. Tauchnitz.

of his admission to the performances, and extended or embellished the festivals with which scenic representations were connected. He may indeed be said to have called into requisition the resources, not merely of Athens but of all Greece, in rendering his native city what he justly boasted her to be in his day, the metropolis of Greece in science and civilisation. For the treasures expended by him in his efforts to secure her this distinction, were in great part the produce of the taxation enforced by Athens, under his guidance, on her Hellenic allies ; ostensibly as the price of their protection from the common enemy, but more truly for the aggrandisement and embellishment of the dominant state.

That the exertions of this prince of demagogues, in the promotion of elegant pursuit, if not more sincere, were more disinterested than those of the enlightened despot of the preceding age with whom he has been compared, may be inferred from the different treatment received by each from those for whose behoof their liberality was displayed. The affairs of the state, which supplied so many favourite subjects, serious and comic, to the popular Greek writers, were in the time of Pericles, as in the time of Pisistratus, available for such purposes, only in so far as was agreeable to the rulers of the state. But in the latter case, the ruler of the state and the patron of literature were the same person. The talents promoted by him were exercised under the control of his body guard. The case of Pericles was different. Even the patronage was but in part at his disposal, being largely shared by the democracy, while the whole censorship was in the hands of that body ; and, among the modes in which their right to both

offices was asserted, two of the most popular were: first, to make their political chief a favourite butt of their poetical satire; secondly, to call him severely to account whenever his exercise of the joint privilege interfered with their own passions or prejudices. One can indeed hardly grudge father Demus the pleasure he derived from the ridicule thrown by the comedians on Pericles, when we consider that he equally enjoyed their attacks on himself. As long as he was amused any license was permitted to others. But when Anaxagoras, the friend of the same Pericles, ventured to teach sublime truths which clashed with the popular superstition, both the philosopher and his patron were speedily made to feel, that the many-headed monarch of the Pnyx was as jealous of his own despotic rights as the sternest tyrant of any previous dynasty.

10. There is perhaps no event in the life of Pericles which better displays the enlightenment of his own character, his influence over his countrymen, the boldness with which he exerted it, and the obstacles interposed to his success by national prejudice, than his connexion with the celebrated Aspasia. Allusion has already been made¹ in these pages, to the narrow spirit with which the Athenian citizen enforced his own political and intellectual ascendancy, even to the degradation of those objects which, next to his republican rights, were nearest and dearest to his affections. There was one portion of the Attic mind, certainly no ignoble one, which can hardly be said to have had any share whatever in that brilliant development of Hellenic genius in which Athens now takes the lead,

His connexion with Aspasia.

¹ Vol. III. p. 304. sq.

—the portion which fell to the lot of the women. A limited participation in the graver kinds of literary entertainment connected with certain religious festivals, appears to have been allowed them. But from those advantages of a high state of social culture, which consist in the rational intercourse and interchange of ideas between the educated men and women of a great European metropolis, they were altogether debarred. Their social enjoyments, like their social duties, were confined to the seclusion of their own apartments; their power to the government of their servants; their talents to the administration of their household affairs. The union between Pericles and the fascinating stranger, who had selected Athens as the fairest field for turning her accomplishments to account, gave him an opportunity of combating this national prejudice, such as it is not likely any alliance with an Athenian lady could have afforded. Aspasia was promoted by him to the privileges which the wife of the first citizen of a civilised community ought to enjoy. She presided at his table, and, to use the modern phrase, did the honours of his house, attracting and delighting his guests with the charms of her conversation and address. Had any high-born Athenian dame been his accomplice in this attempt to innovate on so delicate a point of Athenian manners, the result could hardly have been other than such a loss of her own credit in the eyes of her peeresses, as would have been an obstacle at the outset to any influence of her example upon their conduct. Aspasia on the other hand, on being virtually raised to the rank of an Athenian lady, could forfeit nothing of the character she formerly possessed, by retaining her previous social habits in

her new position. It is fair therefore to infer, that an enlightened desire to enlarge the views of his fellow-citizens as to the just rights of the female sex, had as much influence as his own passion, in inducing Pericles to raise Aspasia from the rank of his mistress to that of his wife.¹

The experiment however was not successful. The force of antient custom was too strong. A few of the Athenian ladies went the length of joining the circle of Aspasia; none it would appear ventured to open a similar circle in their own mansions; and the public voice was raised in loud and threatening tones both against the author of the innovation and his fair accomplice. After the death of Pericles we hear nothing of the social influence of his widow; or of any other attempt, during the flourishing age of Greece, to break through the almost oriental restrictions on the free intercourse of the sexes in Athens.

Among the other Hellenic sovereigns or statesmen Hieron. who here merit special notice as patrons of learning and literature, the most enlightened and munificent was Hieron of Syracuse (478—467 B. C.). His court was a favourite resort of the leading literary men of his age; of Æschylus, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, Epicharmus, Xenophanes; several of whom appear to have been honoured with his personal friendship, as well as royal hospitality. The two Dionysii of Syracuse, who afterwards successively The Dionysii. held sway in the same republic and over a great part of Sicily and Italy, in the first half of the fourth cen-

¹ The formal or legal marriage of an Athenian citizen with a foreigner was prohibited; but considering the facility with which even a legal marriage could be dissolved, the connexion between Pericles and Aspasia may be esteemed, morally speaking, about as valid as matrimony. The only essential difference was, that it did not legitimise its offspring.

tury B. C., have also pretensions to rank as encouragers of letters. The elder Dionysius was himself an author, and on several occasions gained the tragic prize at Athens; but whether the award was due to his merit as a poet, or to his monarchal dignity, may be a question. Neither father nor son however has much claim to that real appreciation of genius by which Hieron was distinguished; and the men of letters whom they entertained at their court, Plato among others, appear to have been as often the sport of their jealousy and caprice, as the objects of their favour or generosity.

Macedo-
nian kings.

Several of the early Macedonian kings were munificent patrons of men of letters. Euripides, his fellow-tragedian Agathon, Chœrilus the epic poet, and Zeuxis the painter, were honourably entertained by Archelaus (413—399) at his court, where Euripides permanently settled and spent the latter part of his life.¹ Socrates² also received, but declined, an invitation from the same monarch, to participate in the honours conferred by him on other distinguished Athenians. His successor Amyntas II. is reported, but on less valid authority³, to have afforded hospitality

¹ Hermesian. ed. Bach. p. 158.; Diodor. xiii. 103.; A. Gell. xv. 20.; Ælian. V. H. ii. 21., xiii. 4., xiv. 17.; Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 85.; Athen. viii. p. 345. D.

² Aristot. Rhet. ii. 23. § 8.

³ Suid. v. 'Ελλάνικος. This notice is not exempt from the confusion of persons and dates, too common in the text of its author. It is probable however that with the authority from whom he borrowed, the Amyntas referred to was not, as modern commentators have assumed, the first sovereign of that name, who died before Hellenicus was born; but as here supposed, his grandson Amyntas II. This Amyntas, it is true, did not acquire the supreme power in Macedonia until 394 B. C., after the death consequently of the authors who are described as his guests. He seems however previously to have enjoyed, in a more or less independent capacity, the sovereignty of certain provinces of Upper Macedonia, inherited from his grandfather Alexander I. Thucyd. ii. 100.: conf. 95. and i. 57. 59.

to Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Euripides; and this monarch's son, Perdiccas II., is described as an enthusiastic patron of men of science.¹

The two last and greatest Macedonian monarchs of this period, Philip and his son Alexander, have less claim to rank as patrons of literature in the proper sense, although both availed themselves in their councils of the services of philosophers, celebrated for knowledge of the arts of government, or experience in the affairs of life. Aristotle resided habitually at the court of Philip as preceptor to Alexander, and the latter carried with him on his campaigns, as confidential advisers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. But the functions of Anaxarchus seem to have been little more than those of court flatterer; and the fate of Callisthenes, whom Alexander disgraced, imprisoned, and according to some accounts tortured to death, on a vague charge of implication in a conspiracy against his person, proves that respect for men of learning had but little influence in modifying in the mind of the conqueror the passions to which it was habitually subjected.

In the ensuing more detailed treatment of the literature of the Attic period, a priority in the order of arrangement will be given to prose, and more especially to history, over other branches of composition. Among the several inducements to this method may be urged, that it is in the rise and popularity of prose, that the fundamental feature above pointed out as distinguishing the Attic period from that which precedes, the ascendancy of the intellectual over the imaginative faculty, most broadly displays itself; and

¹ Caryst. ap. Athen. xi. p. 506. 508.

it is obviously desirable that we should at once be enabled to apprehend this distinction in its full extent and influence. It is further apparent, that the closer insight into the political annals of any nation, to be derived from an examination of its historical literature, must tend greatly to assist any future estimate of the other contemporaneous productions of national talent.

CHAP. II.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF GREEK PROSE
COMPOSITION.

1. FIRST ESSAYS IN PROSE WRITING LONG PRECEDES A POPULAR PROSE LITERATURE. LAWS. RHETORIC OF LYCURGUS. DRACO. SOLON. PELOPONNESIAN ARCHIVES. ORACLES.—2. RISE OF POPULAR PROSE COMPOSITION. CADMUS. PHERECYDES. ACUSILAUS. EUMELUS. ARISTEAS. EPIMENIDES.—3. RESTRICTION OF EARLY GREEK POETICAL HISTORY TO MYTHICAL SUBJECTS.—4. CAUSES OF THAT RESTRICTION. SIMILAR RESTRICTION OF EARLIEST PROSE HISTORY. FIRST APPLICATION OF PROSE TO PHILOSOPHICAL SUBJECTS.—5. GEOGRAPHY THE MOTHER OF AUTHENTIC HISTORY. ARISTEAS OF PROCONNESUS. ANAXIMANDER AND MECATEUS OF MILETUS. SCYLAX.—6. GENEALOGICAL LITERATURE. FIRST ESSAYS IN AUTHENTIC HISTORY. CHARON OF LAMPSACUS. OTHER EARLY HISTORIANS.—7. GREEK TECHNICAL CHRONOLOGY. EARLIEST CHRONOLOGERS. CHARON OF LAMPSACUS. HELLANICUS. OLYMPIC REGISTER.—8. DEFINITION AND ORIGIN OF THE OLYMPIC ERA. HIPPIAS. ARISTOTLE. TIMÆUS.—9. OLYMPIAD OF CORÆBUS. OLYMPIAD OF IPHITUS AND LYCURGUS. IDENTITY OF THE TWO.—10. PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE. ITS SLOW PROGRESS.—11. RHETORIC. THEAGENES OF RHÆGIUM. RHAPSODISTS. SICILIAN MASTERS. CORAX. TISIAS. SOPHISTS. DEFINITION AND CHARACTER OF.—12. GORGIAS. PROTAGORAS. PRODICUS. HIPPIAS. EARLY ATTIC ORATORS. THRASYMACHUS. THEODORUS. GRAMMATICAL WORKS.—13. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE LITERATURE. FABLE. ÆSOP. OTHER BRANCHES OF POPULAR PROSE.—14. GREEK PROSE STYLE. STYLE AS DEPENDENT ON DIALECT. EARLY IONIC PROSE. ITS VARIETY OF USAGE.—15. ATTIC PROSE.—16. STYLE AS DEPENDENT ON STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION. "SENTENTIOUS" STYLE.—17. "PERIODIC" STYLE. GORGIAS. LYSIAS. PERFECTION OF ATTIC STYLE. LATER VICISSITUDES OF IONIC STYLE. A DEFECT OF THE CLASSICAL ATTIC STYLE.

1. In the present chapter it is proposed to trace the origin of Greek prose writing, and the several stages of its progress down to the close of the fifth century B. C. ; that being the epoch at which we first find it generally adapted to the various orders of polite com-

position, as comprised under the heads of History, Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Miscellaneous literature.

The inquiry into the rise and early practice of prose writing has been commonly confounded with that relative to the cultivation of prose as a branch of popular composition. The two questions are however materially distinct, and a right understanding of the distinction is indispensable to the accurate treatment of this entire subject.

First essays in prose writing long precede a popular prose literature.

Attention has already been directed¹ to the causes which obtained for poetry a precedence in the order of cultivation over the sister style of literature. The harmony of metrical numbers was required, not only to gratify the taste of a primitive audience, but also as an aid to the memory, in an age when other means of preserving popular works were unknown or scanty. The same cause would naturally tend to retard any more general application of the art of writing to the art of poetry, even after mechanical facilities for the purpose became more plentiful. The two essential requisites of a national literature, promulgation and preservation, being already in a great degree provided for in the manner most agreeable to the primitive public, there was the less inducement to resort to more artificial expedients; although it is probable that these also would, from the earliest epoch at which a supply of them was at hand, be employed for the private convenience of professional reciters.

Prose composition on the other hand offered no aid to the memory, and in its pristine form no charm to the imagination. It must therefore have been dependent, from the first, for its transmission, or indeed for its very existence, on the art of writing. It was

¹ Vol. I. p. 145. sq.

in fact, in its origin and essence, the first application of that art to purposes of utility; and writing being itself, in the strictest sense, an art of practical utility, invented for the recording of what could not be recorded by other means, it follows that the use of writing and the composition of prose must have been coeval. From the earliest existence of the former art, all documents of importance connected with civil government or social life, laws, state decrees, chronological and statistical records, epistolary communications, private contracts and memoranda, would as a general rule be embodied in prose, and by consequence committed to writing. Such documents would thus, in the natural course of events, become comparatively abundant, long before it occurred to the public which framed them to treat, in the same unattractive forms of language, those subjects of a more ideal character which had, in the spirit of the age, been set apart as the more peculiar province of poetry. Prose writing consequently, in this more elementary sense, may be assumed not only to have been practised in Greece centuries before the first dawn of a popular prose literature, but even to have preceded any general use of the art of writing in poetry, already provided with a more congenial mode of preservation. It may claim therefore to rank as the most antient branch of literature, taking the term literature in its primary sense of an application of letters to the record of facts or opinions.

The epoch at which this application first took place in Greece remains, like the first introduction of writing, involved in obscurity. This much however may safely be asserted, that by whatever sage or hero the alphabet was communicated to the Hellenes, whether

by Cadmus, Danaus, Palamedes, or some other more real personage unrecorded, from that epoch the Hellenes must have been in the habit of writing prose. The first successful essays in popular prose literature cannot, on the other hand, be traced beyond the sixth century B. C., an age many generations posterior to that at which, on any reasonable estimate, those primitive improvers can be supposed to have lived. But the use of writing for strictly useful or necessary purposes, from the ninth or tenth century B.C. downwards, is established on other than mere speculative or fabulous data. The dispatches alluded to by Archilochus¹, as habitually conveyed by the Spartan scytale in his time, were assuredly written in pithy Laconic prose ; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that the letters, which Homer in the *Iliad* describes as carried by Bellerophon from Prætus of Corinth to the king of Lycia, and as fraught with many calumnious imputations against the bearer, were, in the poet's estimation of them, if not in reality, primitive specimens both of alphabetic writing and of prose composition.² The codes of the early Greek lawgivers quoted by Aristotle, of Philolaus, Phidon, and Lycurgus (in so far as the enactments of the latter were committed to writing), were also prose documents of the eighth and ninth centuries B. C.³

Laws.

Rhetræ of
Lycurgus.

That the Rhetræ, or fundamental statutes of Lycurgus, were written in prose is established, not only by the testimony of the best authors⁴, but by the evidence of one of those statutes which has been preserved. The genuine character of this relic is undoubted. It was known to, and commented by,

¹ See Vol. III. p. 453.

² Vol. III. p. 460. sq.

³ Vol. III. p. 484. sq.

⁴ Vol. III. p. 457. sq.

Aristotle; and its rude, even to that acute critic but partially intelligible Doric, guarantees it as a monument of the remotest Spartan antiquity. It is certainly a curious fact that this, the oldest authenticated example, not only of Greek prose composition but of the art of writing in Greece, should be the production of the Greek state which above all others was proverbial in historical times for its illiterate habits. The interest which, on these various grounds, attaches to the fragment, will be a sufficient apology for here subjoining it entire, with such a translation as the obscurity of the text will admit.¹

Διος Συλλανίου και Αθηνας Συλλανίας ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντες· φυλάς φυλάξαντα, καὶ ὠβάς ὠβαξάντα τριακοντα· γερουσίαν συν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλαξέιν μετὰ ξυ Βαβυκάς τε καὶ Κνακίωνος. Οὕτως εἰσφέρειντε, καὶ ἀφίστασθαι γαμῶδαν γορίαν ἡ μὴν καὶ κράτος.

Having dedicated a sanctuary to the Syllanian Jove and the Syllanian Minerva; having divided the citizens into their tribes, and classed them into their thirty classes; having installed the kings and the senate in their functions, let them hold assemblies from season to season, between the river and the bridge.² Thus let the laws by them be proposed or withdrawn. Let the power to confirm or reject belong to the people.³

This primitive ordinance contains in its dry Laconic phraseology the essence of the political constitution of Sparta. Had we the other rhetræ in a like state

¹ Plut. in Lyc. 6.

² So rendered by Aristotle, ap. Plut. loc. cit. The expression may allude to some peculiar Spartan custom, of holding popular assemblies on the wide tract of dry sand or gravel, of which in great part the bed of the Eurotas at Lacedæmon, in its ordinary state consists.

³ The last part of the text is corrupt. We have endeavoured to convey the spirit of the most plausible restoration. See Müller, Dor. III. 5. 8.

of integrity, we should find doubtless the social and military organisation of the people similarly provided for. The meagre simplicity of the enactment illustrates the Lycurgean dogma inculcated in another *rhētra*¹, but certainly not observed to the letter in after times, that the Spartan laws, the details that is of legislation, were not to be written but on the hearts, or in other words, on the affections and habits of the citizens.

Draco.
Solon.

The next in antiquity among the remaining specimens of early Greek prose, also belonging to the legislative style, are the fragments of the laws of Draco and Solon.² These cannot be considered as having retained, to the same extent as the Laconian *rhētræ*, the dialectical forms in which they were composed ; but their general structure which, we are assured in several instances by the authors who cite them, has been faithfully transcribed from the original as it existed in their day, has much of the concise simplicity of the Dorian statute.³

Peloponnesian registers.

The other authentically recorded documents of the same practical nature, the dates of which preceded the rise of popular prose literature, but of which no remains exist, appertained chiefly to Peloponnesian states. Such were the registers⁴ of the Spartan kings, and other Peloponnesian princes or magistrates ; those of the priestesses of Juno Argiva ; and those of the Carneonicæ, or victors in the Carnean

¹ Plut. in Lyc. 12.

² Plut. in Sol. 19. ; Æschin. adv. Timarch. p. 32. sqq. ; Demosth. adv. Makart. p. 1071.

³ In both is observable that quaint employment of the imperative mood which maintained its ground more or less in the later practice of the Greek states, and reappears in identically the same form in the Roman XII. tables.

⁴ Supra, Vol. III. p. 431. sq.

games of Sparta. Such was the inscription on the very antient Elean monument commonly called the disk of Iphitus¹, cited by Aristotle, and which commemorated the establishment of the Olympic games as a Panhellenic festival. Plutarch further assures us that the more antient oracular responses of the Delphic Pythoness were in prose², and his statement seems to be confirmed by the fact of the rhetraë, which were all assumed in Spartan tradition to be edicts of the Pythian Apollo, being written in that form. It is true on the other hand, that the greater part of the more antient oracular responses which have been transmitted are in hexameter verse.³ It may yet be a question, whether this was in every case the mode in which they were delivered by the Pythoness. The inspiration of that gifted female was not the inspiration of a poet, but of a prophet. Amid the multiplicity of applications to her shrine, it is hardly possible that she could have been provided with extemporaneous metrical responses to the inquiries of every devotee. There is therefore reason to believe that many of those oracular odes or epigrams, cited by Herodotus and other pious chroniclers, are in their existing form poetical paraphrases, prepared by local versifiers from the original prose responses, for the greater facility of general promulgation.⁴ The sententious doctrines of the Seven sages, engraved on metal plates in the Delphic sanctuary, were also in prose, although, according to popular Greek custom, such epigrammatic lessons

Oracles.

¹ Vol. III. p. 423.² De Pyth. Or. p. 404. A.: see Vol. III. p. 458.³ The collection of Herodotus however offers some remarkable exceptions: iv. 163., vii. 169., v. 89. 67., vi. 34.⁴ This seems also to be stated by Plutarch. De Pyth. Or. p. 404. A. conf. 396. D.

were wont to be couched in verse. The departure from ordinary usage in the present case may indicate a rise of taste about that time, among professional philosophers, for more practical methods of inculcating their doctrines. Their mathematical studies must also have required a familiar habit of prose composition.

Rise of
popular
prose com-
position.

2. Thus far concerning the early use of prose writing in the practical business of life. In passing on to the further inquiry regarding its first cultivation as a branch of polite literature, we are met on the part of the popular authorities by the same subtle spirit of system, of which we have already had experience in treating of the early history of poetical composition, and which, from an over-anxiety to simplify, often tends still further to complicate and obscure the questions on which it exercises itself. It was a standard doctrine of the Greek speculative antiquaries, that every art or custom, even the most elementary, and such as could hardly fail to spring up simultaneously with the first efforts of a nation to emerge from barbarism, must have had some individual inventor, or what is nearly equivalent some importer from abroad. When the custom was one of recognised remote antiquity, the title to priority was usually awarded to some mythical hero. In regard to arts connected with a certain advance in civilisation, such as the different styles of literary composition, the ordinary method was, in each case, to assign the honour of invention to the oldest extant author whose works offered specimens of that style. The invention of the Hexameter verse however was not ascribed to Homer, even by those who recognised his works as the oldest Greek poems ; because that metre, being admitted to be the

most antient, was understood to have been common to earlier fabulous poets whose works were lost. Its invention was attributed accordingly to one or other of those mythical bards. But in regard to the remaining orders of poetical metre, the first author ascertained to have employed them was usually classed as their inventor. Thus the Iambus, though bearing internal evidence that it is, like the Hexameter, the spontaneous fruit of the primitive muse, was "invented," according to some by Archilochus, according to others by Simonides, the two authors whose works offer the first specimens of the measure; and a similar method was pursued in respect to other varieties of lyric measure.

The same principle was applied in the case of prose composition, but with this distinction that the inquiry was here tacitly limited to prose as a branch of polite literature; no account being taken of the rhetraë, laws, and monumental registers, above noticed as written in prose centuries before its accredited inventors were born. Three authors possessed claims to have achieved this important step in the progress of letters, Cadmus of Miletus, Pherecydes of Syros, and Acusilaus of Argos; all being more or less contemporaneous, and flourishing about the middle of the sixth century B.C.¹ Cadmus is perhaps on the whole the more favoured candidate of the three. By some however his merit was restricted to his having extended the new art to historical narrative, while the title of Pherecydes to have first practised it, as

Cadmus.
Pherecy-
des. Acu-
silas.

¹ Compare Suid. *vv.* Κάδμος, 'Ακουσίλ., Φερεκύδ., Ἐκαραῖος; Joseph. contr. Ap. i. 2.; Diog. Laert. i. c. xi.; Plin. Hist. nat. v. 29., vii. 56.; Solin. c. 40. and Salmas. ad loc.; Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 23.; Strabo, i. p. 18.

limited to his own philosophical department of composition, was considered preferable.

The age and real existence of Pherecydes and Acusilaus, with the genuine character of the works ascribed to them, are established on reasonable data. With Cadmus the case is different. It was not pretended that any work by him had been preserved; nor, if we except his Milesian nativity, has any particular of his life or fortunes, possessing an appearance of historical reality, been recorded; while, in the more detailed notices of his biography, his affairs are so blended with those of the Bœoto-Phœnician Cadmus, as to warrant the suspicion of his being but a later reflexion of that hero.¹ The creation of a second, Milesian Cadmus, might the more readily suggest itself to the popular adjusters of Greek literary history, from the circumstance that the Milesian school of prose composition, as represented by its real authors, Anaximander, Hecatæus, and others, possessed, as a school, a marked precedence in age and popularity over every other. The hero therefore who, as the Bœotian Cadmus, acts as inventor or importer of the alphabet, might naturally be reproduced as the Milesian Cadmus, to act as namefather of the new, more extended application of the alphabet to literary purposes. The title of his only reputed work, "On the primeval history of Miletus and Ionia," a work which there is no reason to believe ever existed but in name, is in keeping with the ideal character of the author. The tradition of its having been epitomised by Bion of Proconnesus², a later historian of whose existence

¹ Suid. v. Κάδμος; Dion. Thrax, ed. Bekker, p. 781.; Villoison, Anecd. Gr. vol. ii. p. 187.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. p. 629.

or labours but faint vestiges can be discerned, tends the more to invalidate the belief of its having ever been written. It is not to be supposed that any such early rude attempt at historical composition could have been of so great length or minuteness of detail, as to suggest material for abridgement to a successor. Bion's Epitome may therefore be classed with other cases of not uncommon occurrence in the legendary annals of Greek poetry, where authors of historical times are charged with having pirated or paraphrased lost works of Orpheus, Musæus, and other fabulous minstrels.

The question as to the precise age of Cadmus, or his rival inventors, is one of little real moment in its bearings on the rise of popular prose literature in Greece. Any such formal limitation of the first essays in that style to a single author or epoch, can as little as in other similar cases of "invention," be taken by the letter. It can but indicate, at the most, the date at which the art of composing prose works had arrived at such maturity as to admit of the works themselves, or the names of their authors, being transmitted to posterity. The first beginnings of every such art or pursuit are lost in obscurity; and it is as little probable in itself that the earliest preserved specimens of prose history should have been the first attempts of the kind, as that the *Iliad* should have been the first heroic poem, or the *Theogony* of Hesiod the first metrical catalogue of Hellenic deities. Nor does any such right of priority in favour of an individual appear to have been recognised in the present case, but on the part of authors writing under the influence of this same sophistical theory of "invention." In various incidental passages

Eumelus
of Corinth.

Aristeas,
Epimeni-
des.

Restriction
of early
Greek
poetical
history to
fabulous
subjects.

of respectable classics, allusion is made to prose compositions of a much earlier age than that ascribed to either Cadmus or Pherecydes. Eumelus for example, the Corinthian poet of the eighth century B. C., is cited as author of a prose work on the antiquities of his native city.¹ Similar compositions were attributed to Epimenides², to Aristeas of Proconnesus³, and to other writers flourishing, or supposed to have flourished, before the accredited era of the Milesian inventor. There is indeed good ground of belief, that all or most of these works were supposititious.⁴ But the notices concerning them suffice not the less to show, that the common sense of the Greek public prescribed no such dogmatical limits to the antiquity of prose literature, but assumed its origin, as has here also been done, to be involved in the same obscurity as that of other elementary arts or sciences.

3. Before offering any remarks on the properties by which the new style of composition was distinguished on first emerging from obscurity, attention is called to a peculiarity in the history of Grecian literature incidentally noticed in a former page⁵, but the full illustration of which was reserved, as there stated, for this part of our subject. That peculiarity consists in the exclusive preference shown by the Greek epic poets, during the whole Poetical period, for subjects borrowed from the age prior to the occupation of Peloponnesus by the Dorians. This event dates in the received chronology eighty years after the Fall of Troy, and nearly six centuries before the first ascertained specimen of prose history. These

¹ Vol. II. p. 450.

² Suid. γ. Ἀριστερ.; Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 23.

⁴ Conf. Dion. Hal. loc. cit.

³ See Vol. II. p. 469.

⁵ Vol. III. p. 433.

six centuries comprise certainly a period of great national importance and interest, both political and social; the period during which took place the final settlement of the various families of Hellenes in the seats which they afterwards permanently occupied; during which all the essential elements of Greek social economy or civil government were developed, and in many instances matured or perfected. Yet the affairs of this entire period are passed over in complete silence in the voluminous compositions of the authors whom it produced. The centuries thus neglected were especially remarkable as comprising the flourishing age of the Ionian and Æolian colonies, in which their poets were the leaders of the popular school of epic composition. But there is no trace of any one of them having borrowed his subject from that age, nor is an allusion to any event or person connected with it to be detected in the extant remains or citations of their works. To the Ionian poet and his public, the struggles of their ancestors in defence of their antient Peloponnesian possessions against a semi-barbarous invader, or their final expulsion from those possessions, or the reestablishment of their fortunes in the more valuable territory conquered by them on the eastern side of the Ægæan, or the victories over the native powers by which that conquest was achieved, seem to have been all matters of profound indifference. Their whole sympathies continued to be engrossed by the legends of the ante-Dorian age; and posterity, in so far as dependent on the native epic minstrelsy, would never have known that the Ionian coast had been conquered by Greek adventurers, or that such cities as Ephesus, Chios, or Smyrna had ever been founded.

Still more unaccountable is the case of their European, especially their Dorian, kinsmen, of the mother country. It was quite natural that an Ionian or Æolian poet should take a warm, though not so exclusive an interest in the fabulous wars and triumphs of his ancestors; that Agamemnon and Troy, Amphiarus and Argos, should still occupy at least an honourable place among his subjects of celebration. But it is difficult to see what similar attractions those subjects could hold out to a Dorian poet of Peloponnesus; to the poet of a nation which never pretended to have thrown a spear on the banks of either the Asopus or Scamander, and whose greatest achievement, the single source of their power and celebrity, was their conquest of the territory of those boasted Argive and Pelopidan heroes. All reasonable probability would lead to infer, that to the poetical annalists of the Dorian conquerors, the legendary glories of the men whom they had routed and driven beyond sea, would have been subjects of contempt rather than enthusiasm; and that their own favourite themes would have been their victories over the supplanted race. But instead of this, we find the Dorian organs of tradition as busily engaged from the earliest period in glorifying Thebes and Troy and the Pelopidæ, as were Arctinus or Lesches on the Æolian and Ionian coast. Nor in the remains of their works, is there a symptom of their own conquest or its consequences having supplied them either with a principal subject or an episodical allusion.

This anomaly appears still more strange as exemplified in the genealogical order of epic poets, than in those of the cyclic or heroic school. After

the affairs of Greece were again settled down, and the new occupants of Peloponnesus began to identify their feelings and interests with those common to the Hellenic body at large, it would have been nothing remarkable that a certain taste should spring up among them for the legends of the old wars against foreign races, with the glories of which the patriotism of their fellow-Hellenes was so warmly associated, and which had been celebrated by their own now favourite poet Homer. But that the authors of those dry genealogical compilations, which seem to have found special favour with the Dorian public, should also have limited their subjects to the ante-Dorian period, and in a great degree to its Achæo-Ionian heroes, is most unaccountable. Perhaps the most distinguished author of this genealogical order was Eumelus of Corinth, himself a Dorian of noble descent, member of one of the chief families of a leading Dorian state.¹ His most popular work was entitled *Corinthiaca*, and described the origin and early vicissitudes of his native city. But the portion of its history with which alone he or his fellow-citizens had any personal concern was excluded from his text. He enlarges on the foundress Ephyra, and her descendants Corinthus, Sicyon, and Marathon; on Sisyphus, Medea, Jason, and the Argonauts; on the Atridæ and the Cecropidæ, in their connexion with Corinth. But like all his fellow-Dorian annalists of the same age, he stops short where it was most natural for him to have begun, at the conquest of Corinth by his own ancestors. Similar is the case with his contemporary Cinæthon of Lacedæmon.² Of the Lacedæmonian genealogies of Cinæthon we

¹ Vol. II. p. 447.: conf. 261.

² Vol. II. p. 447.: conf. 264.

know less than of the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus; but such knowledge of them as we possess tends to show that Sparto-Dorian history had no share in their contents. What has here been said applies equally to the historical poetry of other parts of Greece; to the *Genealogies* of Hesiod, the *Naupactica*, and other similar compilations illustrated in a previous volume.¹

Causes of
that re-
striction.

4. In the few remarks offered in another² place on this strange peculiarity of Greek literary history, a hope was intimated that some explanation of it might be supplied by our present researches into the rise and early progress of prose composition, especially of its historical department, which so nearly connects itself with the genealogical school of poetry. But neither from this source, nor from any other, has such an explanation offered itself as can, by reference either to the general laws of society, or the analogy of other times and countries, be considered satisfactory. There is, no doubt, a strong tendency in the human mind to seek for subjects of heroic celebration by preference in remote ages: recent events, even when in themselves replete with romantic interest, being apt to derive from their very connexion with the realities of life, a common-place character, which renders them less congenial either to the inspiration of the poet or the taste of a popular audience. But in ordinary cases this tendency only displays itself in a marked manner in periods of advanced civilisation, when, the memory of such recent and real occurrences being fully provided for by the more artificial resources of literature, they appear in broader forms of unpoetical contrast to the ideal glories of

¹ Vol. II.

² Vol. III. p. 432. sq.

fabulous antiquity. Such however was not the state of society in Greece during the first centuries of her history subsequent to the Dorian conquest, a period which, to the eye at least of the modern historian, offers all the essential characteristics of a poetical age. Nor in the literature of any other country can an example be discovered, of any such conventional line of distinction between the age of poetry and that of reality. The poets and romancers of our own heroic minstrelsy love no doubt to dwell on the fabulous chivalry of the Round Table or the Sangreal; but they do not despise the better authenticated achievements of Tancred and Cœur de Lion, of the Cid, of Bruce and Wallace, of Douglas and Hotspur.

The only special causes of this anomaly which suggest themselves in the case of Greece are : first, the peculiar character of the Dorian revolution, which forms the conventional limit of her heroic age ; and secondly, some idiosyncrasy in the imaginative element of the Greek mind, which rendered it susceptible, in an unusual degree, to the influence of that spirit of distinction, which we have above endeavoured to illustrate, between the poetical and the real, as dependent on the times and seasons of events. The conquest of Southern Greece by the Dorians, with the ensuing settlement of the Asiatic colonies was, as already remarked, the event which first established Greek social and political existence on a permanent basis. From that epoch, the interests of life seem to have presented themselves to the fastidious fancy of the Greek poet, under colours of naked human reality which disqualified them for heroic celebration. Great men were no longer fabled the sons of Gods. The

conduct of enterprises was considered to be more immediately in the hands of human agents, and less subject to the control of supernatural beings. The connexion between the heroic and the religious element of mythology, which forms in every age so characteristic a feature of Greek poetical literature, in proportion as it was relaxed in the new era, became more strongly riveted in favour of that which preceded, and helped more sharply to define the line of demarcation between the two. Another cause of the distinction may be found in the increasing prevalence, from the Dorian conquest downwards, of the habit of noting events in writing, with the greater security which a more settled state of society afforded for the preservation of written records. For in every age, especially among so imaginative a people as the Greeks, the written notation, even of bare names, dates, or facts, has a tendency to remove them from the category of subjects adapted to poetical treatment. Without indeed some such written notation, it were scarcely conceivable how the details of Greek history, from the Dorian conquest downwards, could have been preserved even in the imperfect state of historical continuity in which they have reached us, amid the entire want of a popular prose literature on the one hand, and on the other hand, amid the exclusive devotion of the poetical chroniclers to subjects of the ante-Dorian era. Mere oral tradition can effect little by itself in any such case where not embodied in verse. It may however prove an efficient secondary means of perpetuating the particulars of events, where their main substance is recorded in some form of written register, sufficient, however meagre, to secure them against the more licentious alterations to which

popular legend, when free from such control, cannot fail to subject them.

Such being the state of Greek historical literature prior to the sixth century B. C., it might naturally have been expected, that a main cause of the rise or spread of prose composition about that time, would have been an increased sense among the more intelligent classes, of the want of some better mode of recording real events than was provided, either by those meagre registers, or by the vague commentaries of oral tradition. It might have been supposed, that one of the first undertakings of an ingenious master of the new style of composition would have been a digested narrative of the history of his country, from the commencement of the historical age down to his own time. Here then we are met by another anomaly little less perplexing than that which we have just been endeavouring to explain; and which supplies further proof of the singular difficulty which the Hellene experienced, in transferring any portion of his tastes from the imaginative to the practical pursuits of literature. For these early cultivators of the new style, Cadmus, Acusilaus, and their contemporaries, far from directing their talents to any such useful ends, were content to borrow their subjects, as exclusively as the old metrical genealogists, from the mythical ante-Dorian period. Their compositions were in fact little more than prose paraphrases of those antiquated performances.¹

Similar
restriction
of early
prose
history.

It is not very easy to understand how any intelligent author should have sought popularity by composing, or any public have taken pleasure in perusing, in the meagrest forms of colloquial idiom, for to style

¹ Clem. Al. Strom. i. p. 629. : conf. Strabo, i. p. 18.

in the higher sense the early prosaists had little pretension, the same mythological common-places with which, even as served up in the poetical forms most congenial to popular taste, the national appetite might be supposed to have long since been satiated. As no entire work of any one of these logographers or legend-writers, by which title they have been not inappropriately distinguished¹ from the historians of real events, has survived, our knowledge of their mode of treating their subjects is but imperfect. Judging from their remains, and the notices of their commentators, their claims to preference over their poetical predecessors rested on a nicer discrimination in the choice, and more didactic method in the arrangement, of the common mass of materials. The old genealogical poet, selecting his subjects by preference from the legends of his own locality, or working up those of a more panhellenic character in the mode most agreeable to his native audience, had been contented to embody the whole in the simple form of a continuous narrative. The prose logographer presented the same, or a similar body of tradition to his readers, in the shape of a digested historical system, interspersed perhaps with remarks on conflicting versions of the same legend, with reasons in favour of that followed by himself, and with interpretations of the allegories contained, or supposed to be contained, in the more marvellous portions of his narrative.

First application of prose to philosophical subjects.

The prose work however which, among those extant in later times, advanced the best title to antiquity, that of the elder Pherecydes, can hardly with strict propriety be classed under the head of logography.

¹ Chiefly by modern scholars; but the term seems to be used in this sense by Dionys. Hal. i. 73. and Polyb. vii. vii. 1.

That term, while applicable no doubt in its wider sense to the prose treatment of all popular tradition, was in familiar usage limited to its more strictly human element. The work of Pherecydes, on the other hand, was devoted to the purely religious or cosmogonical mythology¹; and may be considered as standing in the same relation to the poetry of Hesiod or Orpheus, as the compositions of Cadmus Milesius and Acusilaus to the old genealogical minstrelsy.

5. The first recorded application of popular prose to the treatment of practical subjects is in the department of geography. Geography may therefore rank as the mother of history in Greece, taking the term history in its higher sense, as limited to such subjects; and during the early ages of Greek prose literature, the two branches usually went hand in hand; the political vicissitudes of each people being illustrated by some description of the country which it inhabited. Even in the old epic minstrelsy, the catalogue of the Iliad for example, geographical description preserves, in the midst of fable, features of substantial reality, such as cannot be recognised either in events or persons. There can also be little doubt that the Arimasps of Aristeas, the first known specimen of a geographical poem, which appeared about the time of the earliest logographers, and is frequently quoted by Herodotus², contained, with all its legendary extravagance, a large element of fact. The travels there described, extending over the less explored parts of northern Europe, could only have been undertaken under the auspices of the Greek colonies on the shores of the Euxine. Those colonies were

Geography
the mother
of authentic
history.

Aristeus of
Procon-
nesus.

¹ Didot, *Fræg. Histt. Gr.* i. p. xxxv.

² iv. 13. sqq., iii. 116.: *conf. supra*, Vol. II. p. 470.

Anaximander, and
Hecataeus
of Miletus.

founded chiefly by Miletus, a city distinguished at that period among the Hellenic states for the zeal and extent of her colonial undertakings. To Miletus consequently this enterprising traveller was directly or indirectly indebted for any better knowledge of, or access to, the countries of the interior. The claims of the same Miletus to priority in the literature of geography, are no less substantially upheld by her two citizens, Anaximander and Hecataeus, the latter of whom (B.C. 520—479) is the first Greek prose author who obtained popularity or celebrity as a national classic. The singular apathy exhibited during so many ages by the Greek race to the more intellectual branches of literature, may thus be said to have finally given way before that spirit of commercial enterprise which, in every age, has proved so effectual a stimulus to national talent.

Anaximander, who flourished contemporaneously with Pherecydes and other accredited “inventors” of prose style, is the first recorded constructor of a map, of sufficient compass or accuracy to have obtained for him the reputation of inventor of that branch of the art of design.¹ It seems doubtful whether this work was accompanied by any written text, beyond the names of the principal localities, which assuredly could not have been wanting.² The merit of bringing the literary department of geographical science to a similar state of maturity belongs rather to Hecataeus, Anaximander’s younger contemporary, distinguished both as a geographer and a historian. His best and most popular work was his *Itinerary*, or *Description of the earth*; and

¹ Agathem. i. 1.

² This much seems to be implied by Diog. La. (in Vit.) ii. c. ii.

several of the extant citations of it seem to imply that its text was arranged in the order of a commentary, or descriptive illustration of the map of Anaximander.¹

The title of Hecataëus to rank as the first prose writer on geographical subjects is contested by Scylax of Caryanda², a contemporaneous Ionian Greek, employed by Darius Hystaspes to sail down the lower course of the Indus to its mouth, and thence along the southern coast of Asia to Egypt. In this enterprise he succeeded, and on his return published an account of his voyage, which is now lost; the work that passes current under his name being confessedly supposititious. But the genuine narrative is quoted by Aristotle, and seems to have furnished Hecataëus with some of the materials of his more distant oriental geography. The progress which geographical research had made at Miletus about this time, appears further from the account given by Herodotus³ of the map which Aristagoras, another noble citizen of that republic, when on a political mission to Lacedæmon, exhibited to the Spartan king Cleomenes. As Aristagoras and Hecataëus were joint councillors of their fellow-citizens at this crisis of Ionian affairs⁴, there is the greater reason to believe, that the map used by the former on his Spartan mission was substantially the same constructed by Anaximander, and commented by Hecataëus. The copy of Aristagoras was engraved on a brass plate, and comprised the whole earth with its seas and rivers. The portion of its contents specially referred to by Aristagoras in his interview with Cleomenes, was the line of Persian

¹ Agathem. loc. cit. : conf. infr. Ch. iii. pt. 1.

² Infra, Ch. iii. pt. 1.

³ v. 49.

⁴ Infra, Ch. iii. pt. 1.

provinces extending eastward from the coast of Ionia to Susa; and Herodotus seems to have considered the localities and their distances to have been correctly noted.

Genealogi-
cal litera-
ture.

6. How slow the Muse of history was in following up this commencement of a more rational exercise of her talents, is curiously illustrated by the character of both the works of Hecataeus, of his Itinerary above mentioned, and of that entitled Histories or Genealogies. The former contained notices, generally it would appear correct, of the localities visited, of their physical features, and from time to time, of any peculiarities in the manners of their inhabitants. In treating of foreign nations, in whose annals no such marked line between mythical and real existed as that which the Dorian revolution formed in those of Greece, his attention seems also occasionally to have been turned to matters deserving the name of historical in the better sense. But in regard to Greece herself, all such rational spirit of research appears to have been excluded. The historical information vouchsafed relative to any city or district of that country never extended, judging from the copious extant remains of the text, beyond the name of the mythical founder, commonly the same as that of the place itself; with an incidental reference to any more prominent fabulous adventure of which it may have been the scene. The materials of his genealogical work were exclusively derived from the heroic age.

Dionysius of Miletus, a contemporary of Hecataeus, is said to have written a geographical treatise of a similar nature. Another work ascribed to him, on slender authority¹, under the somewhat ambiguous

¹ Suid. v. Διονύσιος.

title, "On the events subsequent to Darius," would, if genuine, entitle him to rank as the first Greek writer of real history. But the accounts of this author are scanty, and he is so often confounded with later writers of the same name, as to render more than suspicious the genuine character even of the compositions ascribed to him under his distinctive gentile of Milesian. Of the other logographers contemporaneous with, or little junior to Hecataeus and Dionysius, about the close of the sixth or early part of the fifth century B.C., the following,—Eugeon of Samos, Deïochus and Bion both of Proconnesus (the latter the reputed epitomist of the Milesian Cadmus), Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phygela, Amelesagoras of Chalcedon, Simonides of Ceos, and Xenomedes of Chios,—all appear to have treated solely of mythological subjects.¹

Less questionable than that of Dionysius is the title of his younger contemporary, Charon of Lamp-sacus (B.C. 500—450), to the honour of first Greek historian of real events. His works seem indeed to have been chiefly devoted to this more rational class of subjects, and are described as going over much the same ground afterwards more fully occupied by Herodotus.² From this time a fair amount of attention was given by the early prose writers to the realities of history; although by most of them the old mythical subjects still continued to be treated, and by some exclusively preferred. Those who, among the immediate successors of Charon, possess claims to rank as historians in the better sense were³: Xanthus the Lydian, Hippys of Rhegium, Antiochus

First essays
in authen-
tic history.
Charon of
Lampsac-
cus.

¹ *Infra*, Ch. iii. pt. 1

² *Infra*, Ch. iii. pt. 1.

³ *Infra*, Ch. iii. pt. 2.

of Syracuse, Hellanicus of Lesbos, and Damastes of Sigeum. Hellanicus appears to have been the only author who, prior to Herodotus, compiled a continuous series of Hellenic history from the earliest age to his own time. Pherecydes of Leros on the other hand, a contemporary of Hellanicus, and one of the most popular writers of his class, preferred the old mythical order of subjects. Another contemporaneous historian of the same logographic order was Herodorus of Heraclea.

Other early
historians.

The names of several other authors of works belonging to the general head of History might be added to the list above given; but as the greater part of their compositions, including those which formed the chief source of any celebrity they may have enjoyed, were of a different character, such notice of them as may be required will be reserved for another place. Two writers however, of this miscellaneous order, Stesimbrotus of Thasos and Ion of Chios, deserve to be specially mentioned, as having originated those useful and agreeable branches of historical composition, which may be classed under the head of biographical and historical Memoirs. Of a Biography in the stricter sense, or complete life of an individual, there is no authentic trace prior to the Alexandrian era.

The mode in which all these early historians treated their subjects is described, by a distinguished antient critic¹ who possessed their works entire, as more or less crude, desultory, and unconnected. As such it is contrasted by him with the epic unity and comprehensiveness of Herodotus; who, in regard both to composition and style, stands to them much in the

¹ Dionys. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 5.

same relation as Homer to the popular ballad-singers of the infant epic literature. Nor can the more essential characteristics of the early logographic school be better conveyed to the reader's apprehension than in the words of the same critic:

"The method of all these authors, both in the selection and the treatment of their subjects, was much the same. The history of each nation or city, Greek or Barbarian, was taken up separately, with little or no connexion between the affairs of one and those of the other; the object of each writer being, apparently, but to place the materials collected by him, in the form in which he had received them, without addition or curtailment, before his public. Herodotus first imparted life, vigour, and elegance to the dry facts of history, by compiling and arranging the annals of many nations and times into one great and comprehensive narrative."

7. In concluding this general view of the stages by which Greek historical literature passed from infancy to maturity, it will be proper to notice another peculiarity for which it was remarkable during its flourishing age, and in which it contrasts unfavourably with the same branch of composition as cultivated by other nations inferior to the Hellenes in inventive genius or precision of intellect. Prior to the commencement of the Alexandrian period, when history, with the other standard orders of polite composition, had already passed its culminating point of excellence, there existed among the Greeks no common national era for the computation of time or the settlement of dates. In the literature of Rome this want, if ever experienced, was soon supplied. From the earliest epoch at which we have any trace of the Romans

Greek
technical
chronology.

having cultivated history as an art, their chronology was regulated by the era, real or fabulous, of the foundation of their city. A like method is understood to have been followed by their predecessors in civilisation, the Etruscans. The nations of modern Europe, during their barbarous age, adopted and have since employed, the era of their religious faith. The Mahometan historians date in a similar manner; and although we possess no such clear insight into the method pursued by the Egyptians and the leading oriental nations of antiquity, there is reason to believe that their historical annals were regulated by fixed chronological standards. The deficiency in the case of the Greeks may be ascribed, in part perhaps, to that same subdivision of national feeling, formerly noticed¹ as the source of other more favourable characteristics of their intellectual culture. The same causes which contributed to keep alive the spirit of constitutional independence in each state, with the separate cultivation of its native dialect and favourite styles of composition, would also help to maintain its attachment to its own mode of computing time, and a disinclination to defer to the method of a neighbour or rival. That most of the states had their own local systems there can be little doubt; and, in regard to some of those of higher rank, we have competent evidence that such was the case.

But although the citizens of each republic may have felt a patriotic partiality for their native practice, men of letters do not seem to have been restrained by this consideration from selecting such other methods as might appear to them better suited to their object. The first recorded attempt to adjust

¹ Vol. I. p. 117. sqq.

historical narrative on a chronological basis is the work of Charon of Lampsacus, entitled *Annals of Lacedæmon, or Lacedæmonian magistrates*¹; understood to have contained a genealogical list of the Spartan kings, with notices of the events by which their reigns were signalised, digested according to the years of those reigns. The adoption of a Spartan system of chronology, in treating of a strictly Spartan subject, was natural, even on the part of an Ionian author. But when we find Hellanicus of Lesbos², a younger contemporary of Charon, regulating the chronology of a comprehensive work on the general history of Greece, according to the succession of the priestesses of the Argive Juno, so systematically as to have procured for the book the title of “Argive priestesses,” we are naturally led to assume that the same Argive chronicle enjoyed some superior credit over those of either Lesbos or other states. That it did enjoy such peculiar credit appears, both from its epochs having been deferred to by the neighbouring state of Sicyon³, and still more from their having been adopted by Thucydides⁴, in conjunction with those derived from the years of the Lacedæmonian Ephori and of his own Attic Archons, on the few occasions on which he attempts any general definition of time. The ordinary mode of computation followed by the same Thucydides is the simplest and meagrest possible, that by years of the war which forms the subject of his history. Herodotus shows no acquaintance with any common standard for the computation of time. His method of dating events, if such it can be called, is altogether vague; sometimes by their priority to his own age;

Earliest
chronolo-
gers.
Charon of
Lampsac-
us.

Hellanicus.

Thucy-
des.

Herodotus.

¹ *Infra*, Ch. iii. pt. 1.

³ *Plut. de Mus.* iii.

² *Infra*, Ch. iii. pt. 2.

⁴ *II. 2.*, iv. 133.

sometimes by the intervals at which they are removed from each other ; sometimes by the epochs of particular kings or dynasties, whose ages or lengths of reign, if adjusted with any degree of precision in themselves, stand in no determinate relation of time to other similar groups or successions of historical personages, who figure in the wide field of action over which his narrative extends.

Carneonicæ of Hellanicus.

Hellanicus, it may be added, also compiled and arranged a chronicle of the victors in the Carnean musical festival of Sparta, from the epoch of its establishment in 676 B.C. But this compilation seems to have been limited to its own immediate subject of Musical history, and not to have been employed for chronological purposes in the wider sense.¹

Olympic register.

Hellanicus appears to have recognised the date of the first establishment of the Olympic games, as a standard epoch or era.² But there is no trace of any similar knowledge or recognition, either by him or any contemporary author, of what are called in later times the Elean *parapegmata*, or registers of the victors in the Olympic games ; which system of dates, in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., when the Greek public at length became alive to this defect in the mechanism of their historical literature, was selected as providing the most efficient remedy, in preference to other methods partially sanctioned by previous usage. There can be no doubt that the preference was judiciously bestowed. While the regular returns of this great festival supplied a far more precise system of com-

¹ *Infra*, Ch. iii. pt. 2.

² *African. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. x. 10. p. 489. A.; Hellan. frag. 62. Didot; conf. frag. 90.*

putation, than either the genealogies of kings or the succession in office of public functionaries, it was also an essentially national, rather than a local system, and connected with the associations and sympathies of the whole confederacy. The question then which here occurs is, not so much how it came ultimately to be adopted as a national standard, as how it did not happen to be adopted sooner. And this suggests another question : whether in the time of Hellanicus, Herodotus, or Thucydides, there existed any Olympic register, in a form similar to that in which we find it embodied during the Alexandrian period of literature. If it did exist, was it known to those authors ? And, if known to them, how are we to explain their indifference, or that of their age, to its advantages ; which must, every four years, have been pointedly brought under their notice ?

8. It may here be proper to remark, for the sake of those not fully conversant in the details of such questions, that the era, or starting point, of the Olympic system of chronology, was the year which corresponds to 776 B. C. of our calendar. In that year the Olympic games were believed to have been, if not first instituted, first regulated in the form in which they were celebrated in later times ; and from that year, the returns of the solemnity at fixed intervals of four years were understood to have been uninterruptedly continued. Every such quadrennial interval constituted a chronological olympiad ; so that the period from olympiad I. to the Christian era embraced 194 olympiads : and the four years comprised in each olympiad were reckoned, respectively, as the first, second, third, and fourth years of that particular olympiad. It is however by

Definition
and origin
of the
Olympic
era.

no means to be assumed, as frequently has been by modern commentators, that the employment in later times of a technical system of chronology, comprising a certain number of such returns of a national solemnity, necessarily implies the actual existence of that solemnity, still less the notation of its epochs, from the year at which, in the technical system, it professes to date. Such a system, it is obvious, might have been, and frequently has been, constructed retrospectively, apart altogether from any ascertained antiquity or constancy of the basis on which it was founded. Let us suppose, for example, the Olympic register to have been first framed by Aristotle, about or shortly after whose time it appears to have obtained currency. It would have been quite competent for him, by a simple process of calculation, to construct it on the same plan on which we find it afterwards employed, without the certainty of a single Olympic date prior to his own birth having been noted at Elis. He had only to assume, it matters not whether on historical evidence or in deference to popular tradition, that the Olympic games had been established in a given year, say 440 years before his own time, on the same plan of quadrennial epochs on which they continued to be celebrated. This first year he would constitute the epoch of the first olympiad ; the fifth, ninth, and thirteenth succeeding years, would be those of the second, third, and fourth olympiads. The compiler's own epoch, or that of the execution of his scheme, would be the hundred and tenth olympiad ; and upon this framework all previous dates of national history, as recorded in already existing monuments, might be adjusted with as great regularity as if the system

had actually existed during the whole period which it theoretically embraced. Had it seemed to the compiler that the era of the festival could with propriety be fixed some centuries further back, in 1000 B. C. for example, it is evident that his register might, with equal facility, have been adjusted on that more extended basis.

But the Olympic chronicle of the Alexandrian period was not merely an ordered succession of quadrennial epochs. Each of those epochs was signalled by the name of one or more of the successful combatants in that particular celebration of the games. The addition of these names¹ could not have been provided for, like the succession of epochs, by a mere process of calculation; nor can it be supposed that a compiler of credit would supply such materials from the resources of his own imagination, as readily as he might construct an imaginary theory of dates on a historical basis. It is true on the other hand, that there might have existed fabulous lists of Olympic victors adapted to equally fabulous periods of the solemnity, just as there existed in every Greek state successions of fabulous kings or priests. The connexion consequently of particular names with the remoter epochs of the festival, would be evidence of its celebration at those epochs, only in so far as the connexion and the celebration could be shown on authentic grounds to be real and contemporaneous.

The construction of any such artificial system of chronology, while it might readily occur to the literary men of the Alexandrian era, was less likely to suggest itself to those of the previous century;

¹ See the list of those which have been transmitted, in Krause's *Olympia*, p. 236. sqq.

especially to authors such as Herodotus or Thucydides, who were not professional chronologers but popular historians, with whom the computation of time was but ancillary to the narrative of facts. But had any such system existed at Olympia in their day, in a form at all approaching to that in which we find it promulgated some generations afterwards, it is certainly not probable that, in feeling their way towards a better adjustment of dates, they would have overlooked so convenient and strictly panhellenic a mode of computation, in favour of such vague and comparatively local registers as those of the reigns of Spartan kings, or the succession of Argive priestesses. It has indeed been assumed by modern commentators, that the name of each Olympic victor was inscribed in a register kept at Elis for the special purpose by the Hellenodicæ, or Judges of the games. There is however no proof that those functionaries were under an obligation to keep such a register, or that any such existed, at least during the Attic period. Impartiality in awarding their decisions was their imperative duty; but it does not appear that they were further bound in every case to perpetuate the fame of the successful combatants. They would be careful perhaps to enter in their own Elean archives the names of Elean victors; or those of victors belonging to states with which they were on terms of friendly alliance. But they might naturally, in other cases, leave the task of commemorating the triumph to those who had the merit of achieving it. We have in fact specific ground of belief, that no such continuous register existed in the fifth century B.C. It appears that Hippias, the celebrated Elean sophist, had, among his other literary enterprises, undertaken,

Hippias.

if not to constitute the Olympic quadrennium a chronological system, to compile at least a catalogue of Olympic victors; and Plutarch¹, from whom we derive this notice, adds, that "the compilation was worthy of no confidence, as not being founded on authentic data." It seems impossible to reconcile this remark with the fact of there having existed at Elis, in the time of Hippias, any systematically digested chronicle of the victors in the games. Hippias was himself a citizen of Elis; and, if not a man of very profound learning, he was yet a man of acknowledged talent, and among the most successful literary adventurers of his age. His popularity seems also to have been especially great in his native city, where he resided; and in the Olympic sanctuary, which he honoured as a favourite scene of his rhetorical exhibitions.² It cannot therefore be supposed that, in undertaking such a compilation, he would have failed to consult the original documents preserved in his own birthplace; or that he would have found difficulty in obtaining access to them. Had those documents comprised an authentic register of the victors in the games, all that would have been required, in order to insure credit to his compilation, would have been to transcribe that register; and no defects of his commentary could have destroyed the value of his principal text, to such a degree as to justify the sneer of Plutarch. In fact Plutarch himself, in the remark introductory to his notice of Hippias, distinctly states it to be his own opinion, that in the time of that author the materials for such a work did not yet exist in a digested form. After dwelling on the uncertainties of early Greek chrono-

¹ In Numa, 1.

² Plat. Hipp. Min. p. 363.

logy, he adds: "the adjustment of dates consequently was a difficult matter, especially that of the dates of Olympic victors, a list of whom is said to have been first published by Hippias of Elis, but one founded on no trustworthy basis."

But although Elis itself may not have possessed any complete series of Olympic registers, or even a sufficient body of materials for its construction, there can be little doubt that a copious stock of such materials, partly in that locality, partly in other states of Greece, would be at the disposal of the archæologist who possessed a greater degree of industry to search them out, and of capacity to turn them to proper account, than seems, with all his accomplishments, to have fallen to the lot of Hippias. An Olympic victory was considered among the proudest achievements of a Hellenic citizen, conferring honour, not only on himself and family, but on the state to which he belonged; and as there was no distinction more highly prized, there seems to have been none more carefully commemorated. There existed accordingly a large number of inscribed monuments, as well in Olympia itself as in other Greek cities, recording the names of successful combatants, and specifying, in however imperfect a manner, the epoch at which the success was obtained. We possess no clear data as to the time when, or the person by whom, these miscellaneous materials may have been compiled into a chronological system. But all the notices on the subject point to Aristotle. Among his works was one entitled "Olympionicæ," or Olympic victors¹; the first of the kind of which mention occurs since the abortive attempt of Hippias. As

Aristotle.

¹ Diog. Laert. v. § 26.; conf. Fragg. Aristot. Didot, p. 182.

Aristotle was not a historian in the proper sense, there is the greater reason to believe that his compilation partook more of a chronological than a historical character; though combining probably biographical notices of the victors with an adjustment of the epochs of the festival. That he had here, as in other cases, gone deeply into the subject, and carried his researches back to the fountain head by an examination of the oldest monuments, especially of those preserved at Olympia, appears from his having quoted, among other such authorities, the very antient inscription on the "disk of Iphitus," to which attention will be further directed in the sequel. It may also be inferred from the appeals made to him¹ by Eratosthenes and other later chronologers of good credit, in doubtful points of detail connected with the lists, that his authority was great in questions of the kind. In the next generation Timæus, the Sicilian historian, was author of a tract on the same subject, under nearly the same title. He appears also to have adopted the Olympic system of dates², already, it must now be presumed, in a full state of maturity, in his great historical work; and from this time it seems to have been generally received as the standard system of classical chronology.

Timæus.

9. It remains to offer a few remarks on the question: How it happened that the year selected as the epoch of the first olympiad, should have been precisely that corresponding to the year 776 before the Christian era. The natural and obvious answer would seem to be, that this was the year when the games, which, according to the mythical legend, had

Olympiad
of Coræ-
bus.¹ Fragg. sup. cit.² Suid. v. Τιμαίος; Polyb. xii. xii.; conf. Diod. v. 1.

formed part of the local rites of the Olympic Jove from the remotest antiquity, had been first formally established and inaugurated as a national panhellenic solemnity. That such was in fact the motive of the selection will be shown in the sequel. But this was not the popular doctrine of the later chronologers. By them the first national institution of the festival was dated at a considerable but vaguely defined interval prior to the first olympiad (776 B.C.) of the chronological series; the era of which was assumed, in the same equally vague theory, to have been marked by the circumstance of its having been the first celebration the victor in which had been recorded by name. The person enjoying this distinction was Corœbus of Elis, after whom accordingly, this first olympiad of the chronological series is also occasionally designated the Olympiad of Corœbus.

Olympiad
of Iphitus
and Lycur-
gus.

In all the notices on the subject, differ as they may in other respects, the first historical institution of the games is described as having taken place under the auspices of Iphitus king of Elis, and Lycurgus the Spartan legislator. According therefore to the popular doctrine, which placed a long interval between that first institution and the olympiad of Corœbus, it would follow that Lycurgus and Iphitus flourished long prior to the latter epoch. The traditions concerning the age of both these personages are so conflicting, as at first view almost to bewilder the inquirer in his attempts to form any positive opinion on the question. But a critical collation of them can leave no reasonable doubt, that the earlier and graver authorities were either ignorant of, or opposed to, the popular view of a two-fold era of the

games ; that they made the era of Lycurgus and Iphitus coincident with that of Corœbus ; and identified, by consequence, the epoch of the first historical institution of the games with the first olympiad of the chronological series. The inconsistency, on the other hand, of the remaining testimonies on the subject, and the improbabilities which they involve, are, as we shall also endeavour to show, such as to deprive them of all historical value.

Identity of
the two.

Thucydides¹ places the legislation of Lycurgus about 810 B.C. This date would be quite compatible with the legislator's having been the founder of the Olympic era of 776 B.C. at a more advanced stage of life ; but would not be compatible with his having founded another Olympic era in the early part of the ninth century B.C., as stated in other more popular accounts. Assuming him to have been thirty-five years of age in 810 B.C., he would have been sixty-nine in 776. Aristotle accordingly, our oldest and highest authority on Olympic chronology, made both Lycurgus and Iphitus contemporaneous with the Olympic era of 776, and ascribed to them conjointly the first institution, if not of the games, of the Ekechiria at least, or Sacred peace, observed during their celebration, and which constituted them a national solemnity. In support of this view he appealed to a votive disk preserved at Olympia, dedicated by Iphitus in commemoration of the event, and on which the name of Lycurgus was inscribed.² Pausanias, after stating the era of Iphitus the founder, and Corœbus the first victor in the games, to be the same, supplies what seems to be conclusive evidence of this identity, in the terms of the inscription still legible in his day

¹ I. 18.

² Plut. in Lyc. 1. ; Paus. v. xx. 1.

on the tomb of Corœbus; where that victor is described as "the first among men who conquered in the Olympic games."¹ As every celebration must necessarily have had its victor or victors, this specification of Corœbus as the first victor implies at least that his descendants, by whom the monument was erected, were ignorant of any celebration prior to his time; an ignorance which may safely be taken as evidence that none had yet been held. We have thus, in favour of the opinion that the olympiad of Lycurgus and Iphitus was identical with that of Corœbus, all the oldest and best testimonies²: we have that of the immediate descendants of Corœbus himself; that of Aristotle, the first author of a critical digest of Olympic dates; and that of Thucydides, to the effect at least that Lycurgus was, or may have been, contemporaneous with the Olympic era of 776. To these may be added others of less weight, but not to be lightly set aside; that of Pausanias above quoted, a diligent investigator of such questions, and more disposed to exaggerate than reduce the antiquity of remarkable epochs; those of Solinus³, of Athenæus⁴, and of Phlegon⁵ of Tralles, a professional writer on

¹ VIII. xxvi. 3.² Conf. C. Müller, *Fragm. Chron.* p. 130.³ I. 28.⁴ XIV. p. 635.

⁵ This author has indeed been quoted in an opposite sense, as favourable to both an Iphitean and a Corœbian epoch of the games. But in so far as any inference can be founded on the remains of his text, his doctrine must have coincided with that of Aristotle. The following passage (*frag.* 1. Didot), *ἐκλειπόντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὴν θρησκίαν χρόνῳ τινι, εἰς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου Ὀλυμπιάδες ὀκτὼ πρὸς ταῖς εἰκοσι καταριθμοῦνται εἰς Κόροιβον τὸν Ἥλειον, καὶ ἀμελησάντων τοῦ ἀγῶνος, κ. τ. λ.*, which contains the substance of his doctrine, seems, in so far as it can admit of any specific interpretation, to indicate a period equal to twenty-eight olympiads or 112 years, between Iphitus and Corœbus, as that during which the solemnity, originally in the mythical accounts founded by Hercules and Pelops, had been discontinued altogether; not a period during which it had been

the olympiads, of no great antiquity, but of good credit.

With this body of substantial testimony it were unreasonable to place in competition the numerous conflicting statements by miscellaneous writers, on the authority of one or other of whom the epoch of Lycurgus, and his imaginary ante-Coræbian olympiad, might be dated in almost any part of the two or three centuries preceding the genuine Olympic era. Callimachus¹ places Lycurgus in 828 B.C.; Vellejus² in 840; Tatian³ in 876; Eratosthenes and Cicero in 884⁴; Plutarch⁵ about 900; Clemens Alexandrinus⁶ in 926; Xenophon⁷ prior to 1050 B.C. The common basis of these discordant results seems to have been a prepossession in the mind of the popular public, originating during the political ascendancy of Lacedæmon, as to the great antiquity of the Spartan constitution. It was natural that by those who were under the influence of this prejudice, Lycurgus, the reputed author of that constitution, should be removed back to as remote an epoch beyond the strictly historical age of Greece, as the varieties of tradition might appear to each individual compiler to justify. Xenophon, the type of extreme

celebrated without being registered. In this view of the case Phlegon must be understood to have been among the authors who admitted the existence of two Iphiti; one under whom the games were discontinued, the other by whom they were renewed. Unless we so understand him, the ensuing text, commencing *χρησθέντων δὲ τούτων* . . . , which describes the reestablishment of the games by Iphitus and Lycurgus, must be in contradiction to his previous statement; since the series of olympiads described by him as so reestablished, on the seventh of which Daicles of Messene was crowned, is evidently the series of Coræbus.

¹ Ap. Syncell. Chron. p. 196. c. ² I. 5. ³ Orat. ad. Gr. 41.

⁴ Ap. Clem. Al. Strom. p. 336. B., and Cic. De Rep. II. 10.

⁵ In Lycurg. 29.

⁶ Strom. I. p. 309.

⁷ De Repub. Lac. x. 8.: conf. Plut. Lyc. 1.

philolaconism, is accordingly the one who transports the legislator into the remotest period of mythical antiquity.¹

The more critical of these last-quoted authorities, after the settlement by Aristotle on grounds probably which could not well be contested, of the year 776 B.C. as the date of the first authentically recorded olympiad, and after the same Aristotle had established, on the conclusive evidence of the "disk of Iphitus," the fact that Lycurgus had assisted in instituting the festival, were obviously in a dilemma, between their inability to evade that fact, and their adherence to their own theory as to the great antiquity of the Spartan legislator. And there can be little doubt that it is to their anxiety to escape from this dilemma, that we owe that strange anomaly of the Alexandrian school, the assumption of two "first olympiads," the one signalised by the institution of the Ekechiria or Sacred peace, the other by the victory of Corœbus. The reality of the former epoch is worth probably about as much as that of the duplicate heroes, Herculeses, Minoses, and the like, whom mythologers have been in the habit of calling into existence, in order to extricate themselves from similar difficulties. In like manner, in the present emergency, the personalities of both Lycurgus and Iphitus have been freely subdivided by classical authorities, both antient and modern.² The more pene-

¹ Hellanicus also makes the Spartan legislation coeval with the Dorian settlement in Peloponnesus. But, in a more critical spirit than Xenophon, he ascribes its origin to the contemporaneous kings, Procles and Eurysthenes; and seems to have considered Lycurgus, probably with reason, but as the reformer or extender of the system. Frag. 91. Didot.

² Timæus, ap. Plut. in Lycurg. 1.; Phlegon, loc. sup. cit.; Cicero, Brut. 10. De Rep. ii. 10.; Clint. Fast. H. i. p. 142.

trating research of Aristotle led him, in the face of all popular prejudice, to the single right conclusion; and with him we adopt, as the only historical era of the Olympic games, the year 776 B.C.; and as the only historical Lycurgus, the founder of that era and of the Sacred truce, as recorded on the Olympian monumental disk.

10. Hitherto our general view of the early progress of prose literature in Greece has been limited in a great measure to its strictly historical department, as being that which first enjoyed general cultivation or popularity, and concerning which we possess the most abundant notices. The other branches, to the consideration of which we now pass on, may be classed under the three heads of Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Miscellaneous literature. Philosophical literature.

The term Philosophy, in every age one of somewhat indefinite import, will here be understood to comprehend all the higher subjects of moral and physical inquiry; researches into the origin of things, the nature of the Deity, and the operations of the human mind; with the more practical sciences of mathematics, astronomy, and medicine.

Under the head of Rhetoric will be comprised those branches of intellectual pursuit specially cultivated by the rhetors, and by the inferior order of philosophers commonly called sophists. Such, besides rhetoric in the stricter sense, or the art of oratory, were the more advanced stages of educational literature, grammar, logic, and dialectics. The lectures indeed of the sophist embraced, or professed to embrace, the elements of almost every kind of literary pursuit.

To the third head, of Miscellaneous literature, belong all the remaining, as yet comparatively limited branches of composition, not comprised under any one of the previous heads : Familiar narratives and works of fiction ; Literary history ; Essays on popular statistics, elegant art, and other topics of general interest.

Its slow
progress.

There is certainly no kind of literary pursuit which appears more immediately dependent for its effectual advancement on the aid of prose writing, than that of Speculative philosophy. Few subjects could hold out less charm to the imagination, less scope to metrical embellishment, or less assistance consequently to the memory. Here then again we are met by another of those anomalies, of not unfrequent occurrence in the course of this history ; for in no other department of literature is a greater slowness observable to profit by the resources of advancing civilisation. Many of the early philosophers appear not to have committed their doctrines to writing in any form ; and many of those who wrote preferred poetry to prose. Thales left no literary work ; although his mathematical researches could not possibly have been carried to the extent for which he enjoys credit, without a familiar habit of writing. The authorship of the remaining six of the celebrated Seven sages was confined to poetry of the elegiac or gnomic order. Pherecydes and Anaximander wrote in prose ; but the notices of similar compositions, either by their younger contemporary Anaximenes, or by their more celebrated successor Pythagoras, are very doubtful. Ocellus Lucanus, another early philosopher of Magna Græcia, and Diogenes of Apollonia in Crete, a disciple of

Anaximenes, were both accredited authors of prose treatises. Xenophanes of Colophon, founder of the Eleatic school, gave an exclusive preference to the elegiac verse in his numerous and popular works ; and his example was followed by two of his most distinguished successors in that school, Parmenides of Elea, and Empedocles of Agrigentum. Zeno of Elea and Melissus of Samos, disciples of Parmenides, wrote in prose ; as did also Heraclitus of Ephesus, Anaxagoras of Clazomene, and Diagoras of Melos, successor of Anaxagoras in the Athenian branch of his school. To Zeno is also ascribed¹ the first introduction of the dialectic style of didactic composition, afterwards so popular with the Socratic teachers. Socrates left no written works ; nor does mention occur of any by his reputed instructor Archelaus. Democritus of Abdera was a voluminous writer on philosophical as well as other subjects ; but his supposed master Leucippus, founder of the Atomic school, does not appear to have transmitted his doctrines in a written form. Meton of Athens, the establisher of the true length of the solar year, and founder of the Greek practical astronomy, must have left written astronomical tables, accompanied, it may be presumed, by some species of explanatory text ; but no citation is extant of any literary work in the familiar sense, either by him or by his contemporary and coadjutor Euctemon. Hippocrates, the creator and greatest master of Greek medical science, was author of voluminous and valuable prose compositions.

The above catalogue comprises all the philoso-

¹ Aristot. ap. Diog. La. viii. § 57., ix. § 25.

phers of note, who flourished prior to the close of the fifth century B. C. Of these one half either wrote in poetry, or are not known to have left any written compositions. No entire work of undisputed authenticity by any one of them, except Hippocrates, has been preserved.

The preference shown by so many of these early sages for a poetical or purely oral mode of promulgating their doctrines, at a time when the progress of letters had provided another method apparently so much better fitted to their purpose, may perhaps be explained by the circumstance, that their speculations, being devoted in great part to the subject of natural religion, could hardly fail, when carried on with any freedom, to prove at variance with the doctrines of the national superstition. But the popular public of Greece, at this elementary stage of her intellectual culture, was, especially at Athens, now the favourite resort of men of science, jealous of any formal attempt to depreciate that superstition. The zeal of the more enlightened part of the community for the promulgation of truth, was not hitherto met by a corresponding readiness of the mass to profit by their exertions; and the light of science had still to struggle through the mists of popular ignorance. Two expedients offered themselves for evading this obstacle to free discussion, and at the same time the danger of setting public opinion at defiance. The one was for the instructor to confine his lectures to verbal delivery, which, while it enabled him to limit his audience to those inclined to do justice to his views, deprived informers of the more positive means of substantiating charges of heresy, which would have

been afforded by a written promulgation of his theories. The other resource was to veil them under the figurative disguise supplied by the art of poetry ; to which mode of publication, from the time of Hesiod and other early teachers of mystical theology, a greater latitude had been conceded in the treatment of such delicate subjects, than could be expected in a formal exposition of similar theories in the language of ordinary life.¹

11. In the departments of prose classed above under the head of Rhetoric, the earliest author whose name has been preserved is Theagenes of Rhegium.² He flourished about 525 B. C., and left a commentary on Homer, the first work of its kind which retained authority in the subsequent more advanced stages of grammatical literature. He may hence be, and was by classical authorities, considered the father of that literature among the Greeks.³ There can indeed be little doubt that before his time prose writing had been applied to the critical art, by Pisistratus for example and his coadjutors, in their Homeric labours. But the literary priority must here, as in other parallel cases, be awarded to the first author of a work possessing sufficient merit, or embodied in so popular a form, as to obtain permanence as a national classic. No notice occurs of any other writer in this department before the middle of the fifth century B. C. ; at which time speculative criticism seems still to have been confined very much to commentaries on Homer

Rhetoric.

Theagenes
of Rhe-
gium.

¹ Such in fact is the explanation given in the words of Protagoras by Plato. *Protag.* p. 316.

² Didot, *Frgg. Hist. Gr.* vol. II. p. 12.; *conf. supra*, Vol. I. p. 183.; *Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 823.; *Tatian. ad Græc.* c. 31.

³ *Ap. Bekk. Anecd. Gr.* p. 729.

Rhapsodists.

and other popular poets ; and to have been hence chiefly in the hands of the Homeric rhapsodists.¹ Among these, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, and Hippias of Thasos² were the most popular ; and the former was author of a written commentary on his favourite poet. The professional musicians, Lamprus of Erythræ, Damon of Athens, and others, seem also at this early period to have combined rhetorical exercises with their own proper department of instruction.³

Sicilian masters.

The honour of having founded a school of rhetoric belongs to Sicily. Empedocles is described by Aristotle⁴ as the "inventor" of that art ; but in what precise sense does not appear ; for he was not the author of any prose composition. More distinct are the notices of Corax⁵, a Syracusan orator and politician who, at the close of a series of factions by which his native city had been agitated, and in which he had himself borne a prominent part, gave his fellow-countrymen, in a course of lectures, about 460 B.C., the results of his experience in the rhetorical art. He is also the first recorded author of a work on that art ; which retained its repute as a classic even after the subject had been treated by writers of greater celebrity and popularity. His oral instructions seem to have been limited to his native island. But his

Corax.

¹ Plato, *Ion*. p. 530. sq.

² Plat. loc. cit. ; Aristot. *Poet.* 25. ; *Lysias*, *Orat.* XIII. p. 328. ed. Oxon.

³ Plat. *Lach.* p. 180., *Alcib.* p. 118., *Menex.* p. 236. ; *Plut. in Pericl.* 4.

⁴ *Ap. Diog. L.* VIII. § 57., IX. § 25. : conf. *Quintil.* III. 1.

⁵ Aristot. *Rhet.* II. 24., *Sophist. Elench.* II. 24. ; and *ap. Cic. Brut.* XII. 46., *De Orat.* I. XX. 91., *De Invent.* II. 6. ; *Quintil.* II. XVII. 7., III. I. ; *Zenob. Prov.* IV. 82. ed. Gaisf. ; *Schol. Hermog. ap. Reisk. Oratt. Gr.* vol. VIII. p. 195. sqq. : conf. *Westerm. Gesch. der Beredsamkeit*, I. p. 36. sq.

fellow-citizen and pupil Tisias¹ taught in various other parts of Greece. At Thurium, the celebrated colony of Magna Græcia founded by Athens in 444 B.C., he opened a school² conjointly with another Syracusan orator called Nicias. Among his pupils was Lysias of Athens, who afterwards rose to high distinction in his native city, whence he had in his boyhood accompanied his parents to the new settlement; and it is probable that Herodotus, a fellow-colonist of Lysias, may also have been his fellow-disciple. Tisias afterwards visited Athens, and may be considered the first who rendered the Attic public familiar with the newly matured science of technical oratory. Isocrates is specially mentioned as his pupil.³ He is also said, during his residence in Athens, to have contended with his more celebrated countryman and former disciple Gorgias, for the palm of eloquence.⁴ Tisias.

Gorgias⁵, 485—380 B.C., the next and most distinguished rhetorician of the Sicilian school, was a native of the Chalcidian colony of Leontini, and is described as a pupil both of Empedocles and of Tisias.⁶ His lectures were not like those of Tisias confined to oratory, but extended to many other departments of literature. He was, with all his faults, unquestionably one of the greatest and most successful teachers of prose composition, and was the founder, as will appear in the sequel, of the classical Attic prose style. Gorgias.

¹ Auctt. sup. citt.: conf. Pausan. vi. xvii.

² Plutarch. Vitt. dec. Oratt. in Lysia. Phot. Cod. 262.

³ Dion. Hal. de Isocr. 1.

⁴ Pausan. vi. xvii.: conf. Plat. Phædr. p. 267.

⁵ See the notices of Gorgias in Clinton's Fast. Hell. vol. ii.; also an excellent article in Pauly's Real Encyclopædie.

⁶ Quintil. iii. i. 8.; Satyr. ap. Diog. L. Vit. Emp. § 57.; Schol. Hermog. ap. Reisk. Oratt. Gr. vol. viii. p. 197. sq.

Sophists,
definition
and cha-
racter of.

Almost all the best Attic writers and orators of his own or the succeeding generation, are described as having been directly or indirectly his disciples. Gorgias also wrote on philosophical subjects, and with acknowledged ability; though never admitted to the dignity of philosopher in the higher sense. In his philosophical capacity he ranks among the earliest, and was the greatest, of the class of learned men familiarly known by the somewhat equivocal title of sophist; by which title they are also distinguished from the order of philosophers properly so called. Although this title is of greater antiquity in the more general sense of Man of learning, it is only about the time of Gorgias that it begins to be restricted, in a narrower sense, to a particular class or order of such men. The Greek term *sophistes*, as distinguished from its root *sophos*, seems originally to have denoted a person who professionally taught or inculcated learning, as distinct from one who was merely wise or learned (*sophos*), without affecting or obtaining public notoriety by his acquirements. In this simpler sense it is applied by Herodotus to Solon and other contemporary sages.¹ Even in later times, when restricted in its narrower import to the class or order of "sophists," it is still occasionally applied to philosophers and orators of higher rank, to Socrates, Plato, Lysias, Demosthenes, and others², but commonly it would seem in a more or less disparaging sense.³

¹ I. 29., II. 49., IV. 95. Occasionally, in a partly figurative sense, to professional instructors in music and other branches of art. Plat. *Protag.* p. 316.

² See Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. VIII. p. 479. sq.; Gräfenhahn, *Gesch. der Philol.* vol. I. p. 127. sq.

³ That, even as applied by Herodotus, the title was somewhat am-

Any detailed inquiry into the character of this celebrated fraternity, in itself or as compared with the more honourable body of philosophers properly so called, from whom it has been somewhat invidiously distinguished, must be reserved for another place. It will here suffice to specify the chief grounds on which the distinction was based.¹ The first was that the sophist combined with his functions as master of moral or physical science, those of orator and rhetorician; or it may rather be said, that with him the former branches of instruction were subsidiary to the latter, by supplying fertile themes for the display of rhetorical talent. The sophist was always a rhetor, although the rhetor may not always have been a sophist. Hence, while the researches of the philosopher, fallacious as his doctrines might be, were held to be directed to the discovery of truth and the promotion of knowledge, the philosophy of the sophist was considered rather as a medium for the exercise of that argumentative subtlety, and those powers of composition, on which they prided themselves even more than on solid learning or sound doctrine. They

biguous, appears from a comparison of his use of the cognate terms *σοφίζεσθαι* and *λόγισμα*. Schweigh. Lex. Herod. in vocc.

¹ The reader is also referred to Mr. Grote's ingenious and elaborate analysis of this question in the eighth volume of his *History of Greece*, p. 447. sq., as a valuable contribution to the literary history of the period: although we cannot subscribe to all his views, nor even accompany him the length to which he has carried some of those with which, in a more modified form, we cordially agree. His discussion of this subject is marked by the same defect which pervades so many parts of his able work, that of exaggerating, or overstating, almost every doctrine or theory which he advocates, especially any new or favourite theory of his own. But although he may have overstepped the bounds of impartial criticism in the very flattering picture which he has drawn of the character and influence of the sophists, he has effectually exposed the injustice with which they have been treated, both by the leading disciples of the Socratic school in their own age, and by the great body of modern critics and commentators.

were thus naturally, and to some extent perhaps justly, taunted with being rather pretenders to extent and variety of superficial knowledge, than professors of real learning. Another distinction resulting from this close union of the sophist and rhetor was, that while the philosopher inculcated his theories in the more practical mode of didactic treatise or dialogue, the professor of the joint arts was accustomed to convey his instructions on every subject in the form of set speeches or declamations.¹ The term oration consequently, when applied to the discourses of these professors, is rarely to be understood in the sense of speech delivered in a public assembly. Their rhetorical compositions were for the most part but literary disputations embodied in rhetorical form; usually delivered in the lecture room before publication; occasionally confined to written circulation. Such are the two harangues which have been transmitted as works of Gorgias, under the titles of Apology of Palamedes, and Encomium of Helen. This species of literary oration retained its popularity in later times, conjointly with the properly forensic practice of oratory. A further distinction, invidiously commented on by Plato and other Socratics², stigmatised the sophists as more mercenary than the philosophers; as not only teaching for hire, but as exacting higher sums, and in a more pertinacious manner than any other class of teachers, for their instructions. Hence perhaps why, as a general rule, the sophists during their

¹ This is aptly put by Philostratus, Vit. Soph. Proœm.: *τὴν ἀρχαίαν σοφιστικὴν ῥητορικὴν ἡγείσθαι χρὴ φιλοσοφοῦσαν*. The definition might with equal propriety be extended, or varied, by reversing two of its concluding terms: *τ. ἀ. σ. φιλοσοφίαν ἡγείσθαι χρὴ ῥητορεύουσαν*.

² Grote, op. cit. p. 482.: conf. supra, note to p. 37.

flourishing age do not seem to have been voluminous writers ; their time being much, and more profitably engaged in lecturing and in travelling, for the two-fold purpose of increasing their gains and extending their fame.

12. Although the title sophist does not appear before the time of Socrates to have been one of actual reproach, Gorgias is said to have been so jealous of the at best ambiguous honour attaching to it, as to have objected to it in his own case, and preferred that of rhetorician.¹ Nor did he so much profess to be himself a teacher of wisdom, as to instruct others in the art of teaching it by a command of eloquent language.² Besides his orations on miscellaneous subjects he was author of a system of rhetoric, and of several works on composition and literary criticism. Among the numerous testimonies to his zeal in the promotion of letters, the most remarkable is that of his younger contemporary Isocrates³; who describes him as spending the whole of his unusually long life in travelling from city to city; never establishing a permanent domicile, or undertaking the ordinary duties of citizen in any one state; unmarried and childless; shunning even the enjoyments of domestic life, in order to devote his entire time and attention to his favourite pursuits.

As the immediate disciples of Gorgias are mentioned: Polus of Agrigentum; Licymnius, another Sicilian, of uncertain birthplace; and Alcidas of Elæa, in Asiatic Æolis. Alcidas inherited the Attic branch of his master's school; and was author of a system of rhetoric, of a treatise on music, and of

His disciples.

¹ See Plat. Gorg. p. 449. sqq.

² Plat. Gorg. loc. cit., Meno. p. 95., Phileb. p. 58.

³ Orat. de permut. p. 485. ed. Oxon.

other works in oratorical form; one of which, Ulysses's indictment of Palamedes, has been preserved. Polus left a system of rhetoric, a treatise on the use of phrases, and a commentary on Homer's catalogue of ships. Licymnius, by some described as the pupil of Polus, by others as his master, also left a work on the art of rhetoric, now the usual bequest to posterity by the professors of that art.

Protagoras. The most distinguished teachers of rhetoric and sophistic science next to Gorgias, were his younger contemporaries, Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis. Though not specified as pupils of Gorgias, there can be little doubt that all three profited by his lessons. All three selected Athens as a favourite seat of their instructions, and are said to have amassed fortunes by their lectures. Protagoras is represented by Plato¹ as glorying in the title of sophist, and is described on the same authority as the first who exacted payment for his lessons; in which case Gorgias must be supposed to have been content with the voluntary offerings of his disciples, as he too is said to have been richly paid for his professional labours. But we have already² had occasion to estimate the value of such notices of the first introduction or "invention," of practices which must have sprung up naturally with the state of manners in which they prevailed; and the same Plato elsewhere³ describes the philosopher Zeno, a predecessor or earlier contemporary of Protagoras, as selling his instructions at an exorbitant rate. Protagoras left a treatise on the art of polemical disputation. He also wrote on the higher branches of

¹ Protag. p. 349.

² Supra, Ch. ii. p. 56. sqq.

³ Alcibiad. i. p. 119.

grammar and criticism, illustrating his doctrines by passages of popular authors; but none of his works have been preserved.

Prodicus showed a greater preference than either Prodicus. Gorgias or Protagoras for subjects of the philosophical order. He was also highly esteemed as a critic and grammarian; especially for his attention to the judicious choice of words in composition, and to the distinction of cognate or synonymous terms. His oration on the Choice of Hercules, epitomised by Xenophon, was one of the most celebrated of the sophistic order; but with his other compositions has perished.

Hippias was celebrated among his brother rhetoricians for the casuistry of his dialectics, the meretricious pomp of his language, and his ready faculty of composing show speeches on any subject. Although he is said to have written much, both in prose and verse, few of his works appear to have enjoyed permanent popularity, or to have long survived his own generation. Hippias.

Antiphon, the earliest of the ten Attic orators of Antiphon. the Alexandrian canon¹, was also the first Athenian prose writer whose name has been recorded. He further enjoys in popular quarters the credit of having been the first author of orations delivered, or intended for delivery, in public assemblies or courts of justice.² He has accordingly, on the strength of this priority, been called the "inventor" of the art of public oratory, as distinct from the literary orations of the sophists. His claim to such inventive honours may be restricted,

¹ Plut. Vit. Dec. Oratt.; Quintil. III. 1.

² Diodor. ap. Clem. Alex. Str. I. p. 309.; Philostr. Vit. Soph. I. xv. 2.; Hermogen. de Form. Orat. II. p. 391. ed. 1569.

at the utmost, to his having been the first author of strictly forensic speeches of sufficient merit or importance to be judged worthy of publication or general circulation. Forensic oratory must assuredly have been the mother, rather than the daughter, of sophistic oratory. The copy could hardly in any similar case have taken precedence of the original; and any such reversal of the natural order of things is the less likely in the present case, that Corax and Tisias, the founders of Greek rhetorical literature, were active politicians, before they had any pretension to be sophists; and that their success as political pleaders was what suggested their coming forward as professional teachers. The specimens of oratory by which they illustrated their doctrines, may hence safely be assumed to have been borrowed from the realities of their own political career; and the claims of Antiphon as an "inventor" may be restricted to his capacity of Attic man of letters.¹ He was not himself a professional pleader in the courts. His speeches were sold for money to his clients, and were spoken by them or by others in their employment. He is described, and perhaps with reason, as the first who made profit by the sale of such commodities. The only occasion on which he himself appeared as a forensic orator, is said to have been in his own defence against the charge of treason for which he suffered (411 B.C.). From his time onwards, the preparation and sale of written speeches became a distinct branch of business with professional orators; the increase of litigation in the

¹ The further statement of Plutarch (Vit. Antiph), that Antiphon *πρῶτος ῥητορικὰς τέχνας ἐξήνεγκε*, is, taken by the letter, still more at variance with the better-attested notices of the Sicilian rhetors; and if worth anything, is the more obviously applicable to Antiphon in his strictly Attic capacity

Attic tribunals, consequent on the increase of wealth and more complicated social relations, opening daily a wider and more profitable field for such commerce. Antiphon also composed speeches on purely fictitious cases of litigation, as model specimens illustrative of his system of oratory. Besides his numerous orations, fifteen of which have survived, he left a work on the art of rhetoric, and another entitled *Proœmia* and *Epilogues*, treating, it may be presumed, of the proper management of those important parts of a discourse. But both these compositions are lost.

Andocides (467—391 B. C.) is the only other Attic orator of note whose active life falls within the age here set apart as that of elementary Greek prose literature. He is not mentioned as a teacher of rhetoric, nor does he seem to have employed his talents for any other purpose than the promotion of his own political schemes, in the usual forms of attack on opponents or defence of himself, during his long and unprincipled career, on the vicissitudes of which it is no part of our present object to enlarge. Andocides.

Two rhetors of the sophistic order still remain to be noticed, as having attained distinction within the limits of the fifth century B. C., Thrasymachus of Chalcedon, and Theodorus of Byzantium. The former was esteemed for a peculiar dignity and elegance of sentiment and diction. He was even considered by grammarians of good authority¹ as the originator of that "middle" class of Attic composition, equally removed from the extremes of simplicity and artifice, of poverty and ambitious display, which, as afterwards ennobled by Plato and Demosthenes, was Thrasymachus.

¹ Theophrast. ap. Dionys. Hal. De adm. vi Demosth. 3.; conf. Plat. Phædr. pp. 266, 267.

esteemed by the antient critics the perfection of classical prose style. His works, none of which have survived, comprised orations, and several treatises on rhetorical science.

Theodorus. Theodorus is noted by Plato and other authorities¹ for the subtlety and florid graces of his style ; and was author of a work in which his principles of composition were inculcated.²

Grammatical works. Among the numerous commentaries, chiefly by Sicilian masters, on the etymology, flexion, and structure of words and phrases, we find as yet no distinct mention of a Grammar in the familiar sense of the term. Nor indeed is there notice of any such work having obtained popularity as a national classic, prior to that produced by Dionysius Thrax about a century before the Christian era. Elementary works of this nature must already have been abundant, as much so proportionally as now, in the hands of schoolmasters and scholars. But the advance of speculative philology was not yet sufficient to admit of their taking rank as literary productions. Lexicons or dictionaries (*Onomastica*) appear to have become common toward the close of the fifth century B.C. Their contents however were limited, as appears indeed to have been the case at every period of classical antiquity, to the collection and explanation of rare and obscure words, phrases, and dialectical idioms. Gorgias³ and Democritus⁴ are the first who, on more or less valid authority, are cited as authors of such compilations.

Miscellaneous prose literature.

13. Under the head of Miscellaneous prose literature, the earliest and most popular branch of com-

¹ Plat. Phædr. p. 266. ; Cicer. Brut. c. 72.

² Jul. Poll. Onom. ix. init.

³ Aristot. Rhet. ii. 23.

⁴ Diog. La. ix. § 48.

position which offers itself is that entitled Fable or Apologue.

A Fable may be defined a concise ethic allegory, Fable. inculcating moral truths, by appropriate language and actions ascribed to animals, of tempers analogous to those of the human characters which it is the object of the fabulist to illustrate. Attention has already been directed to specimens of such figurative anecdote incidentally occurring in the text of Hesiod, Archilochus, and other early poets. Stesichorus has also been quoted, in his political rather than his poetical capacity, as the author of several apt and elegant fables.¹

The first and most celebrated professional fabulist Æsop. among the Greeks was Æsop, a personage whose existence can hardly be considered beyond the reach of doubt, but who, in the notices concerning him, is described as flourishing at the court of Cræsus in the first half of the sixth century B.C. To this Æsop, at the time when fables are first mentioned as a distinct class of composition, were familiarly attributed all those then current in Greece, not excepting such as were extant in the works of authors who lived long before the earliest date assigned to Æsop's birth. Questionable as may be the real existence of an Æsop, there appears no sufficient reason to doubt the fact, which has however been disputed by modern critics, of a written collection of fables having passed current under his name before the time of Herodotus. That historian mentions his works in terms² which can hardly be understood in any other sense than as allusive to such a collection. Nor is it likely that a single individual,

¹ Vol. II. p. 393., Vol. III. p. 169. 226. 248.

² He is styled *λογιοποιός* (II. 134.), like Hecataeus (II. 143.).

real or fictitious, would obtain credit for the whole then existing body of such compositions, on any other ground than as representing the first compiler of them into a written form. A mere itinerant jester, who had been at pains to store his memory with such anecdotes, could hardly have acquired, in the interval between Cræsus and Herodotus, the celebrity as a classical fabulist which Æsop enjoyed in the days of that historian. Aristophanes¹ seems also plainly to cite the fables of Æsop as a written compilation. The fact, of which there can be little doubt, that no metrical version of them existed before the time of Socrates, renders it the less likely that they should have acquired so extensive a circulation through any other medium than that of writing.

These fables, with another kindred class of humorous anecdotes, called from Sybaris, the place of their origin or chief popularity, Sybaritic tales², in which inanimate objects were similarly endowed with speech, and many of which were probably admitted into the Æsopic collection, appear to have been the only kind of prose fiction hitherto promulgated in a written form. In the cultivation of the politer orders of Miscellaneous literature, the early sophists and rhetors have the honour, as might be expected, of taking the lead. Protagoras left a treatise "On the art of government," another "On the art of wrestling;" and one "On the affairs of Hades;" the latter probably in satirical vein, reflecting with as much freedom as the author could ven-

Other
branches of
popular
prose.

¹ Av. 471.

² Aristoph. Vesp. 1260., conf. 1427. 1436.; Ælian. V. H. xiv. 20.; Suid. v. Συβαριτικά, and Etym. M. v. Συβαριζέειν, who describe them as dramatised by Epicharmus.

ture to exercise, on the extravagance of the popular notions of the world to come. Alcidas wrote on "music;" which term, in the technical language of the day, frequently comprehends the whole cyclopædia of elegant pursuit.¹ Prodicus is quoted as author of a tract on Agriculture. Stesimbrotus left one on the Mysteries; which appears to have embraced the more abstruse forms of religious mysticism prevalent in foreign countries as well as in Greece. Similar probably was the work of Diagoras, entitled "Phrygian lore." Stesimbrotus also left a treatise on his favourite poet Homer; but whether in the mode of commentary or of critical essay, does not appear. His contemporary Metrodorus wrote on Homer, but in what precise form is also doubtful. Hippias, besides the list of Olympic victors formerly noticed, is quoted as author of a treatise On the names of nations. Agatharchus a contemporary of Æschylus left a treatise on scene painting; and Anaxagoras one on linear perspective.² Many of the livelier specimens of rhetorical declamation by sophistic orators might be also entitled, in a modern catalogue of literary works, to rank, in right of their subject, under the head of miscellaneous; though comprised above, in right of their form, under that of rhetoric. Such were the Encomium of Helen, and the Apology

¹ Every study or accomplishment, that is, belonging to the province of the Muses. As the term is during the whole of this, as indeed of every period of Hellenic literature, habitually employed both in the special and the general sense, it is sometimes not very easy to distinguish which of the two, in individual cases, is to be preferred.

² Vitruv. Præf. ad lib. vii. The treatise On the chorus, to which Suidas (v. Sophoc.) is supposed to allude, as having been written by Sophocles against Thespis and Chærilus, admitting the reading of the passage to be correct, and this to be its meaning, may safely be dismissed as fabulous. But the term ἀγωνιστικός seems to refer, not to literary controversy, but to scenic competition.

of Palamedes, ascribed to Gorgias; such the Choice of Hercules, by Prodicus; such also Ulysses's Charge of treason against Palamedes, by Alcidas discipule of Gorgias; an imaginary indictment, suggested no doubt by the imaginary defence of the hero in the Palamedean oration of its author's master. Contemporaneous with the successors of Gorgias, if not himself one of his disciples, was Glaucus of Rhegium, whose work on the early poets and musicians, the first of which notice occurs in the department of literary history, maintained its credit as a classic at every subsequent period.

One of the most fertile among the authors of this time, in works of miscellaneous literature, was the celebrated philosopher Democritus of Abdera B.C. 435. He left treatises, among other popular subjects, on music and poetry; on various topics of critical philology; on Homer; on painting; on agriculture; on historical research; and on the sacred writings of the Babylonians and Egyptians. Though one of the most enterprising travellers of his day, he is not cited as the author of any work on geographical subjects. The most remarkable compositions of this age partaking of the nature of "travels," were by Ion of Chios the tragic poet; but as they also partook largely of the character of history, they will fall to be noticed in detail in the ensuing chapter, specially devoted to that branch of literature. Critias, the discipule successively of Gorgias and of Socrates, and more famous as a politician than an author, left several statistical tracts; one on the Polity of Lacedæmon, another on the Polity of Thessaly. The graver portions of these works appear, from the passages preserved, to have been relieved by anecdotes of

remarkable persons, and notices of curious traits of national manners. Critias also left a treatise on the Poets and Philosophers, of which several valuable fragments remain. The variety of forms which the popular literature had assumed about the close of the fifth century B.C., appears from Plato's familiar citation of a book on the art of cookery by one Mithæcus, as enjoying a standard celebrity in the time of the philosopher; and such works became common from this epoch downwards.¹ A treatise on the Equestrian art by Simon an Athenian, is repeatedly quoted by Xenophon; whose own collective works offer numerous choice specimens of miscellaneous literature. Of Epistolary correspondence as a distinct branch of composition during any part of the Attic period, the examples are rare or of doubtful authenticity.²

14. The foregoing general survey of the earlier vicissitudes of Greek prose literature has been considered desirable, not only as tending to simplify our future more detailed treatment of the separate parts of the same subject, but as bringing under one connected view the principal data for tracing the origin and

Greek
prose style.

¹ Plat. Gorgias, p. 518.; Athen. i. p. 4., iv. p. 164., viii. p. 337.

² The letters of Isocrates may in part claim to be by their accredited author. Those "of Plato," although spurious, if written, as has been supposed, by his immediate disciples, would also belong to this period. The account of Dion's Syracusan campaign against the second Dionysius, by Timonides of Leucadia, is said to have been drawn up in the form of Epistles to his friend Speusippus the Academician.

The passage of Hellanicus (Didot, frgg. 163. sq.) in which Atossa, a Persian empress, is described as the first who carried on correspondence by letter, is far from meriting the importance which some modern commentators have assigned it in connexion with this question. The personage here alluded to is not the celebrated daughter of Cyrus and wife of Darius, but some heroine of the early Assyro-Persian mythology, to whom oriental tradition awarded the credit of having achieved this step in the advance of literary pursuit.

formation of the classical Greek prose style, which rose into maturity in the latter half of the fifth century B.C. To the standard models of that style every polite European language has been indebted, immediately or indirectly, for those principles of composition by which its own cultivators have been guided in their efforts to impart dignity or grace to their productions. The investigation consequently of the sources whence those principles are derived, is one of vital importance in its bearings on the history of polite culture, not only in antient Greece, but in the civilised world during every subsequent period.

This subject, which in the history of a modern European literature would present but a single train of inquiry, will here, by reference to the peculiar genius of the Greek tongue, as more fully illustrated in a previous portion of this work¹, fall to be considered under the separate heads of: I. Style, as dependent on dialect; and II. Style, as dependent on structure and composition.

Style as
dependent
on dialect.

At the close of the Poetical period, about the time of the first popular essays in prose composition, the polite language of Greece presented three principal varieties of dialectical form. The first was the old poetical Ionic or Homeric, still cultivated by the few remaining poets of the now superannuated epic school, and under slight modification by those of the still flourishing elegiac school. The second variety was the more recent Ionic, as exemplified in the iambic poetry of Archilochus, Simonides the elder, and Solon. The third would require, were we treating of Greek poetry, to be considered under the two cognate heads of Æolic and Doric. But as its forms

¹ Vol. I. p. 117. sqq.

of expression exercised little or no influence on prose literature, nor offer by consequence matter for consideration in this place, it will here suffice to include them under the single title of *Melic*, common to the orders of poetical composition in which they were chiefly employed.

The more recent Ionic was the dialect not only of the Ionian colonies in Asia but of Attica. Athens was the parent state of those colonies; and although the separation took place at a remote epoch of fabulous antiquity, the antient speech maintained itself in its substantial integrity in the two countries down to the close of the Poetical period; partly by means of friendly intercourse, partly as forming in each the common medium for the cultivation of polite literature. That such was the case is attested by the leading antient grammarians¹, and results also from a comparison of the writings of Solon with those of Archilochus and other Ionian poets of the Iambographic school. There can therefore be no doubt that this later Ionic is the source whence the classical Attic of Thucydides and Plato derived its origin; although the stages of the transition may not be easily traced, owing to the entire want, down to the close of the Periclean age, of native Attic prose writers, whose works, had they existed, would have supplied the most satisfactory data on the subject.

Early Ionic
prose.

The division into dialects is no peculiar feature of the Greek tongue. It is one common to every language spoken by a numerous race of men spread over a varied surface of territory. There is however this difference between the Greek and other polite Eu-

¹ See Vol. II. p. 205.

ropean languages, that while, in the former, each of the principal dialects enjoyed the benefit of classical cultivation, in the others that privilege has been limited to a single one. The causes of this difference have been examined in another place.¹ Its effects will be best illustrated by pursuing a little further the comparison between the literature of Hellas and that of our own age. Whatever variety of pronunciation or form of words may prevail in different provinces of Britain or France, the well educated Englishman or Frenchman writes and spells, although he may have difficulty in pronouncing, according to a single norm of grammar and orthography. David Hume, for example, spoke his native Scotch in great purity, and was in the habit, when conversing with his friends, of using phrases which are not to be found in any English vocabulary, and of pronouncing others in a mode which would have been unintelligible in London. Yet there is no better model of English style than Hume's history. But the Dorian or Æolian author of the flourishing age of Greece was as little ashamed to write, as he was to speak, his native dialect, where he found it best adapted to his purpose ; and many of the finest passages of Sappho or Alcman are unintelligible to a scholar who knows no other form of poetical Greek than that authorised by Homer or Sophocles.

Its variety
of usage.

In the midst of this freedom of provincial usage, there may yet be observed, at different epochs, a preference on the part of the nation at large for particular dialects in certain more popular branches of literature, whether from a consciousness of their better adaptation to those branches, or from certain

¹ Vol. I. p. 117. sqq.

orders of composition having been more successfully cultivated by authors of particular districts. Such a preference was awarded in prose composition, during the earlier stages of its cultivation, to the later Ionic dialect. With the exception of a few obscure Italiote or Sicilian writers, who adhered to their native Doric, the historians and philosophers of every district of Greece seem to have written in Ionic, prior to the ascendancy of the Attic dialect in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. This was owing chiefly to the circumstance that prose took its origin in Ionia, and that the more popular of its early cultivators were natives of Ionian states. The fashion set by the Ionian Hecataeus was followed by the Æolian Hellanicus and the Dorian Herodotus. Another partial motive for this preference may have been the old family connexion between this dialect and the Homeric; which in every age maintained its ground as a common standard or fountain head of polite usage.

Here however another peculiarity of the Greek tongue presents itself, in the variety of forms which not only prevailed in the vernacular use, but were frequently authorised in the classical style even of a single dialect. This appears to have been more especially the case with the Ionic. Herodotus¹ describes the spoken language of the Ionian states in his day as comprising four broadly marked varieties of idiom. One was proper to Chios and Erythræ; another to Miletus, Myus, and Priene; a third to Samos alone; the fourth to Ephesus and the five remaining states. It may be questioned whether each or any one of these sub-dialects possessed a distinct classical style of composition, or whether the

¹ I. 142.

peculiarities of all may not rather have formed a common stock, from which authors, native and foreign, were at liberty to draw in such proportions as suited their taste or that of their public. It is probable however that some of the native Ionian, especially Milesian writers, may have taken pride in adhering to their local idiom. In regard to Hecatæus, this seems to be indirectly implied by the antient critics who possessed his works entire, and who contrast the purity and simplicity of his Ionic dialect with the variety and license of that of Herodotus.¹ The remains of the former writer are unfortunately too scanty to supply any sufficient data for our own judgement: but the extant work of his more celebrated successor offers abundant internal evidence of the opposite characteristics ascribed to him. There is indeed much reason to believe that the Ionic, both of Herodotus and of Hippocrates, the only other contemporaneous writer whose works have survived, also a Dorian, and equally free from local obligation to uniformity, is a more or less artificial compound of the materials which those four varieties of Ionian speech placed at their disposal, with a tendency to exaggerate the dialectical peculiarities by which the four in common were distinguished.

Nor is this anomaly of usage confined to the text of different authors. The same author often varies no less widely in himself; employing the same word in different forms, according as it may suit the variations of his own sense of propriety or euphony. This forms another feature of distinction between the practice of the Greek and that of the polite modern languages. In the latter all such licence of dupli-

¹ Hermogen. de Form. Orat. II. p. 402, ed. 1569.

cate forms is limited to poetical style ; and is even there, in more refined periods of literature, but sparingly employed. The English poet may still write o'er for over, or e'en for even, &c., where the use of the same contracted terms would be absurd or affected in a prose author. But the great masters of Ionian prose style, in numerous cases, avail themselves at discretion of similar duplicate forms ; and even in the more settled Attic dialect they are not altogether excluded.¹

15. The principal characteristic of the Ionian prose Attic prose. dialect, as exemplified in its two preserved standards above cited, and by which it is mainly distinguished from the classical Attic to which it gave place, is its partiality for vowel sounds, especially the short vowel E. The modes in which this characteristic chiefly displays itself are : the employment, in uncontracted form, of groups of contiguous vowels, which in other dialects are contracted ; the solution into simple vowels, of syllables pronounced as diphthongs in the Attic dialect ; the insertion of vowels, and prolongation by that means of simple vowels into diphthongs ; the occasional substitution of vowels for consonants ; to which may be added a preference of mute or liquid consonants to aspirates or gutturals. These peculiarities, many of them derived from or modelled after Homeric usage, all tend to impart, both to sound and structure, a certain softness and tenuity, not favourable to the effective treatment of the more practical orders of literature. The substitution therefore of the Attic of Thucydides for the Ionic of Herodotus as the classical dialect of prose, was an important step in the progress of the Greek

¹ See Appendix B.

tongue to the perfection which it attained, as a vehicle of varied and accurate thought, during the latter part of the Attic period.

We have already had frequent occasion to notice a want of inventive precocity, as a characteristic of the genius of Athens ; her slowness to originate new forms of literature, as contrasted with her power of maturing and perfecting those introduced from abroad. We have seen that all the higher branches of prose composition originate with natives of other Greek states ; and the same will now be shown to be the case even with the classical Attic prose style. The political ascendancy of Athens ; her superiority in fine art, and in the more popular branches of poetry ; with the attractions which she held out to foreign men of genius of every class, who flocked to her as the common centre of elegant pursuit, all contributed during this period to render her, as she has been called¹, the School of Greece. But in so far at least as the art of prose composition is concerned, it is certain that during the Periclean age, the school of Athens was that in which the Athenians themselves were taught, rather than that in which they instructed others.

The term Substitution has above been preferred to that of Transition, to express the ascendancy acquired by the Attic over the Ionic dialect as the language of Greek classical prose. There can be no doubt that the classical Attic is a modification of the Ionic ; but the Ionic so modified was not that of Herodotus and his fellow-logographers ; the tendency of which, as we have just seen, was in no degree towards Attic conciseness. The mother dialect of the Attic is to

¹ Thucyd. ii. 41

be sought in a simpler and purer form of the same Ionic; in the text namely of Archilochus, and the contemporaneous Ionian poets; whose compositions date more than a century prior to the rise of popular prose, and little short of three centuries prior to the work of Herodotus. Their language, while the purest Ionic, offers more points of conformity to the Attic of Thucydides than to the Ionic of Herodotus. It represents the original source whence both are derived; the former by a systematic course of contraction, the latter by an opposite process of liquidation. The dialect of Archilochus and the elder Simonides may also be considered as representing the polite spoken language of the Ionian race of that period, including the Athenians. It is true that the dialect of poetry can seldom, especially in Greece, be taken as a just representative of that of real life. But the present case is one of the few exceptions to the general rule. The special province of the Iambic school of poetry, of which Archilochus and Simonides were the chiefs, was to reflect existing social habits. The Iambic measure hence became proverbial as that which embodied, in the most effective manner, the sound and expression of colloquial intercourse; and owed its invention, in the theory of the classical grammarians, to its peculiar adaptation to that purpose.¹ There can be as little doubt therefore, that the Ionic in which Archilochus satirises his contemporaries is the polite spoken language of his day, as that the language of Aristophanes is the spoken Attic of the age of Pericles.

But the Iambic dialect of Archilochus is identical, in all essential respects, with that of Æschylus and

¹ See Vol. III. p. 24. sq.

Sophocles. While offering, no doubt, a smaller number of contracted forms than the Attic of those authors, it shows a greater partiality for those forms than for the expansiveness of Herodotus. The dialect of the tragic dialogue is in fact that of Archilochus, in a certain stage of advancement towards the precision which was ultimately imparted to it by the Attic orators and historians.

Of the circumstances under which this further modification took place we are, as already remarked, the less able to judge, owing to the want of native Athenian prose authors during the first century of prose literature. It may however safely be assumed, that the spoken language of Athens from the time of Solon downwards, that in which Pisistratus, Themistocles, and Pericles successively swayed the destinies of the republic, would, even without any special benefit of literary culture, gradually assume in their brilliant harangues that nervous vigour which it displays in the written compositions of their successors. This effect was produced, in so far as regards dialect, by a further retrenchment of those redundant vocal elements inherited from their Ionian ancestors, and still partially retained in the drama. Such is the form in which prose composition appears in the earliest extant productions of an Athenian author, the orations of Antiphon ; who may thus in so far rank as the father of native Attic prose. Antiphon was however junior to those Sicilian rhetors, Corax, Tisias, and Gorgias, whom the Athenians themselves acknowledged as the first establishers of the classical prose style. By their instructions, whether delivered in their native island, or during their professional visits to other parts of continental or colonial Greece,

it is certain that the Athenian pleaders, and among them Antiphon himself, had profited, before Athens could boast a native school of rhetoric. But the language in which their lessons were conveyed to their Attic pupils, or in which their specimen orations destined for an Attic audience were composed, was assuredly neither the Doric of Syracuse, nor the Ionic hitherto common to the writers of the old logographic school. There can be no doubt, even in the absence of distinct evidence on the subject, that those Sicilian masters, in entering on the wider field of intellectual enterprise which they had opened for themselves, had the tact to perceive that the proper mode of securing popularity in the central seat of Greek civilisation, was to adopt and cultivate its native speech, to the full value of which, beyond the popular departments of poetry, the gifted race by whom it was spoken had hitherto been blind. The more distinguished among the native authors who immediately followed or emulated them in the written cultivation of Attic prose were : Antiphon already mentioned ; Andocides ; Lysias, pupil of the Syracusan Tisias ; and Thucydides, the reputed disciple of both Gorgias and Antiphon.

16. Hitherto our attention has been directed to the history of classical Greek style mainly as dependent on dialect. We now proceed to consider its vicissitudes of structure and composition. These vicissitudes, to be rightly understood, must be taken in connexion with the parallel stages of progress in the human intellect of which literature is the representative. Prose originates in the desire which springs up, with the advance of elementary culture, for some more practical mode of recording facts or expressing

Style as dependent on structure and composition.

opinions than those poetical forms which, in primitive times, are the first to suggest themselves. The subjects for treatment at this earliest stage of the new order of composition being limited, the mode of treating them naturally partakes of the same character; and the earlier specimens of prose are accordingly dry and meagre, both in style and matter. As the range of ideas to be expressed becomes wider and more diversified, the mode of expressing them participates in the same enlargement; and style becomes more free, flowing, and elegant. It were to be desired that, in this more forward stage of its progress to maturity, style should follow the same natural course observed at the commencement; experience however shows that the reverse invariably happens. When composition becomes an art, the newborn zeal of its early professors leads them, in theorising on its principles, to prefer exaggerated or affected forms in their efforts to reduce those principles to practice. And this crisis in the history of literary style as invariably coincides with a similar crisis in the state of intellectual culture at large; artifice and subtlety of expression being accompanied by a proportional amount of artifice and subtlety in doctrine and sentiment. As critical judgement becomes further matured, these defects in each case are corrected. A sounder state of knowledge requires more rational forms of argument and expression; the principles of technical rhetoric are better applied; the pomp and glitter of artificial phraseology, which dazzled the taste of the youthful public, are condemned and discarded; and the art of composition, thus purified and chastened, reaches its perfection. That perfection however, as in all other crea-

tions of human intellect, is but of temporary duration ; and style, keeping pace as before with the parallel course of social vicissitude, relapses, with the decline of national character, into feebleness and affectation.

The above speculative views find abundance of apt illustration in the history both of modern and antient society. The quaint simplicity of the primitive Ionian logographer, to be exemplified in the sequel, stands in the plainest analogy to that of the monkish chronicler of the modern middle ages. The meretricious grace and subtle logic of the Sicilian sophist, have their counterpart in the scholastic rhetoric of the more advanced stages of medieval literature.¹ In the polite modern languages we find a golden age, similar to that of Plato and Demosthenes, shaking off the trammels of scholastic artifice ; and, in the subsequent vicissitudes of modern style, an impartial posterity will recognise, there can be little doubt, those ingredients of iron, brass, or lead, which the classical scholar readily discerns in the lower Greek writers, but which a contemporary public is less willing or able to detect in its native literature.

¹ This common feature in the history of antient and modern learning, seems really to involve the sum and substance of the great controversy which has agitated the world of letters ever since the days of Socrates, concerning the merits or defects of the Greek "sophists." The sophistical tendency of early Greek prose literature was as natural a condition of the progress of learning and civilisation in antient times, as the scholastic tendency of the literature of the modern middle ages was a consequence of the state of society and knowledge which then prevailed. Socrates in the one period, and Bacon in the other, were the literary reformers who first endeavoured to introduce sounder views and better methods. The main difference between the two cases seems to consist in the greater bitterness of the controversial spirit with which the sophists were attacked by the Socratic philosophers, than the modern scholastic masters by their opponents ; and which, coupled with the almost entire loss of the original works of the sophists, has led them to be as hastily and unfairly treated by posterity as by their own contemporaries.

Senten-
tious style.

It will now be proper to illustrate the above general sketch of the vicissitudes of prose composition by a reference to individual authors. Here again we have to regret the loss, few fragments excepted, of the works of those Ionian writers, in whose pages the earlier characteristics of national style were exhibited. Those characteristics have, however, been described with great distinctness by some of the best antient critics, and illustrated by apposite extracts from the original texts. We shall here distinguish the manner of the primitive Milesian or Ionic school as the Sententious style ; that of the Siculo-Attic or Rhetorical school as the Periodic style. The authors of the former class are elegantly described by Cicero¹, in the very appropriate parallel which he draws between them and the Catos and Fabius Pictors of the corresponding age of Roman literature, as careless of those expedients which tend to embellish language, and aiming at little more than to make themselves understood at the smallest expense of words. Aristotle designates their ordinary structure by the epithet of "jointed."² This term he explains as denoting the inartificial way in which their sentences are linked or strung together ; so as, while little connected with each other, to offer no definite period or resting-place until the close of the entire subject in hand. Another critic, by a curious contradiction of terms, but with an obvious parity of meaning, calls the same mode of structure "disjointed"³ ; which term he defines as indicating a text consisting of short and loosely connected clauses or members.

¹ De Orat. II. xii. : conf. Dion. Hal. de Thucyd. Jud. 23.

² *εἰρομένη*, Aristot. Rhet. III. 9.

³ *διυρημένη*, Demetr. de Eloc. 12.

A further peculiarity of the early Ionian writers, also noticed by the antient critics, was a partiality for the old metrical forms of the epic poets, of whose works their own were often little more than prose paraphrases.¹ Among the more characteristic passages of their text that have survived, several are composed almost entirely of such poetical phraseology.

As an example of the sententious mode of structure, Aristotle² cites the opening paragraph of Herodotus. Demetrius³ also specifies the style of Herodotus, with what justice will be seen in the sequel, as belonging "for the most part" to the sententious order, but borrows his illustration from the introductory passage of the historical work of Hecataeus, which is here subjoined, and is certainly more to the point than the example selected by Aristotle :

Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται· τάδε γράφω ὥς μοι ἀληθέα δοκέει εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν.

Thus saith Hecataeus the Milesian : The things which I write are such as I believe to be true. For the legends of the Greeks are many, and, as appears to me, also ridiculous.

Other, perhaps better examples will be adduced in the chapter devoted to the lives and works of this class of authors.⁴

¹ Strabo, i. p. 18.

² Loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit.

⁴ This style, condemned as dry and lifeless by the standard antient critics, is highly popular in our own literature of the present day ; owing partly to an exaggerated straining after perspicuity, which, since the publication of Cobbett's Grammar, has formed a principal test of correct English composition ; partly to the great popularity of the authors by whom it is sanctioned. Macaulay's writings abound in examples of the "jointed" style, which might perhaps have shocked Aristotle almost as much as the quaint sententiousness of Hecataeus. And even the impartial modern critic must be sensible, that the vigorous terseness and unvarying clearness which mark the English of that brilliant writer,

Periodic
style.

17. In the periodic style which succeeded, the subordinate clauses of the text were grouped into more comprehensive periods or paragraphs, of just length and proportions, offering what the same Aristotle¹ defines as a beginning and an end; and coming home to the reader's apprehension as a single animated body, instead of being scattered before him in separate parts or limbs. This style originated with the Sicilian rhetoricians, and was eagerly adopted and cultivated by their admirers and disciples among the Athenian orators.² The merits of these masters, especially of Gorgias the most popular among them, in imparting dignity and symmetry to the structure of phrases, were counterbalanced by the vicious excess to which, with the zeal of early reformers, they carried those artifices of sentiment and diction³, admitted even by the most fastidious critics to be, when used in moderation, essential to the higher excellence of literary composition.

Gorgias.

Lysias.

To the school of Gorgias the antient grammarians oppose that of Lysias⁴ his younger contemporary, an Athenian by birth but a Sicilian by parentage, and educated at Thurium in Italy. His language was as remarkable for artlessness and ease, as that of his predecessor for bold and brilliant artifice. His style has accordingly been characterised as an improve-

scarcely make amends for the incoherence of structure at the cost of which those advantages are often attained. The disjointed Greek style is also noted, it can hardly be said commended, by antient critics for its perspicuity. (Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 23.)

¹ Rhet. iii. 9. sq.; Demetrius, 12. sq.

² Quintil. Inst. Or. iii. 1.; Diodor. xii. 53.; Cicer. Orat. xii. 39., xiii. 40., lvi. 175.; Gräfenh. Gesch. der Philol. i. p. 131.

³ Dion. Hal. J. de Thucyd. 24.; De adm. vi Demosth. 4.; Timæus ap. Dionys. Jud. de Lys. 3.; Diod. Sic. xii. 53.; Aristot. Rhet. iii. 1. Cic. locc. sup. cit.: conf. Westermann, Gesch. der Beredsamkeit, § 31.

⁴ Dion. Hal. de adm. vi Demosth. 2. 4., Jud. de Lys.

ment on that of the old Ionian sententious school, retaining much of its homely simplicity of materials, but moulding them into more elegant combinations.

The next and noblest form of the classical Attic style was that in which it appears, variously modified, in the pages of Plato and Demosthenes. This style has been characterised, by a phrase in habitual use with the ancients to denote the most excellent vein of composition in prose or in verse, as the middle or medium style; that namely which preserved a just equilibrium between the extremes of simplicity and subtlety, between turgid pomp and sententious dryness. It has been further described as a combination of the preceding styles of Gorgias and Lysias. Its cultivators, among whom the first place is assigned to Thrasymachus of Chalcedon¹, while repudiating the studied conceits of the Sicilian rhetor, did not disdain to turn his artistic expedients to profitable account in seasoning the simplicity of his Attic successor.

Perfection
of Attic
style.

While Attic style was passing through these vicissitudes, the sister Ionic dialect which, as we have seen, had reached a certain state of maturity before the rival destined to supplant her could yet be said to exist, had not been exempt from change. The classical grammarians indeed, by whom the manner of the early Ionian authors is characterised in the mass as of the dry sententious order, say little or nothing of any improvement having subsequently taken place, or of any adaptation of Ionic forms to the new more fluent style of composition. No exception to the rule

Later vicissitudes
of Ionic
style.

¹ Theophrast. ap. Dion. Hal. de admir. vi Demosth. 3.; Plat. Phædr. p. 266.; Suid. v. *Θρασύμ.* Cicero, on the other hand, appears to class the style of Thrasymachus with that of Gorgias. De Orat. xii. 39., xiii. 40.: conf. Quintil. iii. 1.

laid down in the case of Acusilaus and Hecatæus is made in favour of Hellanicus or Pherecydes ; and even Herodotus appears to be subjected to the same stigma. But on this point fortunately the possession of his great work enables us to form our own opinion, and to pronounce, that as a model of that combination of copiousness and conciseness, of simplicity and elegance, of artifice and ease, which constitutes the best and purest narrative style, Herodotus may rank at least on a par with the greatest Attic masters of the best period. The fragments of the Lerian Pherecydes, of Hellanicus, and some others of the more popular Ionian writers of the latter half of the fifth century B.C., also exhibit more of Attic fluency than of the disjointed meagreness of the primitive Ionian manner.

A defect of
the classical
Attic style.

Any more detailed commentary on the vicissitudes of Greek prose style, must be reserved for our remarks on the works of those authors in whose pages they are chiefly exemplified. There is however one characteristic peculiarity of Attic prose at every stage of its history, a distinct apprehension of which is essential to a right estimate both of its own genius, and of that of Greek literature : the extent to which it was founded on the principles, and adapted to the forms, of public oratory. In this respect Attic composition differs as well from that of the polite nations of modern Europe, as from that of the Ionian Greeks, with whom prose literature originated in, and was guided by, the forms of written narrative rather than of oral declamation. During the flourishing age of Athens and of republican Greece, the more important business of life was carried on chiefly in the mode of public discussion. The acquirement therefore of a

vigorous and persuasive style of oratory, was an object paramount to all others connected with literary pursuit. This was more especially the case in Athens, amid the absence of indigenous taste or talent for narrative literature in that city before the time of Thucydides. The study of the art of composition came accordingly to be directed mainly to its advantage and use in forensic debate.

Under these circumstances the influence of this engrossing branch of literature could not fail to be extensively felt in every other; and the lecture of the philosopher, the narrative of the historian, and the disquisition of the popular essayist, became more or less impregnated with rhetorical ingredients. Hence the practice universal among the early sophists, and partially maintained after their time, of embodying treatises on every kind of subject in the form of orations. Hence the preference by the popular schools of philosophy for the dialectic mode of inculcating their doctrines. Hence the accumulation of speeches in the text of the historian. Hence too may be explained and palliated that involution of language, and those long-drawn and complicated periods, which in the page of the best Greek authors so often puzzle the modern student, and excite his surprise that the same difficulties should not have given offence to the delicate taste of an Athenian public. It is probable however, that the embarrassment which we here experience was but little felt by the subtle intellect of the Attic reader. Trained from his youth to follow with intense interest the discussions of the senate or law court, through the mazes of acute argument or animated peroration, elucidated and enforced by all the aids of

voice countenance and gesture, which an accomplished Attic orator had at command, he transferred the habit thus acquired, of alternately concentrating and subdividing his attention, from his forensic attendance to his chamber studies; and found as little difficulty in apprehending an elaborately prolonged period when brought under the one sense in a written form, as when conveyed to the other from the lips of the orator. Hence, in every subsequent stage of classical literature (for the habit of the Romans in this respect, partly from similarity of manners partly from deference to their Attic masters, is akin to that of the Greeks), the term Literary composition, in the vocabulary of criticism, is nearly synonymous with that of Rhetoric; the standard works on this varied subject are entitled treatises on rhetoric and oratory; and the models of style held up to the imitation of the student are the works of popular orators, rather than those of historians or essayists.

With every allowance for the peculiar genius of the age in which the masterpieces of Attic prose were produced, a consideration which must always have a certain weight in literary judgements, still the impartial modern critic cannot but discern, in this pervading rhetorical tone, a defect, perhaps the only serious defect, of the classical Greek style. The essence of all art is the imitation of nature; and the forms which nature supplies, while they may be idealised or embellished, can never without a sacrifice of genuine excellence in art's productions be entirely effaced. But it is certainly not natural for the historian or the popular essayist, to address his readers in the same tone in which the defender of a client, or the denouncer of a political opponent,

addresses a public assembly. Nor is it natural that the characters who figure in a historical narrative, should be introduced haranguing each other in elaborate speeches, composed by the author and placed in their mouths for the occasion. Such speeches, even where they represent with any fidelity the sentiments of those to whom they are ascribed, while purely imaginary in form, are in most cases it is certain, no less imaginary in substance. But a historical work is, in its nature and essence, the reverse of a work of imagination. Truth and reality, in the fullest extent to which they can be investigated, ought to be the inflexible guides of the historian's course ; and it is as plain an infringement of this fundamental law of his art, to attribute to men words which they never spoke, as actions which they never performed.

CHAP. III.

HISTORIANS PRIOR TO HERODOTUS.

PART I. HISTORIANS FLOURISHING PRIOR TO THE PELOPON- NESIAN WAR.

1. EARLY FABULOUS OR APOCRYPHAL WRITERS. ACUSILAUS. HIS GENEALOGICAL WORK. HIS VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF TROY.—2. SCYLAX OF CARYANDA. HECATÆUS OF MILETUS. HIS AGE, AND CHARACTER.—3. HIS PERIPLUS OR DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTH.—4. ARRANGEMENT OF ITS CONTENTS. COUNTRIES OMITTED OR NEGLECTED.—5. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH.—6. HIS GENEALOGICAL WORK. HIS DIALECT AND STYLE. DIONYSIUS OF MILETUS.—7. CHABON OF LAMPISACUS. HIS AGE AND WORKS. MATERIALS SUPPLIED BY THEM TO HERODOTUS. HIS STYLE.—8. XANTHUS OF LYDIA. HIS LYDIAN HISTORY. OTHER REPUTED WORKS.—9. HIPPTYS OF RHÆGIUM. HIS WORKS. HIS STYLE. DEIOCHUS OF PROCONNESUS. MELESAGORAS. BION OF PROCONNESUS. EUDEMUS OF PAROS. DEMOCLES OF PHYGELA. EUGEON OF SAMOS. SIMONIDES OF CEOS. XENOMEDES OF CHIOS.

PART II. HISTORIANS FLOURISHING DURING THE PELOPON- NESIAN WAR.

10. PHERECYDES. HIS AGE AND BIRTHPLACE. HIS ARCHÆOLOGIA.—11. HIS SYSTEM OF MYTHOLOGY. HIS STYLE.—12. ANTIOCHUS OF SYRACUSE. HIS NOTICE OF ROME.—13. STESIMBROTUS OF THASOS. HIS MEMOIRS OF ATHENIAN STATESMEN. HIS CHARACTER OF CIMON, AND OF PERICLES.—14. ION OF CHIOS. HIS PROSE WORKS. HIS CHARACTER OF PERICLES, AND OF CIMON.—15. HIS STYLE.—16. HERODORUS OF HERACLEA. HIS LIFE OF HERCULES. HIS ARGONAUTICA. HIS COMPOSITION AND STYLE. HIS OTHER WORKS.—17. HELLANICUS OF LESBOS. HIS AGE. LIST OF HIS WORKS.—18. HIS DEUCALIONIA: PHORONIS: ATLANTIS: ARCADICA.—19. HIS ATTHIS: ÆSOPIS: ÆOLICA: LESBICA: TRŌICA: PERSICA: ARGIVE PRIESTESSES: CARNEONICÆ.—20. HIS APOCRYPHAL WORKS. HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE LATIN TONGUE. HIS STYLE. DAMASTES OF SIGETUM.

1. FOLLOWING the method of a popular antient critic, we shall, in the present chapter, treat of the authors who form its subject under the two heads : of Historians flourishing before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in 431 B. C.; and Historians flourishing

during that contest, 431—404 B. C. As the works ascribed to these writers have in no instance been transmitted entire, and as the general characteristics by which they are distinguished have engaged our attention in the previous pages, a proportionally limited space will be required for their special history or that of their authors.

It has been remarked in previous pages of this work¹, that several of the poets who flourished during the latter part of the Poetical period, obtained credit with the popular Greek public for the composition of prose histories in addition to their metrical productions. We have also seen that the genuine character of these histories is extremely doubtful. As the long passage quoted by Pausanias from the "Corinthian history" of Eumelus, is identical in substance with a fragment of the metrical *Corinthiaca* of the same author, there is the more reason to believe the history to have been but a prose paraphrase of the poem, by some bookmaker of a later period.² The notices of prose compositions by Aristeas or Epimenides are scarcely sufficient to establish that such works, whether genuine or forged, ever were current under the names of those authors.³ Concerning Cadmus of Miletus, little need be added to what has been said in the preceding chapter. Even admitting his real personality, it was not pretended that any of his writings had survived his own age.

Early fabulous and apocryphal authors.

¹ Supra, Ch. ii. § 2.: conf. Vol. II. p. 450. 469. 473.

² Vol. II. p. 450. Eumelus is further stated by Clemens of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. p. 629. A.) to have paraphrased Hesiod in prose. The work here alluded to was probably the same mentioned by Pausanias (*iv. iv. 1.*), which Clemens may have described in those terms, owing to some correspondence observable between the Corinthian mythology of Eumelus and that of Hesiod.

³ Supra, p. 59. seq.

ACUSILAUS,¹

Acusilaus
of Argos.

who shares with Cadmus the honour of inventor of prose history, has himself at least an undisputed claim to a historical existence. Nor can the stigma of illegitimacy which Suidas has affixed² to the work ascribed to him in the Byzantine age, affect the genuine character of that which passed current under his name in classical times, quoted as it has been without objection or suspicion by so many better authorities from the time of Plato downwards.³

The principal extant notices of Acusilaus have been transmitted by Suidas.⁴ He is said by that compiler, as by other authorities, to have been born at Argos; which Argos is described by the same Suidas as situated in the neighbourhood of Aulis. Modern commentators⁵ would explain this apparent contradiction by assuming Acusilaus to have been a native, not of the celebrated Peloponnesian Argos, but of a locality of that name mentioned by geographers on the coast of Bœotia, opposite Aulis of Eubœa. An argument of his Bœotian origin might perhaps be drawn from the circumstance of his having given a marked preference to Hesiod, among the earlier authorities on the subjects which he treated. To this may be added that, judging from the extant citations of his text, a large share of his attention was bestowed

¹ The remains of this author, and of the others who form the subject of the present chapter, are everywhere cited, unless some other compilation is specified, from Didot's, or rather C. Müller's (apud Didot), valuable collection of *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*.

² v. 'Εκαταίος.

³ Frg. 1. See also Apollodorus, Strabo, Didymus, Josephus, in frgg. 6. 11a. 12. 15. 17. sqq. 28.

⁴ v. 'Ακουσίου: conf. Diog. Laert. i. § 41.

⁵ Ap. Didot, *Frsg. Acus.* p. xxxvi.

on heroes or places belonging to one or other shore of the straits of Euripus. It is true on the other hand, that an equally large portion of those citations relate to the affairs of the Peloponnesian Argos. Nor is it easy to reconcile with his Bœotian nativity the familiar manner in which he is entitled Acusilaus "the Argive," or "of Argos," by Strabo, Josephus, and other classics, who would hardly have applied that noble gentile without some qualification to the native of an obscure Bœotian village.

Of his age, no more precise notice has been transmitted than that he flourished during the sixth century B. C., contemporaneously with Pherecydes¹, who, in his own department of philosophy, competes with him for the palm of priority in the cultivation of prose literature.

The same Suidas already quoted calls the father of Acusilaus Cabas; and describes the son as having compiled his "Genealogies," the only work attributed to him, from tablets of brass found by the father while making an excavation on his ground. From whatever source the compilation may have been derived, it seems to have been confined to purely fabulous matter. This may be inferred, both from the notices of commentators, and from the absence of allusion, in the fragments of the text, to any event dating after the Dorian conquest. The only exception, if such it can be called, is a passage in which mention occurs of the Homeridæ of Chios.

His genealogical work.

These Genealogies are described by one respectable authority as a prose paraphrase of those of Hesiod,

¹ Joseph. contr. Ap. i.; Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 299., who mentions, as does Suidas, the claim of Acusilaus to a place among the Seven sages: conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 5.

while another states Acusilaus to have corrected in many particulars the traditions of the Bæotian minstrel.¹ Both notices are confirmed by the internal evidence of the fragments. While adopting Hesiod generally as his text-book, Acusilaus seems to have freely rejected the authority of that poet, where the versions of the same tradition derived from other sources appeared preferable.² His case therefore illustrates the description formerly given of the character of these early prose histories, as embodying in a more methodical form, the materials transmitted by the old genealogical poets, with remarks on the conflicting versions of the same story, and reasons in support of that preferred by the logographer.³

The fragments of Acusilaus, though less numerous than those of some other popular authors of the same class, suffice to afford a fair general notion of the plan of his work. It embraced both the divine genealogy, as given in the Hesiodic Theogony, and the human lines of succession, extending, in the Catalogues and other works of the Bæotian poet, down to the epoch of the Dorian irruption, which forms the limit of the Greek heroic age. With Acusilaus as with Hesiod, the primary element of nature was Chaos; whence

¹ Clem. Alex. Str. vi. p. 629. A.; Joseph. contr. Ap. i. 3.

² The numerous points of correspondence between the two mythologers, referred to by the authors who cite Acusilaus, need not here be recapitulated. The chief points of difference are in their genealogies of Pelasgus, Deucalion, and Scylla, and in their accounts of the daughters of Prætus. Fragg. 5. 7. 12. 19.

³ Of the style and method of the Argive author's critical commentary, we have a specimen in his limitation (frg. 3.) of the principal winds in the system of Hesiod to three, Boreas, Zephyrus, and Notus; the title Argestes (Theog. 379.), which some interpreters of the Bæotian poet ranked as the name of a fourth wind, being pronounced but an epithet of Zephyrus.

emerged Earth, Night, Æther, and Eros (Love). Then followed in each author the Titans and Titanesses, Ocean and Tethys, Achelotus and the Rivers, the Winds, the Cabiri, and other inferior personifications of nature. From the affairs of Heaven the series was carried, in the same Hesiodic order, to those of Earth, beginning with Hellas or Thessaly; through Prometheus, Deucalion, Pyrrha, and the Æolidæ; Aëthlius, Calyce, and Endymion; Coronis and Ischys; Phrixus and the Golden Fleece.

The notices of central Greece commenced¹ with the rape of Europa, as introductory to the Cadmean dynasty of Bœotia. The death of Actæon was attributed, after Stesichorus, to the wrath of Jupiter, whom the hero had presumed to rival in the affections of Semele. Allusion was also made to the fate of Narcissus, described as a Eubœan of Eretria, son of Amaranthus, the eponyme hero of a Eubœan town.²

To the Attic series belong the account of Ogyges the autochthon king and his flood; of Erechtheus and his daughter Orithyia; of her rape by Boreas; and of the twin Argonauts Zetes and Calais, whom she bore to that deity.³

Acusilaus next treated of his native Argolis; of Pelasgus; of Inachus, his daughter Io, and his son Phoroneus, the first of Argive mortal men; of Argus and his hundred eyes; of Prætus and his incontinent daughters.⁴ The work seems to have concluded, following up the same Argive line of mythology, with the heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey; the royal races of Troy, Lacedæmon, and Ithaca; the Mysian Hera-

¹ Fragg. 1. 10, 11a. 25. 29.

² Fragg. 14. 23. sq.

³ Fragg. 20—22.

⁴ Fragg. 12—19.

clidæ, Telephus and Eurypylus.¹ The Phæacians were made, after Alcæus, offspring of the blood-drops from the mutilated body of Uranus, instead of sons of Posidon, as with Homer. This passage² is quoted from the author's "third book." As it probably occurred in his notice of the voyage of Ulysses, and by consequence towards the close of the work, the entire series of genealogies may be presumed to have formed three books : the first devoted to Thessaly ; the second to central Greece, Bœotia, Attica, and the neighbouring states ; the third to Peloponnesus, and the leading heroes who fought for or against the Atridæ before Troy. The notice of the Homeridæ also occurred in the third book ; suggested, no doubt, by the Homeric character of its subject.

His version
of the legend of
Troy.

The most curious remnant of the mythology of Acusilaus that has been preserved, is his account of the origin of the Trojan war.³ According to him that great series of events was caused by the ambition of Venus. An old oracle had pronounced that the line of Priam should be one day supplanted on the royal throne of Ilium by the descendants of Anchises. Venus, desirous of giving birth to a race for whom this high honour was reserved, formed an amorous connexion with Anchises, and became the mother of *Æneas*. In order to secure the speedy fulfilment of the oracle, she inspires Paris and Helen with mutual love ; the result of which was the abduction of the heroine and invasion of the Troad. The favour which Homer represents the goddess as manifesting towards the Trojans during the siege, was explained as an insidious artifice, resorted to for the purpose of more surely promoting the destruction of the Priamidæ,

¹ Frgg. 26—31.

² Frg. 29.

³ Frg. 26.

and the advancement of her son to the chieftainship of the Dardanian race. This new, and apparently in great part original version of the Troic legend, is founded on the tradition of Homer and of the Homeric hymn to Venus, regarding the future lot of Æneas. It also agrees with the Cyprian poem in describing Venus as the principal agent in the Trojan cycle of events¹, but differs as to the mode in which her influence was exercised. The advantage is certainly on the side of the Argive logographer; whose system, if less in unison with the genuine heroic tradition, surpasses that of the Cyclic poem in ingenuity and elegance. It affords, consequently, a favourable impression of the taste of Acusilaus in the management of his mythological materials.

In the collection of this author's remains there is but one text which can be considered as a fragment in the stricter sense, or verbal extract from his text. The dialect of this passage, the earliest extant specimen of Greek classical prose, presents, as modified probably by later transcribers, purely Attic forms. But the language in other respects exemplifies, in a striking manner, the primitive Ionian prose style, both in the disjointed arrangement of the clauses, and in the poetical or even metrical turn of the expression :²

Ὠκεανὸς δὲ γαμεῖ Τηθὺν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν. Τῶν δὲ γίγνονται τρισχίλιοι ποταμοί. Ἀχελῷος δὲ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτατος, καὶ τετιμηται μάλιστα.

Ocean espouses his own sister Tethys. Three thousand rivers were their offspring. Of these the eldest and most honoured was Acheloüs.

¹ See Vol. II. p. 279. sqq.

² Frg. 11.

The text seems to be made up in great part of fragments of dactylic metre.

SCYLAX.

Scylax of
Caryanda.

2. The earliest Greek author of a prose work deserving the name of historical in the better sense, is the geographer Scylax of Caryanda, a town of the Halicarnassian territory; who may also rank as one of the most adventurous of Greek navigators. Acting under the orders of Darius Hystaspes (521—485 B.C.) he explored the river Indus from the upper part of its course to its mouth; whence he sailed westward along the coasts of the Southern Ocean to the Red Sea.¹ Of this expedition he left an account in writing, cited by Aristotle² relative to the forms of monarchical government among the Indians. As one spurious treatise which still survives, and possibly others now lost, were current under the name of this author in later times, it is not easy to distinguish the genuine from the supposititious in the few extant citations of "Scylax,"³ chiefly by writers of a low period. But if these citations represent his own statements, he must have been either a very mendacious or a very credulous traveller. Several of them contain descriptions of marvels or monsters of the most extravagant kind. Among these may be mentioned the Sciapodæ, or shade-footed men, whose feet were so broad that when resting from their labour, they spread them over their heads to protect them from the sunbeams; and the Otolicnian, or

¹ Herodot. iv. 44.

² Polit. vii. 13.: conf. Strab. xiv. p. 566. 658.

³ Ap. Klausen, Scyl. Peripl. p. 254.

umbrella-eared men, whose ears were so large as to serve for the same purpose.¹

Although Caryanda, the birthplace of Scylax, was a Dorian town, it is probable that, following the fashion of his time, he composed in the Ionic dialect. But the citations of his work shed no light either on his dialect or style.

HECATÆUS.²

The notices which we possess of the personal history of this author are the more valuable, from having been transmitted, in great part, from testimony almost contemporaneous, and in itself of a strictly authentic nature. For Hecatæus is the only previous writer in his own branch of composition whom Herodotus cites by name; and that in terms indicating a high respect for his character, both as an author and as a man. That Herodotus should have referred to Hecatæus in his literary capacity chiefly for the purpose of controverting him, may be considered as even a higher tribute to the value of his authority than a corresponding amount of acquiescence in his views. The ungracious mode in which some of the rival opinions are dismissed, is also compensated by the handsome testimony borne to the personal merits of him by whom they were entertained, in other parts of the work of the same Herodotus.

Hecatæus
of Miletus.

¹ Klausen, p. 257. The Scinpodæ had already been described by the poet Alcman, under the title of σκευανόποδες. ap. Strab. i. p. 93., vii. p. 299.

² Creuzer, Fragg. Hist. Gr. antiquiss. 1806; Klausen, Fragg. Hecatæi; Müller, Fragg. Hecatæi, in Didot's Collection, vol. i. The fragments are cited according to Müller, unless where the contrary is stated.

His age

Hecataëus, son of Hegesander of Miletus, is stated by Suidas¹ to have flourished from about the 65th Ol. (520 B.C.) down to the close of the Persian war (479 B.C.), or a few years beyond the latter epoch; which notice is in harmony with those supplied by Herodotus, and with the evidence of his own remains. Allowing him thirty-five years at the former date, taken as his acme or flourishing era, he would have been past seventy at the time of his death.

and character.

The prominent part taken by Hecataëus in the politics of his native country, would imply that he was of noble Milesian birth. This may also be inferred from the complacency, ridiculed by Herodotus², with which, when in Egypt, he is said to have traced back his pedigree, through Danaus or Cecrops it may be presumed, to one of the deities of that country. That he was an enterprising traveller appears, as well from the variety of regions which he described, the functions of traveller and geographer being in those days more or less identical, as from the title of "far-travelled man,"³ with which he is honoured by his commentators. There can therefore be little doubt of his having visited the more accessible localities described in his great geographical work. The extant notices of his actual residence in foreign lands, or of the nature and value of his observations as a traveller, relate solely to Egypt, which country he seems to have carefully examined.

The account given by Herodotus of the political conduct of Hecataëus exhibits him as a sagacious councillor, an honest patriot, and a man of the world, remarkable beyond the spirit of his age, for his freedom from the trammels of the prevailing superstition,

¹ vv. 'Εκαταῖος, 'Ελλάνισος.² II. 143.³ Agathem. i. 1.

where tending to interfere with useful objects. In the 70th Ol. (499 B.C.), Aristagoras, a leading citizen of Miletus, organised a conspiracy of the Asiatic Greeks, for the emancipation of their common country from the Persian yoke. In the council of Ionian notables, convened by Aristagoras to concert measures for their proposed outbreak, Hecatæus alone¹ among those present discountenanced the project, on the very simple ground of the overwhelming power of the Persian empire, and the hopelessness of any effort, by a few small states at one of its extremities, to assert their independence against its boundless resources. This argument he enforced by recapitulating the number and magnitude of the nations over which Darius ruled. His remonstrances proving fruitless, he next urged the necessity of securing beforehand a superiority on their own proper element, the sea; and for this purpose proposed to convert into sinews of war the treasures with which Cræsus, king of Lydia, had enriched the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ; as the best or only means of replenishing their own military chest, and preventing the gold, as well as the temple, from falling into the hands of the enemy. This proposal was also rejected; and it was decided to leave the sanctuary in the enjoyment of its wealth, and prosecute the scheme of revolt with the other means at their disposal. During the vicissitudes of the disastrous war which ensued, Hecatæus was author of other prudent counsels which, if followed, might have helped to avert the calamities that afterwards befell his native city. His advice was² that Aristagoras should strongly fortify the isle of Leros, as a central military and naval station, on

¹ Herodot. v. 36.² Herodot. v. 125.

which he might fall back if dispossessed of Miletus, or from which he might concert measures for restoring the fortunes of the war on the neighbouring continent. His advice was again overruled. But this notice by Herodotus connects itself in an interesting manner with an inscription lately discovered in the island, containing a decree by which Hecatæus, whether the historian or some one of his descendants, is specially honoured as a founder or benefactor by the Lerians.¹ On the reestablishment of the Persian supremacy, Hecatæus, as stated by Diodorus², was deputed by his countrymen to plead for a mitigation of the penalties imposed by their conquerors. On his inquiry of the satrap Artaphernes, why the Ionians still continued to be objects of so great jealousy to the imperial government, the answer was: that men in whose memories the evils recently inflicted on them by a victorious enemy were still fresh, could not but be objects of suspicion to their masters. To which Hecatæus replied: If past injuries are a source of hatred, might not acts of benevolence produce in their turn feelings of gratitude and confidence? Artaphernes, struck with the justice of the remark, henceforward not only adopted a milder policy towards his Greek dependents, but restored to them their antient forms of local government. This reestablishment of constitutional law in the Asiatic Greek colonies by Mardonius (not Artaphernes as in Diodorus), after the Milesian revolt, is specially mentioned by Herodotus³, but without any notice of Hecatæus as having been instrumental to the change.

¹ Ross, *Inscript. Gr. inedit. fascic. II. p. 28. sqq.*, Athens, 1842.

² *Excerpt. Vat.*, ed. Maj. p. 38.

³ VI. 43.: see *infra*, Ch. vi. § 17.

Numerous other authors of note bear testimony to the high estimation in which Hecatæus was held by his countrymen, both on account of his extensive knowledge and his personal merit.¹

3. Of the only two works ascribed to Hecatæus², one, entitled *Periodus*, or *Travels round the earth*, also *Description of the earth*, was of the strictly geographical order. The other, of the logographic order, is sometimes cited under the title of *Genealogies*, sometimes under that of *Histories*. The *Periodus* possesses a peculiar interest, as being the earliest work of its kind the remains of which are sufficiently copious to furnish any clear notion of its character; and as embodying the earliest complete system of Greek geography. It seems to have been little more than what, in the technical language of the ancients, was called a *Periplus*, or *Circumnavigation*; a description, namely, of the coasts of the Mediterranean, and of those of other neighbouring seas, in so far as explored. Such was at this early period the most popular, if not the only species of Greek geographical compendium; the difficulty of access to the interior of the continents, concurring with a proportional indifference to their condition, to maintain them in their primitive state of obscurity. The extent and method of the *periplus* of Hecatæus will be best appreciated by reference to the accompanying map³, constructed from the remains of the original text. The interior of each country will there, as a general rule, be found blank; while the seacoasts, unless in some few in-

His *Periodus*, or *Description of the earth*.

¹ Heraclit. ap. Diog. Laert. ix. § 1.; Strab. i. p. 7., xiv. p. 635.; Agathem. i. 1.; Cercidas, ap. Ælian. v. H. xiii. 20.; Solinus, 45.

² Suid. v. Ἑλλάνικος: conf. Klausen, *Frgg. Hecat.* p. 13.; Didot, *Frgg.* p. xi.; Strab. i. p. 7.

³ Appendix C.

stances, where their barbarous state, or other causes, rendered them less accessible to the Greek navigator, are studded with names. To this rule however there are exceptions, the most remarkable of which is Egypt, a country consisting in fact but of the shores of one great navigable river, and assuming consequently, even in its interior, much the character of a maritime region. Its greater accessibility to the Ionian Greeks, with its peculiar sources of attraction, could also hardly fail to procure it a prominent place in any work of this class. Egypt is the only one of the countries comprised by Hecataëus in his *Periodus*, which we know from positive testimony, that of Herodotus, to have been visited by himself. But the credit which he enjoyed for zealous historical research, and the general accuracy of his notices, can leave little doubt of his having explored the more accessible regions which he describes, especially the coasts of Greece, southern Italy, Thrace, Asia minor, Syria, and the Carthaginian province of Libya. The only previous author cited in his remains, and that but twice, is Homer.¹

Hecataëus looked upon the earth as one great continent, consisting of two principal divisions, Europe to the north-west, and Asia to the south-east. These divisions were separated by the irregular line of sea, which extends from the Pillars of Hercules to the coast of Colchis on the north-eastern extremity of the Euxine; and were there united by the mountain ridge of Caucasus, stretching from the Euxine to the Caspian sea. In regard to the outer extremities of this continent, Hecataëus, deferring to the popular doctrine of primitive cosmogony, assumed the habit-

¹ Fragg. 145. 227.

able earth to be surrounded by a body of water, called, in the poetical language which, whether in a poetical or a literal sense, he seems also to have adopted, the River Ocean. From this circumfluent ocean, not only all the great seas, gulfs, or lakes of the continent, but several of the larger rivers, the sources of which remained unexplored by the Greeks, were supposed to emanate.¹ The passage of Herodotus², in which he sneers at the "writers of travels round the world, who drew the earth as a circular plane surrounded by the river ocean, and Europe as equal in size to Asia," has been supposed, with reason, to be aimed at Hecatæus. The term "Periodus" here used by Herodotus, the Periodus of Hecatæus being at that time the only publication of note so entitled, or in which the divisions of the earth were limited to two, Europe and Asia, can leave little doubt on the subject. This interpretation of the passage is confirmed by another taunt thrown out by Herodotus, in the same context, against those who supposed the Nile to be an emanation from this river ocean, a doctrine which also appears to have been entertained by Hecatæus.

In spite of the cavil of Herodotus, and of the crude notion of Hecatæus himself regarding the source of the Nile, the Oceanic theory of the latter was not only one natural for a Greek of that age to entertain, but which has been shown by modern research to be substantially true. Every attempt of the Greeks themselves to explore the outer extremities of the earth had shown it to be bounded by water. It was therefore a plausible inference that a similar boundary existed in the unexplored extremities ; and admitting ice, by which Hecatæus³ knew the northern continent

¹ Frg. 339.: conf. 278.² IV. 36.³ Frg. 160.

to be bounded, to represent a portion of the circumfluent water, the western hemisphere is now ascertained to be, as Hecatæus believed, a large island.

The "Description of the earth" was, by reference to the two grand divisions of the thing described, itself divided into two parts ; the one entitled Europe, the other Asia. Libya or Africa, which afterwards formed a quarter by itself, was but a part of Asia in the system of Hecatæus. Egypt was distributed by him between the two Asiatic provinces of Arabia and Libya, the Nile forming the boundary ; a method retained in the subsequent Greek geography, where the Nile separated Asia and Libya. This splitting of one narrow country between two different provinces, a country moreover so uniform in its own character and that of its inhabitants, and so broadly distinguished from its neighbours, is certainly a singular arrangement. The Red Sea, and the narrow isthmus between that sea and the Mediterranean, offer so much apter a boundary, that even had the right and left banks of the Nile been occupied by different races, it is not likely that any modern geographer would have imagined another mode of division. With the Greeks the force of this reasoning was little felt. Their notions of the extent or form of the Arabian gulf were not very definite ; and it is even doubtful whether Hecatæus did not suppose it to be a lake ; while their veneration for the Nile, on account of the grandeur and beneficence of its stream, and of the vast extent to which it intersects the southern continent, seemed to give it an almost divine claim to the honour of bounding the two main divisions of that continent. But here another question arose : How were the islands of the river,

especially the great cluster of them which forms the Delta, to be disposed of ; as lying neither on the one nor the other bank, but in the bosom of the stream ? This question was a source of some embarrassment, as we know, to Herodotus ; and may probably have been so also to Hecatæus ; but his remains afford no indication of the mode in which he may have attempted to solve it.¹

There is no reason to doubt that the division of the *Periodus* into two books or parts, under the titles of Europe and Asia, originates with its author. So antiquated a method of arrangement was not likely to have suggested itself to the grammarians, to whom we are in many other instances indebted for the Books and Chapters of the early classics. The subordinate parts of the Asia are also occasionally quoted by titles derived from separate regions or provinces ; such as “Æolica,” “Egypt,” “Libya.”² No similar subdivisions of the Europe can be recognised.

The genuine character of this work was disputed by Callimachus the grammarian and poet of the Alexandrian era, on grounds which have not been

Genuine
character
of the
Periodus.

¹ Herodotus (ii. 15, 16.) ridicules the doctrine of certain “Ionians” who, while they admitted three “quarters” of the earth, Europe, Asia, and Libya, denied that Egypt proper, which they restricted to the Delta, belonged either to Asia or to Libya. “If so,” he remarks, “Egypt would require to be classed by itself as a fourth quarter.” The conjecture of modern commentators (C. Müller in frgg. 295, 296.), that Herodotus here, as in the previous case of the river Ocean, has Hecatæus more immediately in view in his sneering allusion to “Ionians,” is set aside by the facts: first, that while Hecatæus admitted but two main divisions of the earth, the Ionians ridiculed by Herodotus are said by him to have admitted three; and secondly, that Hecatæus describes several cities on the upper Nile as situated in Egypt (frgg. 267. sqq.), whereas the Ionians in question restricted Egypt to the Delta.

² Frgg. 212, 213. 264, 265. 271. alibi.

recorded.¹ His opinion was combated by his contemporary Eratosthenes, a more competent judge in such matters, supported by Strabo and other leading geographers who cite Hecataeus as an authority. Among the arguments used by Eratosthenes and Strabo in favour of their opinion², was the correspondence between the style of the *Periodus* and that of the *Genealogies* of the same author, the genuine character of which latter work does not seem ever to have been questioned. There can be no reasonable doubt that Eratosthenes was right. It is highly improbable in itself, that a book of such general notoriety as the *Periodus* enjoyed in the time of Herodotus, and so frequently alluded to by that author, should not only have been lost, but supplanted by another spurious production during the century, or little more, that intervened between Herodotus and Callimachus. Nor, in the remains of the *Periodus*, can any symptoms be recognised of the handiwork of an Alexandrian bookmaker. They are pregnant throughout, in the names and notices of the places described, and in the style of the description, with a savour of primitive Ionian antiquity unlikely to have been imparted by any spurious agency.³

Arrange-
ment of its
contents.

4. From the order still observable in the arrangement of the names in the bulkier extant fragments, it appears that Hecataeus commenced his description of each division of the earth with the countries on the Hellespont.⁴ Thence he proceeded, first on the

¹ Ap. Athen. ii. p. 70. : conf. Arr. Exp. Alex. v. 6.

² Strabo, i. p. 7.

³ Conf. Klausen, p. 22. See Appendix D.

⁴ Klausen, Fragg. p. 14. ; Didot, p. 11.

European side of the Euxine, northwards round that sea, till he reached the Asiatic frontier at the Cimmerian Bosphorus. He then, returning to his previous starting-point, coasted southwards along the shores of Thrace and Greece, taking on his way the islands of the Ægæan, which appear, except a few of the smallest on the immediate coast of Asia, to have been comprised in his Europe.¹ From the southern shores of Greece he continued his course northwards along those of Epirus; across the Adriatic to Italy; round the coasts of that country, taking Sicily and other islands by the way; and along the shore of Liguria, Gaul, and Spain, to the Pillars of Hercules. On the Asiatic side he adopted a similar method; sailing first northwards round the south-eastern shore of the Euxine to the Cimmerian point of junction with his European track; and then resuming, as formerly, his Hellespontian point of departure, he proceeded south-eastward along the shores of Asia minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and up the Nile. Returning once more to the northern point of junction, his line of description traversed mount Caucasus to the Caspian sea, which, according to Hecatæus, communicated with the Eastern ocean. Thence turning southwards and westwards along the Indian, Persian, and Arabian shores, real or imaginary, of that ocean, he fell in with the extremity of his previous route up the Nile. From the mouth of that river he proceeded along the coast of Libya, by Carthage, to the Pillars of Hercules; where he met the western extremity of his European course.

The fragments of the *Periodus* are so numerous, as to warrant the belief that they represent a large

¹ Fragg. 98. sqq. 226.

portion of the substance of the original text ; and might perhaps admit of being fashioned into a skeleton of what was, even when entire, but a meagre and fleshless body. They amount in all to about 330 ; of which nearly 300 are found in the vocabulary of Stephanus Byzantinus. As these names, numerous as they are, could not have formed the whole of those contained in the original work of Hecataeus, the question arises : Upon what grounds did Stephanus proceed in making his selection ; or rather, in quoting Hecataeus preferably to other geographers, as an authority in regard to particular places ? That his selection was not dictated solely by the importance of each locality, is evident from the circumstance that neither Athens, nor Argos, nor Ephesus, nor many other Greek cities of note, find a place in his list. Among other motives which might suggest themselves, a very natural one would be the circumstance of the *Periodus* being either the only, or the oldest work of Greek geography in which the name cited occurred ; and the evidence thus supplied of the antiquity of both name and place. Importance might also attach to any antiquated singularity of form, in which the name appeared, or to the curiosity of the notices by which it was accompanied. The influence of each of these motives appears to be exemplified in portions of the compilation. It contains however a number of names to which none of those causes seem to apply, and the selection of which can only be attributed to the caprice or fancy of the Byzantine compiler.

Countries
omitted or
neglected.

But by whatever motives, in individual cases, the choice of Stephanus may have been influenced, the numbers and positions of the names in his list may

be understood to represent at least the proportions, in which those of the entire collection whence they were culled were distributed on the map of Hecatæus. By far the greater part accordingly are clustered, as was natural, on the coasts and islands of Hellas itself, or on other central points of Hellenic civilisation; and the number decreases, as a general rule, much in the same ratio as the distance or inaccessibility of the place augments. Hence, where any marked exceptions to this rule are observable, such as the occurrence of blanks in regions where detail might have been expected, there is fair ground to assume that some special cause had interfered with the author's prosecution of his researches. On the south coast of Italy, for example, up to the Bay of Naples, the names are almost as frequent as on the coasts of the Ægean. But from that bay northwards, on the same side of the peninsula, we have a vacant space of between 300 and 400 miles. The numerous and already flourishing Pelasgian or Etruscan cities of that coast, inclusive of the mighty Rome, already engaged, like an infant Hercules, in strangling her indigenous rivals before commencing her career of foreign conquest, are passed over; and the next place mentioned is a petty Ligurian seaport, to the west of modern Genoa, appropriately called by the name it still bears of *Monæcus*, or "Solitary dwelling." From this point, along the comparatively inhospitable coasts of Gaul and Spain, a name occurs here and there; usually that of some Greek or Phœnician colony, such as *Massilia*, *Narbo*, *Sicania*. On each side of the Straits, within the immediate sphere of Phœnician influence, the towns become more frequent, and in the neighbourhood of Carthage are clustered almost

as thickly as on the coast of Greece. To the east of Carthage is another dreary waste of about a thousand miles relieved by a few notices of Libyan tribes, until we approach the shore of the Delta. Similar blanks are observable on the eastern coast of upper Italy; and on the west coast of the Euxine.¹

The existence of these blanks appears quite natural in several of the cases where they occur; such as the African Syrtes eastward of Carthage, the north-western shores of the Euxine, and those of the upper Adriatic; these being all, in the days of Hecataeus, comparatively uncivilised regions. But it is not so easy to explain the vacuity on the coast of Tyrrhenia, northward of Naples. There existed here all the inducements to a more detailed notice, which the interest and curiosity of a state of civilisation, already far advanced but as yet little familiar to the Greeks, ought to have held out. Nor can it be supposed that the neglect is on the part of the compiler rather than that of the original author. It is far from likely that Stephanus, in drawing so copiously from the text of a primitive geographer regarding so many countries familiar to the Greeks from the time of Homer downwards, should have omitted to quote him where his notices would have possessed so clear an advantage of novelty and originality. The inference therefore must be, that some special obstacle existed to the Greek traveller's closer acquaintance with this part of Italy. May not such an obstacle be discovered in a feeling of national animosity entertained by the Italian states towards the Hellenes?

¹ Crete, Cyprus, Sardinia, and Corcyra are similarly neglected; from which it may be inferred that Hecataeus paid less attention to islands than to continents.

There can be no doubt that what is usually characterised as the enlightened spirit of Greek colonial enterprise, was also a spirit of piracy and usurpation. The first thought of a body of Hellenic citizens, on finding the world too narrow for them at home, was to set sail, commonly to the westward, and seize on the nearest city or territory worth possessing, or the existing owners of which they thought themselves strong enough to eject or enslave. In this way they had occupied the whole coast of southern Italy, and were daily endeavouring to extend their settlements in that region, and in the neighbouring islands of the Mediterranean. It was therefore quite natural that the states of those countries should close their ports against Greek vessels, as more likely to be the bearers of enemies and plunderers than of friendly visitors. There is accordingly no allusion in any early classic to amicable relations between the Hellenes and the Tyrrhenian republics. The only mention of dealings between them, in the copious historical miscellany of Herodotus¹, is his account of the resistance jointly offered by the Tyrrhenians and Phœnicians to a series of those same piratical outrages by a body of Greek adventurers. Nor does it seem a fortuitous coincidence that Herodotus, while enlarging so much and so often on the geography of other less remarkable regions, should have abstained from all special notice of central Italy. The opportunity which his account of the battle between the Phœcæan and the Tyrrheno-Phœnician fleets off the coast of Corsica, supplied for a description of the native country of the Tyrrhenians, was at least as favourable as that afforded by the Persian inroad into Libya,

¹ I. 166.

for his elaborate account' of the barbarous tribes of that region. It can hardly be the result of mere accident, that the leading geographer and the leading historian of this period should agree in their silence concerning a country which was, a few generations afterwards, to exercise so powerful an influence on the destinies of Greece and of the world.

The comparatively copious account given of the Asiatic shores of the Euxine, would imply that the geographer's own travels had extended in that direction to the European point of junction; perhaps across the ridge of Caucasus to the frontiers of Media. Beyond the latter country he is not likely to have carried his personal researches. For his vague and scanty notions of India, Persia proper, and other countries on the Southern ocean, he may have been indebted to Scylax, or some native oriental authority.

Character-
istics of his
research.

5. Even in its original integrity the narrative of the *Periodus* must have been but meagre. The extant fragments are little more than names of places and founders; with an occasional sentence or two of commentary. Two examples alone² occur of notations of distance from place to place. Many of the names are such as were obsolete or antiquated in later times; and appear to have been selected on that account by the authors who quote them. Of fabulous localities the list is almost free; and but few legends of marvellous or supernatural phenomena are introduced. The *Sciapodæ*, or Shade-footed Africans, are mentioned³, but without the mythical etymology of their names authorised by Scylax. The *Pygmies* are also

¹ iv 145.

² *Frgg.* 163. 303.

³ *Frg.* 265.

described¹, with their wars against the cranes celebrated in poetical tradition since the time of Homer. Both these fables seem to have a basis of fact. The Sciapodæ are the splay-footed negro race. The Pygmies assume a still more evident reality in the person of the Bushmen of central Africa, the most diminutive men known to exist. The identity of this race with the classical Pygmies is further confirmed in the account given by Herodotus² of other neighbouring African tribes, whom he describes as living in caves, feeding on reptiles, and speaking a language like the chattering of bats. For the Bushmen live in caves, feed on carrion; and their dialect consists in great part of sounds more like the cackling of birds than the articulations of the human voice. The war with the cranes also finds a parallel in the fact, that the life of the Bushmen is one of continued self-defence against the wild animals of the desert which they inhabit.

In his antiquarian and etymological commentaries, Hecataeus shows himself an orthodox adherent of the popular creed, also subscribed to by Herodotus, which assumed the name of almost every country or city to have been derived from that of a hero by whom it was founded. Among other examples, Media was called after Medus son of Medea³; Phocis derived its name from Phocus, who was father of Crisus founder of Crisa. Chios was called after Chius son of Ocean, or after a nymph Chios, or from the quantity of snow (chion) which fell in the island.⁴ Of properly historical founders no names occur. The nearest approach to one is that of Cnopus son of Codrus; from

¹ Frg. 266.² iv. 183. sq.³ Frg. 171.⁴ Frg. 84. 87, 88. 99. 139. 351.

whom the Ionian city of Erythræ is said to have derived its surname Cnopópolis.¹ The only colony of acknowledged historical age, the foundation of which is assigned to its real authors, is Massilia.

The more detailed geographical commentaries of Hecataeus seem to have been chiefly bestowed on Egypt. He described the phoenix, the hippopotamus, and the mode of catching the crocodile.² He speculated on the cause of the rise of the Nile, which river he supposed to be an emanation from the Southern ocean.³ He repudiated another doctrine founded on the same Oceanic theory, as to an underground communication between the sources of certain celebrated pairs of rivers or fountains bearing the same names; of the Peloponnesian Inachus for example, and the Amphilochian Inachus.⁴ Like Herodotus he considered the Delta as a comparatively new country formed by the alluvial deposit of the Nile. In the account given by him of the floating isle of Chemmis⁵, for which he is ridiculed by Herodotus⁶, he seems merely to have repeated what the Egyptian priests told him; as Herodotus himself has done with equal complacency in regard to many quite as incredible matters. The citation by Photius of Hecataeus Milesius, as the authority from whom Diodorus borrowed his Egyptian version of the Exodus, has usually, and perhaps justly been considered an error of Photius; and the passage has been assigned by preference to the later Hecataeus of Abdera, author of a work on Jewish history.⁷ The argument however in favour of this view, that a Greek historian of

¹ Frg. 215.² Frg. 292.³ Frg. 278.⁴ Frg. 72.⁵ Frg. 284.⁶ II. 156.⁷ Frg. 372.; Diodor. Exc. ex lib. 40. ap. Phot. Cod. 244.

so early a date as Hecataëus is not likely to have been acquainted with the name or history of Moses, is in some degree invalidated by the fact, that the Jewish lawgiver was mentioned by Hellanicus¹ the younger contemporary of Hecataëus. That the Milesian geographer also possessed a certain local knowledge of Palestine, appears from his familiarity with its real name Canaan, as quoted by him under the variety or corruption Chnâ.²

6. The "Genealogies" of Hecataëus narrated, like those of Acusilaus, the pedigrees and adventures of the heroes of the mythical age. The two works appear indeed, in all fundamental respects, to have resembled each other. The only material difference seems to have been that while Acusilaus, in emulation of his master Hesiod, devoted a large share of attention to the theogony, or divine department of mythical genealogy, the theological matter of Hecataëus was restricted to what was required in the way of introduction to his human lines of descent. His order of succession opened, not with Chaos, Uranus, or Terra, but with Deucalion, as the originator of terrestrial life. The work was divided into books, four of which are cited in the fragments; but their remains afford no clear insight into the order in which the subjects were arranged. Among the enterprises narrated, prominence appears to have been given to the Argonautic expedition, and to the labours of Hercules. The warlike adventures of the Amazons were also noticed. The parts of Greece to the affairs of which the greatest number of extant passages relate, are Thessaly, Argos, and Arcadia. The importation of the

His genealogical work.

¹ Didot, *Fragm. Hellan.* 166.

² *Frsg.* 254.

alphabet into Greece was assigned to Cadmus.¹ Hecataeus also described the sojourn in Attica of the tribe of Pelasgians who afterwards migrated to Lemnos; and gave an account of the cause of that migration, which is controverted by Herodotus as unfair towards the Athenians.² (Frag. 332)

In the opening passage of this work Hecataeus denounced the absurdity of the Greek fabulous legends, and expressed his determination to treat his own subjects with a greater regard than preceding authors had shown for truth and common sense. If he has fulfilled this declaration to his own satisfaction, he has certainly not done so to that of his more intelligent readers, antient or modern; there being few authors who seem to have paid a greater deference to those extravagancies of the popular mythology which he professed to condemn. He is quoted, for example, as an authority in support of the legend, repudiated by less credulous mythologers, that the ram of Phrixus was endowed with human speech. His spirit of credulity also displays itself in his attempts to elicit fact from fable by the crucible of allegorical interpretation; attempts which, as frequently happens even with more ingenious interpreters, result but in the substitution of still more extravagant fables for those which it is proposed to explain away. The legend of Hercules dragging Cerberus from Hades originated, according to Hecataeus³, in a monstrous serpent which haunted a cave in Cape Tænarum, and from its ferocity and deadly bite had acquired the name of Dog of Death, but was overcome and brought alive to Argos by Hercules.

¹ Frag. 361.² Frag. 362.³ Frag. 346.

The dialect of Hecatæus is characterised by an intelligent grammarian¹ as the purest model of the Ionic; and as such is contrasted with the mixed dialect of Herodotus. The distinction has been explained above, as implying that, while Hecatæus was content with his native Milesian forms of the common Ionian tongue, the idiom of Herodotus was a compound of the varieties described by himself as spoken in the several Ionian states of Asia minor. The existing remains of Hecatæus hardly supply a fair criterion for estimating the peculiar character of his dialect, having, it is probable, been subjected to the usual alterations at the hand of successive transcribers. Judging however from the Ionisms which still remain, he would seem to have been more sparing of those combinations of liquid vowels in which Herodotus so greatly indulges. His language also presented occasional words or forms rare or obsolete both in the common Ionic and the classical Greek², and which may probably have been Milesian idioms. His style, although of the "disjointed" or sententious order, was yet considered so agreeable and correct, as to have obtained him a place among the standards of classical Hellenic prose.³ The fragments also offer curious examples of the tendency to poetical phraseology in primitive logographic style. The latter part of the subjoined sentence is a hexameter verse, one half of which is borrowed from Homer:

His dialect
and style.

Κάπρος ἦν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ Ψωφιδίου κακὰ πολλὰ
ἔοργεν.⁴

¹ Hermog. De form. Orat. p. 402., ed. 1569.

² Fragg. 354. 358. 366, 367. 369. 371.

³ Hermog. loc. cit.: conf. Long. de Sub. 27.

⁴ Fragg. 344.: conf. Il. ε. 175.

The following passage¹, which seems to be a literal extract from the "Genealogies," is a characteristic example both of his sententious quaintness of expression, and of his method of mythological and etymological investigation :

Ὅρεσθεὺς ὁ Δευκαλίωνος ἦλθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ· καὶ κύων αὐτῷ στέλεχος ἔτεκε· καὶ ὃς ἐκέλευσε αὐτὸν κατορυχθῆναι· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔφυ ἄμπελος πολυστάφυλος· διὸ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Φύτιον ἐκάλεσε. Τούτου δὲ Οἰνεὺς ἐγένετο, κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων. Οἱ γὰρ παλαοὶ Ἑλλήνες οἶνας ἐκάλουν τὰς ἀμπέλους. Οἰνέως δὲ ἐγένετο Αἰτωλός.

Orestheus, son of Deucalion, came to Ætolia in search of a kingdom. Here his dog produced him a green plant. Upon which he ordered the dog to be buried in the earth ; and from its body sprang a vine fertile in grapes. Hence he called his son Phytius. The son of Phytius was Ceneus, so named after the vine plant. For the antient Greeks called the vine Cēna. The son of Ceneus was Ætolus.

This laconic accumulation of trivial fables, and equally trivial etymological puns², is characteristic of the mode in which credulity and love of the marvellous were combined, in this author and in the public for whom he wrote, with that good sense and clear judgement which distinguished both in the practical business of life.

¹ Frg. 341. : conf. 332.

² The play of words is not only between Οἰνεὺς and οἶνη, Φύτιος and φύω, but between κύων and κύω, Ὅρεσθεὺς and ὄρος.

DIONYSIUS OF MILETUS

was contemporaneous with Hecataeus ; and the mode in which their names are coupled together in the citations¹, implies that they coincided in some of their leading historical views. This similarity seems to have extended to the still earlier Milesian patriarchs of prose literature, Cadmus and Anaximander. The four have been classed accordingly in another place as forming a Milesian school or sect of historical composition.²

Dionysius
of Miletus.

Of the personal history of Dionysius nothing has been recorded, nor do his writings appear to have enjoyed much popularity. Neither their titles nor their subjects have been mentioned by any author of credit ; and such notices of them as occur in the later grammarians are of little value, owing to the palpable manner in which the name of the Milesian Dionysius is confounded with that of other later Dionysii, writers for the most part little more celebrated than himself, or concerning whose persons and labours a like uncertainty exists. The following titles are enumerated under the head of Dionysius Milesius, in the compilation of Suidas³: On the events subsequent to Darius ; a Periegesis, or Description of the Earth ; Persica ; Troica ; Mythica ; and a Historical cycle. Another grammarian⁴ quotes him as author of *Argonautica*.

The Periegesis, ascribed in other articles of Suidas to other Dionysii, is probably that still extant,

Confound-
ed with
other Dio-
nysii.

¹ Suid. v. 'Εκαταῖος.

² Vol. I. p. 76. note : conf. Dionys. frg. 1. Did. vol. II.

³ v. Διονύσιος.

⁴ Schol. ad Apollon. Rh. III. 200. alibi.

by a Dionysius of the Roman period but of uncertain birthplace, a work which enjoyed sufficient credit to procure its author the surname of Periegetes or The geographer. That the author of the Historical cycle was Dionysius of Samos may be considered certain; such being the title of the most popular composition of that writer; to which he too was indebted for his surname of Cyclographer. The claim of Dionysius of Mitylene to the Mythica, Troica, and Argonautica is also recognised by Suidas¹ in his notice of that mythographer, or by other authorities.² There remain consequently for the older Dionysius, with the same Suidas, but the Persica, or Persian history, and the treatise On the events subsequent to Darius. The latter has been conjectured by modern commentators to have been a supplement to the other more comprehensive work on Persia, bringing the affairs of that country down to a later epoch of the author's own life, than that to which the main body of his history had extended. Admitting these compositions to be genuine, Dionysius would be entitled to rank as the first Greek historian of real events. It is however obviously far from probable, had such a work been extant by a contemporary author of good credit, on a subject of so great and engrossing national interest as the invasion of Xerxes, that it would never have been quoted or mentioned but in a single notice of a confused Byzantine compiler, in the copious commentaries for which the details of that subject supplied material in the subsequent ages of Greek

¹ v. Διονύσιος. Μιτυληναῖος.

² Diodor. Sic. iii. 52. 65.; Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 1289., conf. Welcker, Ep. Cycl. p. 81. sqq.; C. Müller, ap. Didot, Fragg. vol. ii. p. 6. sqq.

historical literature. In the face of this difficulty, and of the numerous other blunders of which Suidas has been convicted in regard to his various Dionysii and their works, these Persian histories, if they ever existed, cannot with any confidence be assigned to Dionysius of Miletus.

There are but two citations which can safely be referred to the text of any work, real or supposititious, by this writer. One of them alludes to him as having, in conjunction with Anaximander and other early authors, ascribed the importation of the alphabet into Greece to Danaus rather than Cadmus.¹ The other relates to his mode of writing the name of mount Hæmus. As neither of these passages is in the form of an extract, they supply no criteria for judging of his style.

CHARON OF LAMPSACUS

7. is the first prose author ascertained to have selected his subjects from historical times; and he also appears to have treated them in a rational and honest spirit. He may therefore, in regard to the fundamental requisites of their common art, fairly compete with Herodotus for the honourable title of Father of history. Of his personal affairs nothing has been recorded but the fact of his being a native of Lampsacus, an Ionian colony of Phrygia, situated not far from the coast of the Hellespont. His father's name is mentioned under the two varieties of Pytheas and Pythocles.² His flourishing age is placed by competent authorities after the close of the

Charon of
Lampsacus.

His age.

¹ Frg. 1. See however Hecat. frg. 361.

² Pausan. x. xxxviii. 6.; Suid. v. Χάρων.

Persian, and prior to the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; and as he mentioned transactions which took place during the reign of Artaxerxes, he must have outlived 465 B.C., the year of that monarch's accession to the Persian throne.¹

His works.

Of the works ascribed to Charon, those possessing positive claims to genuine character were three in number: the *Persica*, in two books; the *Annals of Lampsacus*, in four books²; and the *Chronicles of Lacedæmonian kings*. Other titles given in the apocryphal list of Suidas are: *Hellenica*, in four books; *Cretica*, in three books; *Æthiopica*; *Libyca*; *Origines* (*Foundation of States*), in two books; and a *Periplus of the coasts beyond the Pillars of Hercules*.³ Of these titles several may probably represent works of later historians bearing the same name or other names of similar sound. Some, such as the *Æthiopica* and *Libyca*, may have been parts of the *Persica*, treating events of Persian history connected with *Æthiopia* or *Libya*. The *Hellenica*, if not by Charax, author of a book under that title, may have been a distinct work of Charon, though not ascribed to him by any writer of credit. His authorship of the

¹ Dion. Hal. de præcip. Historr. 3., Jud. de Thucyd. 5.; Suid. v. *Χάρων*; Plut. in Themist. 27., conf. Didot, vol. i. p. xvi. frgg. 1. 4.

² Charon's researches into the history of his native republic seem to be cited under three titles: *Ἱστορίαι Λαμψακηνῶν*, *Ἱστορίαι Λαμψακηνῶν*, and *περί Λαμψάκου*. Suid. v. *Χάρων*: conf. Didot, frgg. and pref. p. xix. sqq. As the best mode of deciding the subtle question regarding the connexion or distinction of these three titles, they have here been assumed to denote a single work, designated in our text by the first title of the three. It is obviously not probable that an author so much engaged as Charon was with other more ambitious subjects, should have devoted three separate works to so insignificant a place as Lampsacus, although his native town; one to its *Annals*, another to its *Boundaries*, a third to its affairs in general. In the first and second titles, the duplicate form evidently originates in the ambiguity of early orthography.

³ C. Müller, ap. Didot, p. xvi. sqq.

Origines, though equally unprovided with competent testimony, has also been admitted by modern commentators, on the ground that several of his fragments partake of the character peculiar to such compositions.

His researches are described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹ as extending over much of the ground afterwards more fully occupied by Herodotus²; and the points of correspondence which the fragments offer to parallel portions of the history of his great successor, are such as to leave little room for doubt that the latter was acquainted with his works. The dream of Astyages concerning his daughter Mandane mother of Cyrus, which forms so prominent an episode in Herodotus, had been previously narrated by Charon³: the variety of traditions current regarding the birth of Cyrus renders it the less likely that both authors should accidentally have preferred the same. The history of Pactyas the Lydian treasurer of Cyrus⁴, of his treachery to his master, his flight to Mytilene and thence to Chios, where he fell into the hands of the Persians, was also narrated by both authors. The account of Charon here differed from that of Herodotus, in its omission to notice the ungenerous conduct towards the fugitive with which the latter charges the two Greek states. This omission

Materials
supplied by
them to
Herodotus.

¹ De præcip. Historr. 3.

² That the great Græco-Persian war was treated in the Persica may be assumed from an extant citation of its text, referring to the events of that war. If however we admit that Charon also composed Hellenica or Hellenic histories in four books, the Persica being confined to two, it would be necessary to assume the greater part of the range of subjects mentioned by Dionysius to have been treated in the former work. The two may have constituted one series, extending, as appears from the author's notice of Artaxerxes, down to a late epoch of his own life.

³ Frg. 4.

⁴ Frg. 1.

has been urged by "Plutarch¹," in his tract against Herodotus, as evidence that Charon was either ignorant of this part of the story, or had rejected it as a groundless calumny, which the same Plutarch accuses Herodotus of having too readily believed and maliciously promulgated. Modern critics², in their zeal for the honour of Herodotus, have retorted on Plutarch at the expense of Charon, by assuming the latter to have suppressed the particulars discreditable to the Chians from a spirit of flattery towards those islanders. The account of the sack of Sardis³ by the Athenians and Ionians was also common to the two authors. Here again Plutarch, citing Charon as a prior authority, accuses Herodotus of misrepresenting the facts of that adventure to the discredit of the Greeks; and here also, as in the affair of Pactyas, modern admirers⁴ of the latter historian turn the tables, and reproach Charon with having, in the same spirit of favour to his countrymen, suppressed the details which were not to their credit. In the one as in the other case the charge seems to be about as well founded as the vindication. The only inference to be drawn by the impartial critic from a collation of the parallel texts of the two authors, is that Charon, in the quaint spirit of his age, was in each instance contented with a dry skeleton of the main facts which Herodotus has worked up into a more finished narrative. Charon, in his account of the disasters of Mardonius off the coast of Athos, also narrated by Herodotus, seems to have noticed the superstitious dislike entertained by the Persians for white pigeons⁵, which Herodotus specially mentions as a peculiarity of that people.

¹ De Malig. Herod. 20. ² Dahlmann, Herodot. § 23. p. 117. ³ Frg. 2.

⁴ Dahlmann, op. cit. p. 118.

⁵ Frg. 3.: conf. Herod. i. 13.

Charon is quoted by the genuine Plutarch among the more critical authorities, who placed the flight of Themistocles from Athens to the Persian court under the reign of Artaxerxes, not under that of Xerxes according to a prevailing error on the subject.

As this author, in right of his *Persica* and *Hellenica*, takes rank as the first practical Greek historian, he may also claim, in right of his Spartan chronicle, to rank as the first practical Greek chronologer. This work, understood to have contained a digest of the tables of royal genealogy preserved at Lacedæmon, seems also to have been known to Herodotus, and cited by him with approval in a passage of his own history to be further noticed in a future page. Its loss is the more to be regretted, from its having embodied the substance of the oldest Greek state register possessing distinct claims to a genuine character. The only fragment of Charon which can with any probability be ascribed to this work is of little historical value; mention being there made of the cup preserved at Sparta, and supposed to be that presented by Jupiter to Alcmena mother of Hercules, as a nuptial gift.¹

In his *Annals of Lampsacus* Charon, overlooking the purely mythical ages of his native locality, appears to have related its vicissitudes from the time of the Ionian migration. He described² its previous possession by a race called *Bebrycians*, its occupation by adventurers of the royal Attic line of *Codridæ*, with its subsequent wars for the maintenance or extension of its boundaries.

Charon would also seem to have exercised a sound

¹ *Fig. 11.*: conf. Müller p. xviii.

² *Fig. 6.* sqq.

judgement in questions of literary history and criticism; and is quoted by Pausanias¹ as a preferable testimony in regard to the controverted question of the authorship of the poem *Naupactica*.

But although this author gave so marked a preference, in the general selection of his subjects, to the realities of history, he does not appear to have denied, in their proper place, a reasonable share of attention to those elegant substrata of popular legend, on which the historical annals of all the Greek states were founded. The two passages² of this nature that have been preserved, the first describing the amour between Arcas and the hamadryad Prosopelia, the issue of which was the race of Arcadian mountaineers, the second a similar adventure, of which another wood nymph was the heroine, — indicate as much taste in the choice of his poetical embellishments, as he has shown judgement in that of his historical materials. He was also in the habit, like his successor Herodotus, of imparting popularity to his narrative by excursive anecdotes, which, while not so incredibly marvellous as to rank under the head of mythology, seldom possess pretension to the credit of historical fact. His longest extant fragment is a narrative of this kind, affording, with traces of Ionic idiom, a good specimen of the sententious order of historical style :

His style. “The Bisaltians waged war against the Cardians, and were victorious in a battle. The commander of the Bisaltians was called Onaris. This man, when a boy, had been sold as a slave in Cardia, and had been made by his master to work at the trade of a barber. Now there was an oracle current among the Cardians, that about that time they should be invaded by the Bisaltians; and this oracle was a frequent subject of conversation

¹ x. 38.

² *Frgg.* 12, 13.

among those who frequented the barber's shop. Onaris, having effected his escape home, persuaded his countrymen to invade Cardia, and was himself appointed leader of the expedition. But the Cardians were accustomed to teach their horses to dance to the sound of the flute in their festivals; when standing upright on their hind legs, they adapted the motions of their fore feet to the time of the music. Onaris being acquainted with this custom, procured a female flute-player from Cardia; and this flute-player, on her arrival among the Bisaltians, instructed many of their flute-players, whom he caused to accompany him in his march against Cardia. As soon as the engagement commenced, he ordered the flute-players to strike up those tunes to which the Cardian horses were used to perform. And no sooner had the horses heard the music, than they stood up on their hind legs and began to dance. But the chief force of the Cardians was in cavalry; and so they lost the battle."¹

XANTHUS,

8. though familiarly called a Lydian, and described by some as a native of Sardis the Lydian metropolis², composed in the Greek language. There is at least no allusion to an original text of his work in

Xanthus
the Lydian.

¹ Frg. 9.: conf. frg. 2. Βισάλται εἰς Καρδίην ἰσπρατεύσαντο καὶ ἐνίκησαν. Ἠγίμων δὲ τῶν Βισαλτίων ἦν Ὀναρις. Οὗτος δὲ, παῖς ὢν, ἐν τῇ Καρδίῃ ἐπράθη, καὶ τινὶ Καρδιηνῇ δουλεύσας κορσωτεὺς ἐγένετο. Καρδιηνοῖς δὲ λόγιον ἦν ὡς Βισάλται ἀπίζονται ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ πυκνὰ περὶ τούτου διελέγοντο ἐν τῇ κορσωτηρίῳ ἰζάνοντες. Καὶ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Καρδίας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τοὺς Βισάλτας ἐστελεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρδιηνοὺς, ἀποδουχθεὶς ἡγίμων ὑπὸ τῶν Βισαλτίων. Οἱ δὲ Καρδιηνοὶ πάντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐδίδαξαν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὀρχεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν ἰστάμενοι τοῖς προσθίοις ὀρχοῦντο ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰ αὐλήματα. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐπιστάμενος Ὀναρις ἐκτέταστο ἐκ τῆς Καρδίας αὐλητρίδα. Καὶ ἀφικομένη ἡ αὐλητρίς εἰς τοὺς Βισάλτας ἐδίδαξε πολλοὺς αὐλητάς, μεθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ στρατεύεται ἐπὶ τὴν Καρδίην. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη συνειστήκει, ἐκέλευσεν αὐλεῖν τὰ αὐλήματα ὅσα οἱ ἵπποι τῶν Καρδιηνῶν ἐξεπιστάλατο. καὶ ἰκεὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἵπποι τοῦ αὐλοῦ ἴσθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν καὶ πρὸς ὀρχησμὸν ἐτάρακοντο. Τῶν δὲ Καρδιηνῶν ἡ ἰσχύς ἐν τῇ ἱππῇ ἦν. Καὶ οὕτως ἐνίκηθησαν.

² Suid. v. Ψάνθος: conf. Strab. XIII. p. 628.

the Lydian tongue ; and his mode of treating his subject appears to have been adapted to the taste of the Greek public. The materials however of his work indicate, both in the oriental character of his own stock of original traditions, and in the oriental turn imparted to those common to other Greek historians, a mind more under the influence of Asiatic impressions than was usual with Greek colonial authors even in treating Asiatic subjects. His special connexion, by blood or citizenship, with the indigenous Lydian race, is further implied by the pointed terms in which he is characterised by the antients as "the Lydian ;" for in respect to mere birth or residence in Lydia, any Ionian colonist on the banks of the Hermus or Mæander might have been equally so designated. Xanthus therefore may be assumed, either to have been a Greek naturalised in Sardis, or an indigenous Lydian, who with the Greek tongue had acquired Greek tastes and habits. The statement of Suidas, that his father bore the well known Lydian name of Candaules, would favour the latter view. These Asiatic traits in the character of Xanthus, with his habit of investigating Lydian history from indigenous sources, appear to be the principal cause of the value attached to his authority in Asiatic affairs.

His age coincides generally with that of Charon, and is established on similar data. We have the same statement of respectable writers, that he flourished prior to the Peloponnesian war and to Herodotus¹; and we learn from a fragment of his text, that he survived the accession of Artaxerxes to the Persian

¹ Ephor. ap. Athen. xii. p. 515. ; Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 5.

throne in 465.¹ No particulars of his personal history have been transmitted.

His only authenticated work was his *Lydiaca*, or Lydian history, in four books. As the subject was not peculiarly interesting to the Greek public at large, the citations from its now lost text are not sufficiently numerous to afford any clear insight into its plan or extent. His researches appear to have been chiefly confined to the mythical annals of his country. He also entered at some detail on the geography of Lydia and the neighbouring regions ; especially on the traces of old natural convulsions which they exhibited ; and is quoted with great respect by Eratosthenes and Strabo, as an authority on those subjects.² He agreed with Herodotus in describing the popular Lydian god and hero Atys as the father of two sons, the eldest of whom, Lydus, was described by each historian as the patriarch of the Lydian nation. But the two authors differ as to the name and destinies of the brother of Lydus. Herodotus calls him Tyrrhenus, and describes him as emigrating during a famine in his native Lydia, with a body of his countrymen, to Italy ; a portion of which peninsula was named after him.³ Xanthus, who calls this younger brother Torrhebus, a mere variety it may be presumed of Tyrrhenus, represented him as remaining, like Lydus, in Asia, and as patriarch of an Asiatic people called Torrhebeans. Of the mythical connexion between Lydia and Greece through Hercules, or of the dynasty of Heraclid princes who figure in the Lydian history of Herodotus, there is no notice in the

His *Lydiaca*, or Lydian history.

¹ Eratosthen. ap. Strab. i. p. 49. : conf. frg. 3. Didot.

² Frgg. 3. 4.

³ Frg. 1.

remains of Xanthus. The only royal names with pretensions to historical character, which occur in those remains, Alcimus, Cambles, Adramytes, Aciamus, are unmentioned by Herodotus. It seems even doubtful whether the narrative of Xanthus extended through the later period, treated so much in detail by Herodotus, from the usurpation of Gyges down to the Persian conquest of Sardis. Not one of the successors of Gyges is noticed in the fragments of Xanthus; a circumstance which might warrant the suspicion that he had, like so many popular logographers of his day, confined his researches to the remoter ages of national history. He also treated of the neighbouring Asiatic races, Phrygians, Mysians, and Lycians. The Phrygians were described as having crossed from Thrace into Asia minor, after the Trojan war. The Mysians, classed by some geographers as also of Thracian descent, were claimed by Xanthus¹ as a tribe of Lydians which had migrated to the region of Mount Olympus; and this view he supported on philological grounds, characterising their dialect as a mixture of the Lydian, and of the language of the tribe of Phrygians among whom they settled. The only citation of Xanthus, and that of doubtful authenticity², where reference is made to the Hellenic colonies in Asia, is an appeal of Clemens Alexandrinus to his authority concerning the age of the Lesbian musician Terpander.

Among those peculiarities of the historical system of Xanthus which chiefly characterise it as the production of an Asiatic author, is the connexion into which he has brought the mythical annals of Lydia

¹ Frg. 8.

² Frg. 27.; probably a later Xanthus, author of a biographical work.

with those of other oriental races, especially of the Phœnicians. This connexion he seems to have traced in certain points of analogy between the popular divinities of the two nations; between the worship of Cybele, for example, or *Magna mater*, common among the indigenous races of Asia minor, and that of the Dea Syria, or great goddess of the Phœnicians, usually identified by the Greeks with their Aphrodite. Tantalus, a Lydian hero, whom the Greek mythologers made son of Jupiter, or of the Lydian mount Tmolus, was described by Xanthus as son of Hymenæus, who was with him also father of Ascalus. The name Hymenæus is here probably the hellenised title of some Aphrodisian deity of Lydia, corresponding perhaps to the Eros of the Greeks, or Adonis of the Phœnicians. Ascalus is sent by the Lydian king Aciamus on an expedition to Syria, where he founds the city called after him; a city described by Herodotus as the most antient seat of the Phœnician goddess, where she was worshipped by the title of Atergatis in the form of a fish or mermaid. Both title and attribute were familiar to Xanthus.¹ These, and several other fables cited from the *Lydiaca*, are characterised by an oriental tone foreign to the genius of the native Greek mythology. The author's version of the Niobe fable² differed from that popular with the Greeks; and he explained³ the custom of dedicating way-posts to Hermes by a legend which, not being noticed by any earlier Greek writer, may be supposed of Lydian or Lydo-greek origin. The marvellous anecdotes with which he enlivened the portions of his text professing to treat of human history, are also marked by an eccentric wildness, reflecting an

¹ Fragg. 11. 23.² Frg. 13.³ Frg. 9.

Asiatic rather than a Greek imagination. Such is the legend¹ of the Lydian king Cambles, celebrated for his voracious appetite. This royal glutton, being taken with a ravenous fit one night in his dreams, fell on his wife who lay by his side, and devoured her, all but one hand which remained sticking in his jaws. Awakening in the morning, and finding his wife's hand in that position, while the rest of her person had disappeared, he became aware of the act he had committed; and horrified by its enormity destroyed himself. The author's fable of Niobe is characterised by a similar tone of gloomy ferocity. Among the authenticated fragments of the *Lydiaca*, (about twenty-five in number,) there is but one which contains a literal citation from the original text, the passage relative to Lydus and Torrhebus, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.² But the extract is so short, as to afford no sufficient criteria for judging of the author's style.

Genuine
character
of the
Lydiaca.

The genuine character of the *Lydiaca* was questioned, as we learn from Athenæus, by a single obscure writer, of the Roman apparently, or latter part of the Alexandrian, period, called Artemon of Cassandrea³; who pronounced it a forgery of Dionysius of Mytilene, surnamed Scytobrachion, a grammarian and polyhistor of the Alexandrian school. Athenæus dismisses this scepticism as groundless, without either mentioning or combating the arguments on which it rested; nor is it alluded to by any other writer. A book quoted as valid authority by a succession of standard critics, extending far back

¹ Frg. 12.

² Frg. 1.

³ Ap. Athen. xii. p. 515., conf. Müll. in Didot, Fragg. p. xxi.; Welcker, Kleine Schr. vol. i. p. 431. See Appendix E.

towards the age of its author; by Ephorus, by Eratosthenes and his pupil Mnaseas, by Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, stood in need of no special defence against such attacks. An epitome of the *Lydiaca*, by Menippus, a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, is mentioned by that philosopher's namesake and biographer¹, apparently as extant in his own time.

Two other works are ascribed to Xanthus, each by a single author of recent age and small credit. The one, entitled *Magica*, is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria; the other, *On the life of Empedocles*, by Diogenes Laertius.² It is difficult to see, apart from other considerations, how Xanthus, who was, by many years probably, the elder contemporary of Empedocles, could also have been his biographer. As therefore the historian's name is here used without the gentile epithet, it is the more likely that some other Xanthus, or at least some other writer is alluded to. For it is not much more credible that any professional bookmaker should ever have thought of ascribing to a primitive Lydian logographer a *Life of a Sicilian speculative philosopher*, than that Xanthus should himself have composed such a work.

Other reputed works.

The *Magica* appears, from the citation of Clemens, to have been a treatise on the Medo-Persian Magi; a subject quite within the scope of the Lydian historian. The passage cited is also conceived in a spirit of libel against the Persians, very natural in a Lydian author of that period. There would therefore be no reason to doubt the fact, were it better attested, of such a work having been composed by Xanthus.

¹ Diog. La. in Menippo, vi. § 101.

² Fragg. 28. sqq.

There remain the following nine writers of the class here set apart as flourishing prior to the Peloponnesian war: Hippys of Rhegium, Deïochus of Proconnesus, Melesagoras, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phygela, Bion of Proconnesus, Eugeon of Samos, Simonides of Ceos, and Xenomedes of Chios. These authors belong solely or chiefly to the half-century between the close of the Persian, and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war; but neither the grammarians who cite them, nor their own fragments where any have been preserved, supply materials for a more definite adjustment of their dates. Of some of them little more than the names have been transmitted. We shall therefore pass them in review in the order in which they may seem entitled to rank, either by the importance of the subjects treated, or of the specimens of their labours which have been preserved.

HIPPYS OF RHEGIUM

Hippys of Rhegium. 9. is the first recorded historical writer produced by the Italo-Greek colonies, and the first recorded historian of the western parts of Colonial Hellas inclusive of his native district.

His works. Of his personal affairs no notices have been transmitted. The works attributed to him were: *Chronica*, in five books; *Foundation of Italian states*; *Sicula*, in five books; and *Argolica*, in three books.¹ Several

¹ Suid. v. "Ιππυς. The latter part of this notice, οὗτος πρῶτος ἔγραψε παρωδιὰν καὶ χωλίαμβον, evidently refers, not to Hippys but to Hipponax; and is one among the many examples of confusion of facts and names in the Byzantine lexicographer's otherwise valuable compilation. Suidas describes Hippys as flourishing during the Persian war; but the general tenor of the fragments offers no indication of so early an age. If, on the other hand, the Petron cited in frag. 6. be the Greek physician

of these titles have been plausibly conjectured by modern commentators to indicate the same, or parts of the same work designated by the more general name of *Chronica*. The subjects chiefly preferred by Hippiys were the foundation and vicissitudes of the Hellenic states in Italy and Sicily; and were comprised consequently, for the most part, within the historical age. But the citations from the *Chronica* also imply that the realities of his narrative were founded on a broad basis of mythology, extending back to the primeval Egyptian and Pelasgian patriarchs of Greece; and he is quoted as the first author who gave the Arcadians their boasted title of *Proseleni*, or "more antient than the moon."¹ His researches extended to the fabulous annals of Corinth²; in connexion, it may be supposed, with the foundation of Syracuse by Corinthian colonists. The latter city is described by him³ as having been at one time governed by an Argive named Pollis, who transplanted the muscat grape from Italy to Sicily; a notice which gave occasion for remarks on the etymology of the epithet "*Biblian*," applied by Homer to a species of wine. He also treated⁴ of the local Sicilian deities called *Palici*, and of the miraculous attributes of their sanctuary. Another fragment⁵ mentions the foundation of Croto and Sybaris; and an allusion to certain Pythagorean dogmas⁶ was probably introduced in the portion of the text devoted to the former city, the favourite seat of the Samian philosopher. A passage,

so called, who flourished in the fourth century B. C., and not rather some early obscure Pythagorean philosopher of the same name, the age of Hippiys would require to be greatly reduced.

¹ Didot, frag. 2.

⁴ Frag. 5.

² Frag. 3.

⁵ Frag. 4.

³ Frag. 7.

⁶ Frag. 6.

His style.

of the Argolica probably, preserved by Ælian, is the only one that has reached us in the form of a literal extract.¹ It is here subjoined, as another characteristic specimen both of the matter and the manner common to the Greek prose logographers:

“A woman was troubled with a tapeworm; and the best physicians declared their inability to cure her. She therefore travelled to Epidaurus to supplicate divine relief from her suffering. The god was absent; but the servants of the sanctuary caused her to lie down in the place where he was in the habit of treating his patients; and the woman submissively complied. They then commenced their treatment of her, and separated her head from her body; when one of them inserted his hand and drew out the tapeworm; a monstrous specimen of the animal. But they were unable to readjust the head in its former position. At this juncture the god arrived; and chid them for attempting an operation beyond their powers. But he himself, by the omnipotence of his divine art, refitted the head to its place, and raised the woman up restored to health.”

It is remarkable that so many of the longer passages cited from the early Greek historians, even from those who treated of real history, are devoted to such marvellous anecdotes. The inference naturally suggests itself, that their authority was quite as highly valued by posterity in the mythological as in the historical parts of their researches.

Deïochus
of Procon-
nesus.

DEÏOCHUS is designated of Proconnesus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus²; of Cyzicus, by Stephanus Byzantinus.³ The distinction is of little moment; the two places being near neighbours, and connected by ties of colonisation or citizenship. His only recorded work, On the history of Cyzicus, in several

¹ Frg. 8.

² De Thucyd. Jud. 5.

³ Voce Λάμψακος: conf. Müller, ap. Didot, vol. II. p. 17. The name in the citations is frequently written Deïlochus.

books, appears to have been limited to the mythical annals of that place. The author described its foundation by Pelasgian fugitives from Thessaly, the quarrels between those settlers and the heroes of the Argonautic expedition on their passage through the Propontis, with other Argonautic adventures on that and the neighbouring coast. The work in fact seems to have been principally devoted to this fantastic chapter of mythical history.

MELESAGORAS, or AMELESAGORAS.—The notices of this writer¹ have a strong savour of mythology. By Dionysius of Halicarnassus he is described as a Chalcædonian; by others as an Eleusinian, or Athenian, and as gifted with supernatural attributes similar to those of Epimenides and Aristeas. His age and literary influence have also been strangely magnified. Clemens of Alexandria alludes to his works as a source from which many distinguished prose authors of the Attic period, Anaximenes, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Gorgias, Philochorus, derived their materials. The matter of fact on which these traditions are based seems to amount simply to this: that in the third century B.C. there existed a work entitled *Atthis*, attributed to an early author of this name, and which treated of the mystical mythology of Attica. It is quoted² relative to the popular belief that no bird of the crow species ever approached the acropolis of Athens; of the cause of which phenomenon the author gave an elaborate explanation.

BION of Proconnesus has already been noticed as the reputed author of an abridgement of the works

¹ Ap. Müller in Didot, vol. ii. p. 21.

² Frg. 1.

of Cadmus of Miletus. He is also said to have pirated those of Melesagoras. No such abridgement of Cadmus seems to have been extant in later times; nor has the title of any other work of Bion been transmitted. There are however extant several appeals to a logographer of this name, in one of which he is quoted as having described the expedition of Theseus against the Amazons.¹

Eudemus
of Paros.

Of EUDEMUS of Paros the name alone has been preserved, in the general notice of Dionysius of Halicarnassus already quoted.²

Democles
of Phygela.

DEMOCLES of Phygela on the coast of Ionia, also included in the list of Dionysius, is probably the same Democles mentioned by Strabo as having written on the volcanic phenomena of Asia minor. The name was common to several obscure writers of different periods; nor is it easy to distinguish how far its most antient proprietor is to be considered, in preference to those of later date, responsible for the few unimportant facts or opinions transmitted on the authority of "Democles."³

Eugeon of
Samos.

EUGEON of Samos.—The only distinct mention of this writer is in the same list of Dionysius. Modern commentators have claimed for him several citations by antient authors, where the names of the persons cited, otherwise not known to fame (Eugæon, Eugeiton), admit of being conjecturally identified with the Eugeon of Dionysius; and as the matters

¹ Didot, *op. cit.* p. 19.

² By Clemens Alex. he appears to be called "of Naxos." Conf. Didot, p. 20.

³ Didot, *op. cit.* p. 20.

noticed in those citations relate to Samos, or to the neighbouring coasts of Asia, there is fair ground to assume that a single Samian author is appealed to. The title of no work by him is mentioned, and the quotations throw but little light on the nature of his researches. He is mentioned among those who made Æsop a native of Thrace rather than of Eugeon's own country Samos; which also possessed claims to be the birthplace of the celebrated fabulist.¹

Of the two authors who still remain for notice, SIMONIDES of Ceos and XENOMEDES of Chios, the former is described as a grandson of the celebrated poet of the same name. All that has been recorded of Xenomedes is his name and native place. Both seem to have treated solely of mythological subjects; and the citations of their text are of no interest. Suidas ascribes to Simonides a Genealogy in three books, and a work on Inventions in three books. He seems also to be quoted as author of a work entitled Miscellanies. The title of no work by Xenomedes has been recorded.²

Simonides
of Ceos,
and Xeno-
medes of
Chios.

PART II. HISTORIANS FLOURISHING DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

THE authors remaining for consideration in this chapter are, according to the arrangement here adopted, those who flourished during the Peloponnesian war (431—404 B.C.), as distinguished from their predecessors in the previous part of the fifth century B. C.

¹ Didot, op. cit. p. 16.

² Didot, op. cit. p. 42. sq.

The list comprises the names of Pherecydes the younger; Antiochus of Syracuse; Stesimbrotus of Thasos; Ion of Chios; Herodorus of Heraclea; Hellanicus of Lesbos; and Damastes of Sigeum.

PHERECYDES,

Pherecydes.

His age and birth-place.

10. a native of the Ionian isle of Leros, settled early at Athens, where he seems to have resided the greater part of his life; hence styled sometimes a Lerian, sometimes an Athenian.¹ His flourishing epoch is placed about the middle of the fifth century B.C.²; so that assuming him to have been then about thirty-five, he would, if the tradition of Lucian³ that he attained the age of eighty-five can be trusted, have survived till towards the close of that century.

The works ascribed to him were entitled: Attic Archæology; Poetical maxims; On Leros; On Iphigenia; and On the Festivals of Dionysus.⁴ The existing numerous citations from his text appear all to be borrowed from his Archæology, and there is reason

¹ An Athenian, by Eratosthenes, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and other writers (ap. Didot, *Fragg. Hist. Gr.* vol. i. p. xxxv.; and *Fragg. Pherecyd.* 46. 85. 118, 119.) A Lerian by Suidas alone, whose authority is perhaps scarcely sufficient to establish his Lerian nativity.

² Euseb. ad Ol. 81., *Chron. Pasch.* p. 163.; Isidorus, *Orig.* i. 42.

³ Macrobb. 22.

⁴ Suid. v. *Φερεικ.* The three articles of Suidas, comprising the principal part of the extant details concerning "Pherecydes," are marked by the usual confusion of persons and things which characterises that compilation. The distinction however between the only two authors of the name, the philosopher of Syros, and the logographer of Leros or Athens, has been so distinctly drawn by Voss, Sturz, and other writers, and so generally recognised by the modern classical public, that it will here suffice to refer the reader, who may take an interest in such questions, to the text of those commentators: Voss, *de Hist. Græc.* i. l., iv. 4.; Sturz, *Fragg. Pherec.* p. 55. sqq., conf. C. Müller, ap. Didot, p. xxxv. sqq.; Smith, *Biogr. Dict.* vol. iii. p. 258.

to doubt whether the other works, the titles of which are found only in the articles on Pherecydes in the compilation of Suidas, ever existed in a separate form.

The Archæology, commonly quoted by the title of Histories¹, was a work similar to the Genealogies of Acusilaus and Hecataeus above examined, but of greater compass; and appears to have been the most complete as well as popular repertory of mythical tradition produced by the early school of logographers. It is quoted more frequently and at greater length, at almost every period of classical antiquity, than any other compilation of its age and class. The text, as cited by our authorities, was divided into ten books. The subjoined analysis of the citations in which individual books are referred to, will afford a general idea of the contents, and of the order in which the heads of subject were treated:

His Archæologia.

I. Of the five citations of the first book², one described the death of Coronis, mother of Æsculapius, and that of her lover Ischys, by the arrows of Apollo and Diana; another the settlement of Peleus at Phthia with his wife Thetis. A third traced the descent of the Athenian Miltiades from Jupiter, through Æacus, father of Peleus and Telamon. A fourth recorded the amour of Neptune with the Argolic nymph Amymone, and its progeny. In a fifth mention was made of the Arcadian city of Hysia.

II. Of the eleven passages quoted from the second book³, one

¹ Of the other titles, Theogony and Autochthones, by which it appears in whole or in part to have been occasionally designated, see Müller, ap. Didot, p. xxxvi. and in Fragg. 14. 119.; Sturz de Pherec. p. 61. sq. There is, however, no trace of a Theogony in the proper sense having formed part of the work of Pherecydes.

² Fragg. 1. 8. 13. 16.(2) 20. (Didot.).

³ Fragg. 21. 23. 25, 26.(3) 27.(3) 29, 30. N.B. The figures in parenthesis here indicate that several citations have been included under one head or number of the collection.

described the amour of the Thessalian river god Peneus with the Argolic nymph Polydora, daughter of Danaus: three, the amour of Jove with Danaë, and the subsequent adventures of that heroine and of her son Perseus: three more refer to the intercourse between the same God and Alcmena: an eighth narrates the birth of the daughters of Thestius: a ninth the progeny of Megara by Hercules: in the tenth the eagle that preyed on the liver of Prometheus is described as offspring of Typhon and Echidna: the eleventh alludes to the sanctuary of Alconius on the river Thermodon.

III. The three citations from the third book¹ all relate to the life of Hercules. To this book, from their kindred tenor, about eleven others may safely be referred.

IV. The single citation of this book² gives, in a literal extract from the author's text, genealogical notices of Belus and Agenor; of Phoenix, Nilus, Ægyptus, Danaus, and Cadmus.

V. Of the four citations from the fifth book³, three refer to the adventures of Cadmus; the fourth to those of Protogenia, daughter of Deucalion and Pyrrha, and mother of Opus.

VI. The seven citations from the sixth book⁴ all refer to the Argonautic enterprise.

VII. Four citations of the seventh book⁵ allude to the sequel of the same adventure; a fifth to the expedition of the seer Melampus to Phylace, to procure for his brother Bias the hand of Pero, daughter of Neleus. A sixth describes the amours of Cephalus, Procris, and Nephelē.

VIII. The only citation of this book⁶ relates to the Hunt of the Calydonian boar;

IX. The only citation of the ninth book⁷ to the pedigree of Tænarus, name-father of the Laconian promontory.

X. The four fragments of the tenth book⁸ allude to the lyre of Amphion, and to the fortification of Thebes by that hero and his brother Zetus, against the assault of the Phlegians.

The decimal subdivision is here probably, as in other similar cases, the work of some later grammarian, less studious of unity or consistency in

¹ Frag. 33(13) 38. In frag. 30, *τοίς* ought certainly to be read for *δεκάτῃς*. ² Frag. 40. ³ Frag. 44.(3) 51. ⁴ Frag. 54. 63. 68, 69.(2) 71.(2) ⁵ Frag. 72, 73.(3) 75. 77. ⁶ Frag. 81. ⁷ Frag. 88. ⁸ Frag. 102.(4).

the arrangement of his author's text, than of round numbers for the convenience of citation. The mode in which, by reference to the above analysis, the contents were distributed among the several books, involves obvious incongruities, of which it is not likely that an author so well skilled as Pherecydes in the art of composition would have been guilty.¹ But however defective this method may be in itself, the numerical references to the books have the advantage of enabling us to form some definite notion of the order in which he treated his subject. The preponderance of extracts relative to Thessaly from the first book, implies that he gave to that region and its primitive patriarchs the same priority awarded to them by his predecessors Acusilaus and Hecatæus. Thence he passed on to the affairs of southern Greece, commencing with the Argolis. The race of Belidæ was traced in its Argolic line of descent through Danaus and his progeny down to Hercules. The adventures of Danaë and her son Perseus were treated at much detail.

¹ Such casual citations need not, it is true, be always understood to refer to the main subject of the chapter cited; for a variety of matter might find place in the same chapter in the form of episode or digression. Some of the anomalies here in question may admit of this apology. But there are others to which it can hardly be extended. The principal subject of the sixth book was, judging from the tenor of its fragments, the Argonautic expedition; the history of which adventure usually occupied a large space in works of this nature. The narrative of it therefore, by Pherecydes, might very reasonably have extended to several subdivisions of his work, and have been continued consequently from the sixth to the seventh book. But considering how trifling a portion of the seventh book the subject so continued occupies; considering more especially the strange manner in which the division of the books is managed, Jason's adventure with the fiery bulls being placed in the close of the sixth, and his immediately following exploit against the dragon forming the commencement of the seventh, it becomes difficult to give the original author credit for so awkward an arrangement.

Those of Hercules, commenced in the second book, were continued in the third. In the sequel the same race of Belidæ was taken up in its Syrophœnician line, Agenor, Phœnix, Cadmus. The series of Cadmeo-Bœotian legends seems to have extended over the fourth and part of the fifth book. The fragment cited from the latter, relative to Protogenia, ancestress of the Opuntian Locrians, implies that this book also treated of the neighbouring districts of central Greece. The ensuing portion of the work, occupying the sixth and part of the seventh book, was devoted to the heroes of the Argonautic expedition; their history, in the system of Pherecydes, being thus separated from the main stock of Æolo-Thessalian mythology, with which it was usually connected by his fellow-logographers. Then followed the southern branch of the Cretheidæ; Neleus, Bias, Melampus. That the Ætolian line of Æolic fable was next taken up, may be gathered from an allusion to the Calydonian boar in a fragment of the eighth book. In the sequel were treated the affairs of Lacedæmon, as appears from a notice of Cape Tænarum in the ninth book. It is less easy to judge, from the citations of the tenth book, of the matters treated in the concluding part of the work. The notices of Amphion, his lyre, his brother Zetus, and the walls of Thebes, have more the appearance of supplements to previous portions of the author's text, than of a winding up of his narrative. The number of passages plainly referable to individual books is little more than fifty. The whole number of citations in the collection is about 190. There remain therefore nearly 140 the position of which, in the original work, can only be conjectured from the relation in which they stand to the other

fifty. Modern commentators have attempted, with partial success, by an adjustment of these numerous texts of undefined position on the basis supplied by the fifty, still further to restore the plan of the original work.¹

11. Pherecydes seems, like Hecataeus, to have confined his purely divine genealogy to what was required as introductory to his lines of mortal heroes, but to have treated the human branch of his subject in copious detail. In the selection of his materials there are traces of a partiality for certain regions. The notices in the fragments are limited to the principal districts of Greece proper, with an occasional excursion to certain of her colonies. The remoter parts of Hellas, comprising countries of high celebrity in other mythological systems, appear to have been neglected. Such are, to the north-west, Epirus, with Molossia and Dodona; Acarnania, with the Cephallenian islands: and, to the east and south, the important islands of Eubœa and Crete. Among the countries preferred, the smallest share of attention, still judging from the fragments, has been bestowed on Attica. The whole number relating to that region or its heroes is about twelve, or a fifteenth part of the entire collection. Those relative to each of the neighbouring districts, Bœotia and Argolis, greatly exceed that number. Those devoted to Thessalian affairs, inclusive of the Argonautic expedition, are the most numerous of all. The restriction in the case of Attica is in itself reasonable; that country being certainly the one of all Greece, which, in proportion to its subsequent historical celebrity, makes the least figure in the genuine heroic mythology. But this

His system
of mytho-
logy.

¹ C. Müller, *Fragg. Pherec. ap. Didot*, vol. i.

consideration could hardly be expected to weigh with Pherecydes, a historian settled at Athens, writing so entirely under the influence of Attic associations as to have acquired the surname of "Athenian," and flourishing at a period when the Attic dramatists were rapidly procuring for their own book of local tradition a wide sphere of national popularity. The little attention bestowed by him on Athenian mythology seems more especially difficult to reconcile with the title of Attic, applied by antient grammarians¹ to his *Archæologia*. Equally remarkable is his rejection, in several instances, of those versions of heroic legends preferred by Athenian poets. In the Theban cycle of mythology, the tradition which made Eteocles and Polynices the incestuous offspring of Œdipus and Jocasta, forms with the Attic dramatists an essential link of that tragic series of family vicissitudes. Pherecydes preferred the Homeric legend, which described the sons of Œdipus as his legitimate children by Eurygania, whom he married after the death of Jocasta²; and makes him continue to reign at Thebes, as the husband of a third wife, after the death of Eurygania; to the apparent exclusion of the Sophoclean story of his refuge and death in the Attic sanctuary of the Eumenides. The account given by Pherecydes of the delivery of Orestes from his mother's furies, also differed from that popular with the Attic poets.³

Although both the title and the remains of the *Archæologia* imply it to have been essentially a mythical compilation, its materials were not exclusively

¹ Suidas, v. *ἑπερ*: conf. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. i. 13. frg. 85.

² Frg. 48.

³ Frg. 97.

restricted to mythical subjects ; and it is worthy of remark that the few notices of historical events in the citations refer to the history of Attica, or to that of the colonies founded under Attic auspices. One alludes to the death of Codrus. Two describe the foundation of Miletus, Ephesus, and other neighbouring cities, by Androclus son of Codrus and his fellow-adventurers, with the previous state of that district of Asia under its aboriginal inhabitants the Carians and Leleges.¹ In another passage² the author traced back the pedigree of Miltiades, through the line of Æacidæ, to Jupiter.³ This honourable exception in favour of the real history of Athens would go far to compensate for the neglect of her mythology ; and might possibly, had we a clearer insight into the plan of the work, supply a better explanation of its title of Attic than any that now suggests itself.

The merits of this composition appear to have consisted partly in the copiousness of its materials, partly, if we may use such an expression in such a case, in the practical manner in which they were treated. Of those trivial etymologies, and subtle attempts at allegorical exposition, in which his fellow-logographers were so fond of indulging, few traces occur in the remains of Pherecydes. Nor does he seem to have affected peculiarity or novelty in the choice or working up of his legends ; but, as a general rule, to have preferred the standard versions of national

¹ Frg. 110, 111, 112.

² Frg. 20.

³ The popular anecdote concerning Idanthyrus the Scythian and king Darius (frg. 113.), quoted by Clemens from Pherecydes of Syros, has been conjectured by Sturz and others to be borrowed from the historian rather than the philosopher. (Müll. ad frg. 113.) It is also given in much detail by Herodotus, iv. 131, sq.

tradition authorised by Homer, Hesiod, and its other primitive organs, to those which the subtle genius of the more recent mythology placed at his disposal.¹

His style.

The transmission of a number of apparently literal extracts from the *Archæologia*² enables us to form some estimate of its author's literary style, which is characterised, though less broadly than that of some preceding logographers, by the sententious simplicity of the early school of prose composition. The primitive Ionian mannerism is also observable in a tendency to poetical or even metrical turns of expression.

Pherecydes, though a naturalised Athenian, composed in the Ionic dialect³, which still maintained its ground as that of historical narrative in every part of Greece. Ionic idioms accordingly are not wanting in some of the fragments. In others the forms of the Attic or common Greek dialect are alone observable. These may possibly have been introduced by transcribers or quoters during the passage of the text to posterity. It was also natural that Pherecydes, writing in Athens at a time when Attic prose was beginning to enjoy the benefit of literary culture, should modify his native Ionic by Attic dialectical usage.

Upon the whole the remains of this author justify

¹ Were *frg.* 94. to be understood in its literal sense, it would supply a remarkable, and somewhat absurd exception to the above rule. Anius king of Delos is there said to have persuaded the Greeks, on their way to attack Troy, to remain nine years in his port; on the assurance, afterwards made good by the event, that they would succeed in sacking the city in the tenth year. The passage has usually, but not perhaps legitimately, been interpreted as implying that Anius had merely attempted to persuade them.

² *Frgg.* 29. 33h. 44. 48. 60. 76. 85.

³ *Frgg.* 44. 60. 85.: *conf.* Chærob. in *Bekk. Anecd. Gr.* p. 1196.

the popularity which he enjoyed with his countrymen as a standard in his own branch of literature, which there is the more cause to regret should have been one of so little profitable a nature. His work appears to have survived to the lowest period of classical antiquity, being habitually quoted during the Byzantine age; nor, in the numerous citations of it by authors of every period, is there any expression of doubt as to its genuine character.

ANTIOCHUS OF SYRACUSE.

12. Although this author does not appear to have enjoyed any great popularity with his native public, his remains and the few notices concerning him¹ entitle him, if judged rather by the practical value of his labours than by his skill in the art of expounding mythical genealogies, to rank among the most sensible and judicious writers of his age and class. He has accordingly, by several of the later more diligent investigators of national history and geography, Strabo for example, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, been cited with greater respect than some of his more celebrated contemporaries, as a standard authority on the subjects to which his researches appear to have been confined.

Antiochus
of Syra-
cuse.

Of his personal history nothing more has been recorded than that he was a native of Syracuse, and that his father's name was Xenophanes.² He is described by the more trustworthy authorities as flourishing during the Peloponnesian war; and certainly survived the year 424 B. C. ; his Sicilian history

¹ Ap. Didot, vol. i. p. xlv. 181.

² Pausanias, Dionys. Hal. alii, in fragg. 1. sqq.

having closed with that year, the eighth of the war, and the first of the reign of Darius Nothus.¹ As no event of this date can be considered of sufficient importance to have furnished an appropriate conclusion to his subject, it might seem a reasonable inference that his labours, after reaching that stage, had been interrupted by death or some other accidental impediment. No allusion, however, occurs to the Sicilian history as having being left in an unfinished state.

The researches of Antiochus were limited to the affairs of his native island, and of the Italo-Greek republics. Two works alone are ascribed to him : the Sicilian history already mentioned, and one entitled Colonisation of Italy. The former is stated to have comprised nine books. There is no notice of any similar arrangement of his work on Italy ; but the greater part of the seventeen extant citations are from its text ; while but three or four references to the Sicilian history have been preserved. This disparity may be owing to the circumstance, that while the history of Sicily was amply treated during the classical period by authors of greater celebrity and popularity than Antiochus, comparatively few writers of note, during the same period, had devoted themselves with similar zeal to the affairs of Italy. The later compilers therefore, were naturally led to give a preference to the standard Sicilian historians Philistus and Timæus, as their chief authorities on the one branch of subject ; while recognising the claims of Antiochus to prior attention in respect to the other.

¹ Diod. xii. 71. : conf. Clint. F. H. vol. ii. p. 315.

The scanty remains of the Sicilian history afford but little insight into either its plan or details. One fragment describes the ejection of the Siculi, an aboriginal Italian race, from their native continental seats, by the rival tribes of Ænotri and Opici, and their migration across the Rhegian strait to the island since called after them, then possessed by the Sicanians.¹ Another treats of the Cnidian colonies in the Æolian or Lipari islets.² The more numerous fragments of the *Italica*, while supplying a copious body of information relative to the cities and states of Italy, also show that its subject was limited chiefly to the Hellenic colonies in the southern portion of that peninsula, from whom it derived in after ages its familiar name of Magna Græcia. Rome, however, was mentioned; for the first time probably, by a Greek author. This interesting passage is quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus³, as an attestation by so "antient and respectable a historian," to the fact, that in the primitive Italian tradition Rome was not represented as having been founded by Æneas, but as having existed prior to the epoch of his landing on the coast of Latium. Of this primeval Rome, Siculus, the eponyme patriarch of Sicily, was in the same tradition described as a citizen. The citations from the *Italica*, regarding the more strictly historical epochs of Italiote history, indicate both diligent research and critical judgement; and the author's geographical descriptions are quoted with the same deference and respect by Strabo⁴, as his historical notices by Dionysius and other competent judges. The few existing lines of

His notice
of Rome.

¹ Frg. 1.: conf. Diod. loc. cit.

² Frg. 2.

³ Frg. 7.: conf. Syncell. p. 193. D.

⁴ Frg. 8—14.

literal extract¹ from the text of Antiochus afford no satisfactory data for judging of his style. Traces of Ionic idiom are however perceptible.

The authors who form the subject of the two following notices, Stesimbrotus of Thasos and Ion of Chios, could hardly perhaps, in any general estimate of their literary character, be properly classed as historians. The reputation of Stesimbrotus rests chiefly on his qualifications as a rhapsodist and Homeric commentator; while Ion is celebrated less as a prose writer than as a tragic poet, in which latter capacity he ranks second only to the three great masters of the Attic drama. Yet both were historical writers, and although their popularity with the antient public may have been mainly dependent on other branches of literature, they possess, in their historical character, equal, perhaps superior claims on the attention of the modern critic. Stesimbrotus, a professional Homerid, seems to have done little to raise the critical art from the state of infancy in which he found it²; while Ion, in spite of his popularity with his less fastidious contemporaries, is described, on high authority, as having done more to deteriorate than maintain the national taste in dramatic composition.³ Both writers, on the other hand, can boast of having carried, simultaneously it would appear, the art of historical composition an important step in advance; as the first recorded cultivators of those useful and agreeable branches of that art, which may be comprised under the head of Popular biography and Historical memoirs. While on these grounds they possess an

¹ Fragg. 3. 7.

² See frg. 18., ap. Didot, vol. II. p. 58.

³ Longin. 33.

immediate claim on attention, the present notice will comprise, along with the few particulars of their lives which have been preserved, the consideration of their historical writings alone. Any remarks on their labours in other departments of composition, will be reserved for the portion of our own work specially devoted to those departments.

STESIMBROTUS

13. was a native of Thasos, an island colonised above two centuries before his own birth from Paros, under the auspices of the poet Archilochus. As Paros was originally an Ionian settlement, and as there is no reason to doubt that her Thasian daughter had retained the dialect of the parent state during the interval between Archilochus and Stesimbrotus, the latter may also rank as an Ionian author. He appears to have early settled at Athens, where he is described as having opened a school and taught for hire.¹ We are not informed what other branches of knowledge his instructions comprehended besides his own peculiar department of Homeric interpretation; and as the only one of his reputed scholars who attained eminence, Antimachus of Colophon², was an epic poet and editor of Homer, Stesimbrotus himself may be best characterised as a professor of literary criticism. He is also the first recorded public teacher of that science; although there can be little doubt that it had been previously taught by his fellow "rhapsodists." The notice that Stesimbrotus was the instructor of Antimachus who was contemporaneous with Plato, and the biographer of

Stesimbrotus of Thasos.

¹ Xenoph. Symp. III.

² Suid. v. Ἀντίμ.

Pericles who died in 429 B.C., marks out the latter half of the fifth century as his own flourishing period. It may be assumed, from the terms in which he is cited as an authority on Homeric questions¹, that his critical labours had been committed to writing. But neither title nor description of any work by him on such subjects has survived. A tract by him On the mysteries, is occasionally quoted by extant classics.²

His memoirs of Attic statesmen.

The work to which attention is here more immediately called, is that entitled *Memoirs of Themistocles, Thucydides (son of Melesias), and Pericles*.³ No notice has been preserved of the precise plan of this miscellany: whether it treated of each statesman under a separate head; or of the three conjointly, as contemporaneous, and all engaged as party leaders in the arena of Athenian politics. The earliest author who quotes it is Plutarch; a circumstance adduced by modern commentators as an argument that it was little esteemed in the flourishing age of Greek literature. This argument however is fallacious. It was not, as will be further shown hereafter, the custom with historians of the classical period to quote prior authorities by name; and the partial exceptions to the rule tend but to confirm it. Herodotus, throughout his nine books, mentions Hecataeus alone among the prose writers who had previously treated in whole or in part his own wide range of subjects; and him he mentions, not in the way of citing a previous testimony, but of satirising or confuting a rival historian. Thucydides mentions Helanicus alone; and in a like incidental manner. Nor

¹ Frg. 18.

² Frg 13. sq.

³ Athen. XIII. p. 589.

probably were the authors of such familiar memoirs and anecdotes admitted, by the earlier professional historians, to the same rank of valid historical testimony as the more regular members of their own body. In support of this view it may be added that Ion, another favourite author of Plutarch in the same branch of literature as Stesimbrotus, is as little cited as Stesimbrotus by any historian prior to Plutarch. So that any argument derivable from the silence of Plutarch would be equally valid against Ion as against Stesimbrotus; but it may safely be pronounced to be of as little real value in the one as in the other case.

Stesimbrotus appears to have been a severe judge of those whose characters form the subject of his memoirs; and Plutarch accuses him of being too ready to promulgate calumnious imputations against them.¹ But this remark is made with special reference to Pericles, of whom Plutarch is, there can be little doubt, an over-indulgent biographer. Nor does there appear any real ground for the charge of undue favour to the opponents of Pericles, which has been brought against Stesimbrotus by modern commentators. Judging from the existing citations of his work, he dealt both his approbation and his censure with unsparing impartiality.

We possess eleven authenticated appeals to his work, ten of which are by Plutarch, in his lives of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles. It is remarkable that five of these passages specially refer to the conduct or character of Cimon, whose name does not appear in the title of the work; while in not one of the whole number is mention made of Thucydides, who figures in that title with Themistocles and Pericles,

¹ Frg. 9.

as the third member of the triumvirate. This naturally leads to the suspicion that the title itself, in the passage of Athenæus where alone it is mentioned, may have been carelessly quoted by that author, or may have been corrupted by his transcribers, and that it either originally contained all four names, or that the name of Thucydides has been substituted for that of Cimon. Of Pericles the extant citations contain seven notices; of Themistocles but two. The account of the latter statesman's flight to the court of the Molossian king¹ Admetus, corresponds generally with that given by (the historian) Thucydides. It contains however this addition: that Themistocles, before finally settling in Persia, sought an asylum with Hieron king of Syracuse, whose daughter he asked in marriage, and to whom he proposed a scheme for the conquest of Greece; both which overtures were rejected by the Sicilian prince. Plutarch with apparent reason makes light of this supplementary anecdote, as being both unauthenticated and improbable. In the same passage Cimon is stated to have persecuted, and finally caused to be put to death, Epicrates, the friend by whose good offices the wife and family of Themistocles had been enabled to escape from Athens and join him at the court of Admetus. This was an act far from creditable to the rival party leader; and the prominence given to it by Stesimbrotus, the only author cited by Plutarch as having mentioned it, suffices in itself to vindicate him from all suspicion of favouritism towards Cimon.

His character of Cimon,

Stesimbrotus describes Cimon as devoid of that polite culture on which the Athenian citizen of rank usually prided himself, and especially as ignorant of

¹ Fig. 2.

the art of music; in which other contemporary authors represent him as not unskilled.¹ He commends him at the same time for his freedom from the foppery and conceit with which the elegant accomplishments of his fellow-countrymen were apt to be accompanied, and for a dignified plainness of manner and speech. But he further describes him as carrying this latter peculiarity the length of an enthusiastic, and in an Athenian unseemly emulation of the other extreme of rudeness exhibited in the Spartan manners. Of this failing several illustrations are quoted from Stesimbrotus by Plutarch.²

The character of Pericles, as sketched out in the same fragmentary manner, presents a similar mixture of good and evil. The imputed licentiousness of his moral habits, especially in his intercourse with women, which, as Plutarch informs us, supplied the comic dramatists with materials for scurrilous attack, was also noted by Stesimbrotus.³ Plutarch denounces these charges as false and malignant; but Athenæus⁴ seems to admit them as valid, partly on the authority of Stesimbrotus. Nor is it likely that they were altogether groundless. The comic writers seldom raised their calumnies on a purely imaginary basis. But on the other hand Stesimbrotus narrates, in a very effective manner, an act of Pericles highly creditable both to his generosity and humanity.⁵ When Cimon was arraigned of treason after his Thasian campaign, in 463, it devolved on Pericles, as head of the opposite party, to appear as chief prosecutor. Shortly before the trial Elpinice, sister

and of Pericles.

¹ Frg. 3.

² Frgg. 9. sqq.

³ Frg. 4.

⁴ Frgg. 3, 4, 5, 6.

⁵ XIII. p. 589.

of Cimon, a female not then in the bloom of youth, obtained an interview with Pericles, and besought him to deal mercifully with her brother. Pericles replied jocosely: that she was too old a woman to act the part of suppliant with due effect.¹ But on the day of the trial he abstained from all active proceedings in the court; simply rising in his place, according to form, as principal accuser; and Cimon was acquitted. Stesimbrotus also noticed in terms of eulogy, the funeral oration pronounced by Pericles on the Athenians who fell in the Samian war of 440 B.C.; illustrating his remarks by an eloquent passage.²

In other places Plutarch cites this author's testimony relative to events described in the ordinary course of his own narrative; more frequently in the way of confutation than of approbation; but in several instances his grounds of objection are so inadequate³, as to warrant the belief that he was hardly a fair judge of the Thasian biographer's merits. The frequency of his appeals to the work, on the other hand, with his sedulous anxiety to controvert or rectify its statements, proves that he considered its author no contemptible adversary. From the passages above examined it may be collected, that the method of historical illustration followed by Stesimbrotus was much of the same kind as that prevalent to this day among writers of Memoirs; and which may be considered as in some degree inherent in the genius of that order of composition.

¹ Athenæus (xiii. p. 589.) gives a different, and very scandalous account of this interview: *μισθὸν ἔλαβε . . . τὸ τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ μιχθῆναι*

² Frg. 8.

³ Frg. 1.: conf. C. Müll. ad loc.

Without perhaps any deliberate intention to falsify or misrepresent, he was anxious to impart spirit to his narrative by novel facts and striking anecdotes ; and not over rigid in testing the truth of those with which public rumour or private gossip supplied him.

As no literal extracts of any length from the text of this or of any other work of Stesimbrotus have been preserved, we have no sufficient means of judging either of his style, or of the form of dialect in which he composed.

ION OF CHIOS.

14. Ion, distinguished in a greater or less degree as poet, historian, and philosopher¹, was a native of Chios, and son of a certain Orthomenes familiarly nicknamed Xuthus², after the father of the mythical patriarch Ion. He is the first Greek writer authentically recorded to have cultivated both poetry and prose. In early youth he was brought to Athens, and introduced to the leading circles of that polite metropolis. Adopting its literary tastes, he attained distinction as a dramatic poet, and appears to have been a habitual visitor in the city during the subsequent course of his life ; without however abandoning his Ionian nationality, or his more permanent domicile in his native island. He describes himself³, when a youth of tender years, on his first visit it may be presumed to Athens, as having supped at the house of a citizen named Laomedon. Among

Ion of
Chios

¹ Didot, *Fragg. Hist. Gr.* vol. II. p. 44. sqq. : conf. Bentley, *Epist. ad Mill.* ed. Lips. p. 494. sqq.

² Suid. et Harpocr. v. Ἴων ; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Pac.* 835.

³ *Erg.* 4.

the guests present was the celebrated Cimon, who entertained the company with an account of the stratagem by which, at Byzantium, about the year 470 B.C.¹, he secured for the Athenians a better share in the spoil captured in the previous campaign, than fell to the lot of their confederates. Assuming the banquet to have taken place four or five years after the stratagem, about the year 465 B.C., and Ion to have been at the time seventeen or eighteen years of age, his birth would fall between 485 and 480. His intimacy with Æschylus, of which notice has been preserved, must also have been formed at an early period of life ; as that poet died in 456. Ion is described as having been present with Æschylus at the Isthmian games during the combat of pugilists ; on which occasion a severe wound received by one of the combatants, led the dramatist to address to his youthful companion a moral reflexion which Plutarch, who quotes it, seems to estimate more highly than it deserves.²

Ion's first appearance on the Attic stage was in Ol. 82, about 450 B.C.³ In 440 he was resident at Chios, where he was a fellow-guest with Sophocles, then commanding an Athenian squadron on the coast of Asia, at the house of Hermesilas, a private friend of Sophocles, and who filled the office of Proxenus or Public patron of the Athenian people in Chios. In 429 he may be presumed to have again visited Athens, having in that year competed with Euripides for the tragic prize. His death took place before

· S^r Müller, ap. Didot, loc. cit. But see Grote on the uncertain chronology of these events. (Hist. of Gr. vol. v. p. 394. sqq.) Mr. Grote does not notice this division of spoil at Byzantium.

² De Prof. in Virt. (frg. 4.).

³ Schol. Aristoph. Pax, 835.; Suid. v. Ἴων.

419, if weight can attach to the literal import of a passage of the *Peace* of Aristophanes produced in that year. Not long before that date, Ion had published an ode beginning with the words "Morning star." In the drama of Aristophanes¹ the slave of Trygæus asks his master, whether it is true, as some said, "that men after their death became stars;" and on being answered in the affirmative, he further inquires "what new star had lately been observed." To which Trygæus replies: "Ion of Chios; the same who composed the Morning star upon earth, was himself hailed by the title of Morning star," on passing to the upper world. It may however be a question whether these verses necessarily refer to the physical death of the poet; or may not rather, in the spirit of Athenian comic humour, allude to his poetical death; to his having withdrawn perhaps from the Attic world of letters after his publication of the "Morning star;" either from mortification at the cold reception of that poem, or from some other cause of a similar nature.²

In his poetical capacity Ion is described as a very prolific genius, having composed Tragedies, Comedies, Dithyrambs, Epigrams, Pæans, Hymns, Scolia, Encomia, Elegies.³ As a philosopher, his principal or only work was entitled *Triagmoi* or *Triads*.⁴ It was in prose, and a commentary, as its name denotes, on the mystical number Three;

¹ Pax, 835.

² A like ambiguous expression seems to be used by Aristophanes (*Ran.* 85.) with regard to the poetical death of Agathon. See Patin, *Tragiques Grecs*, tom. i. p. 94.

³ Schol. Aristoph. sup. cit.; Suid. and Harpocrat. v. Ἴων.

⁴ Harpocrat. v. Ἴων. Possibly the same work called *Cosmologicus* by the Schol. Aristoph. (conf. Müll. ad frg. 12.), and *Περὶ Μετεώρων* by Suidas. Callinachus assigned it to a different author. Harpocr. loc. cit.

His prose
works.

a favourite subject of speculation in those days with philosophers of higher celebrity than Ion. To his poetical compositions their due share of notice will be allotted in the proper place. His historical works, to which alone our attention is now called, are cited under the five following titles: Hypomnemata, or Memoirs; Epidemiæ, or Foreign visits; Synecdemeticus, or the Fellow-traveller; Logos Presbeuticus, or Diplomatic memoirs; and Chii-ctisis, or the Foundation of Chios.¹ The first of the five was probably a common title, comprising the subjects numbered under the three next. Of the Foreign visits it has been doubted whether they are to be understood of visits paid by Ion himself to foreign cities, or of visits paid by distinguished foreigners to Chios. The latter view is the more probable; as the next title in the list, that of Fellow-traveller, seems more appropriately to characterise the foreign visits of the author.² The precise nature of the work, the title of which has here been rendered Diplomatic memoirs, is doubtful. The phrase in the original denotes Narrative of an embassy or embassies; but of what embassy or embassies we have no means of judging. The genuine character of the book was also questioned by antient critics.³ The Foundation of Chios seems to have been a work of the purely logographic or mythological order.

¹ Schol. Aristoph.; Suid.; Harpocr. loc. sup. cit. Athenæus and J. Poll. ap. Did. frgg. 1. 10.

² Conf. Bentl. ad Mill., ed. Lips. p. 507.

³ Schol. Aristoph. loc. cit. The passage of Sext. Empiricus, supposed by C. Müller (frg. 11.) to be derived from this work, is a garbled version of a familiar anecdote in Herodotus (III. 46.); a fact of which it seems surprising that neither Müller, nor the other commentators whom he quotes, should have been aware. The word *μίσων* in the fragment is probably a corruption of *Μησίων*; possibly of *Σαπίων*.

Of the passages cited from the properly historical or biographical works of Ion, there are but seven which can be considered as containing strictly historical matter. The notices contained in five of these seven relate to the affairs of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles; especially of the two last-mentioned statesmen; the same, it will be observed, celebrated by Stesimbrotus. The passages concerning them have here also been chiefly transmitted by Plutarch. The remaining two citations relate to Sophocles and Socrates. Ion, like Stesimbrotus, is a censorious judge of Pericles. He is accordingly, like his fellow-biographer, reprimanded for his boldness by the evidently partial Bœotian writer, who is yet obliged to admit that the failings stigmatised by Ion had not escaped the notice of other contemporaneous authorities. Ion dwells¹ on the illustrious demagogue's haughty demeanour, on his proud consciousness of his own great qualities, combined with supercilious contempt for the merits of others; and on his tendency to indulge in vain-glorious vaunts of his mighty deeds. He is described, after his reduction of Samos, and renewed exaction of allegiance from the states of Asia minor, as contrasting his exploits with those of Agamemnon of old², "who had taken ten whole years to conquer a single barbarian city, while he, in the short space of nine months, had brought to submission the most powerful of Ionian states." A personal motive for this censorious treatment of Pericles, has been sought by some writers, in a rivalry between him and his satirist for the favour of a Corinthian courtesan.³ Of Cimon on the

His character of Pericles,

¹ Frg. 5.

² Frg. 8.

³ Athens. p. 436. r.

and of
Cimon.

other hand Ion shows himself a great admirer¹, and is in so far consequently more open than Stesimbrotus to the charge of partiality in his estimate of rival Athenian statesmen. He even gives Cimon credit for agreeable qualities the possession of which was denied him by Stesimbrotus; he praises the manly grace of his person, and contrasts the unpretending simplicity and affability of his manners with the supercilious pomp of Pericles.

His style.

15. The passage relative to Socrates is of little value, but that concerning Sophocles² is one of the most interesting, as it is the longest, of the fragmentary remains of Greek historical literature prior to Herodotus. It describes a characteristic scene at a banquet given to the Athenian poet by a friend and fellow-citizen of Ion. The following version of part of a dialogue between Sophocles and another literary guest on the occasion, will convey a fair general impression of the work from which it is derived:

“Observing the youth who acted as our cupbearer standing by the fire, its red beams reflected on his face, ‘Art thou willing,’ said Sophocles, ‘so to serve me that I may drink pleasantly?’ and on the lad expressing obedience: ‘Then,’ said the poet, ‘carry the cup gently to my lips, and again as gently remove it.’ As the youth at this blushed still more deeply, ‘How finely,’ said Sophocles, ‘has it been said by the poet Phrynichus:

The light of love beams on his purple cheeks.’

Upon which the schoolmaster of Erythræ remarked: ‘Skilled as thou art, Sophocles, in poetical composition, yet Phrynichus is wrong in applying the epithet purple to the cheek of a handsome youth. For were a painter to overspread the cheeks of our cupbearer with a coat of purple, he would no longer appear handsome. One

¹ Fragg. 4. sqq.

² Fragg. 1.

cannot with propriety liken a beautiful object to one which is not beautiful.' To this the poet replied with a laugh : ' If so, my fellow-guest, then must that passage of Simonides so greatly admired by the rest of the Greeks be displeasing to thee alone :

The maiden's voice flowed from her purple lips.

and no less so Homer's description of Apollo as " golden-haired." For were a painter to tinge the hair of the god with gold, instead of a darker colour, he would produce but a sorry work of art. Equally improper must be the Poet's epithet of " rosy-fingered." For a hand, the fingers of which were to be dipped in a dye of rosecolour, would be more like that of a journeyman dyer than of a fair woman.' This rebuke, while it silenced the schoolmaster, greatly amused the rest of the company."¹

The foregoing extract, with the whole context to which it belongs, possesses strong claims on the modern reader's interest. While a characteristic specimen, both of Ion's style and of the genius at large of this branch of composition in his time, it presents a graphic sketch of the habits and humours of the politer circles of Greek convivial society in the Periclean age. The criticism is lively and ingenious, the repartee spirited, without bitterness or personality. Both sentiment and phraseology are elegant, while free from affectation or studied figures of speech. The structure is natural and perspicuous, equally removed from the sententious meagreness of the old Ionian manner, and the complicated rotundity of the Siculo-Attic style. Judging therefore from the above specimen, it may be presumed that this branch of literature had hitherto remained exempt from the subtleties or meretricious graces of the Gorgian school. It was scarcely indeed to be expected that such familiar narratives, consisting in great part of anecdote and convivial

¹ See Appendix F.

conversation, should readily adopt the artificial forms of expression now popular in oratory and didactic composition.

The passage above quoted contains not a few traces of Ionic dialect.¹ They are however but traces; the general tone of the diction being Attic. The broader features of Ionism may here as in other similar cases have been effaced in the transmission of the text to posterity; or possibly Ion may have tempered his native idiom by the infusion of a certain amount of that Attic precision, which was certainly better adapted to this style of composition than the sonorous rotundity of the pure Ionic dialect.

Of the remaining citations from the historical memoirs of Ion, several², referring to matters of gastronomic or convivial interest, throw further light on the social character of the age and of the author, who is celebrated by his antient commentators as a devotee both of Venus and Bacchus.³ His other prose work, entitled *Foundation of Chios*, seems to have been modelled much on the old logographic plan of research; and to have been marked by no features of interest beyond its fellows. The fragments⁴ refer solely or chiefly to the mythical affairs of the island; to its discovery as yet in a desert state by Neptune; to the amour of that god with its indigenous nymph; to the fall of snow (*chion*) which took place at the birth of their son, hence called *Chion*, and the island after him *Chios*. From his descendants, or from one or two equally mythi-

¹ Conf. Benti. ad Mill. ed. Lips. p. 507. Ed. Dyce. ii. p. 326.

² Fragg. 2, 3.

³ Baton Sinop. ap. Athen. x. p. 436. n.; Ælian. Var. Hist. ii. 41. 4.

⁴ 13, 14, 15.

cal Cretan settlers, other names connected with the island seem to be derived by a like course of etymology. An allusion in one of the fragments to the hero Palamedes, would indicate that the destinies of Chios were brought into some kind of connexion with the Trojan war. That the realities of her Foundation, or in other words of her Greek colonisation, formed but a subordinate part, if any, of the author's plan, seems to be implied by the statement of Pausanias¹, that although Ion had alluded to the connexion of Chios with the Ionian league, he had omitted all mention of the causes which led to that connexion.

Of the family affairs of Ion no distinct notice has been preserved. It is probable however that he may have been father of the "Tydeus son of Ion," mentioned by Thucydides² as a leader of the Athenian party in Chios during the Peloponnesian war, and as having been put to death by the Spartan navarch Pedaritus.

HERODORUS OF HERACLEA.

16. Heraclea, the native place of this author, was a city of Bithynia on the south coast of the Euxine sea. He is hence variously designated Herodorus Heracleotes and Herodorus Ponticus. Heraclea was founded by a mixed body of Bœotian and Megarian colonists, under Milesian auspices³, at an uncertain period; but like many similar settlements claimed

Herodorus
of Hera-
clea.

¹ Frg. 13.

² viii. 38.

³ Frg. 57.; Ephor. ap. Schol. Apoll. Rh. ii. 845. (frg. Eph. 83. Did.); Pausan. v. xxvi. 6., conf. Strab. xii. p. 542.

a mythical as well as a historical origin¹; the former being connected by native annalists, as was natural, with the adventures of the hero from whom the place derived its name. Of the personal history of Herodorus nothing further is recorded than that he was father of a disciple or younger contemporary of Socrates named Bryson, who himself afterwards enjoyed some celebrity as a philosopher and man of letters.² This notice regarding the son establishes with sufficient general accuracy the age of the father, as contemporaneous with Socrates during the latter part of the fifth century B. C.

The historical researches of Herodorus were confined to the mythical age; and the chief peculiarity of his literary character is the marked manner in which his antiquarian sympathies are concentrated around his native town of Heraclea; a place enjoying but a slender share of real celebrity, and which it required some effort of ingenuity to glorify by the reflected splendour of other more renowned scenes of action. His principal works were a *Life or History of Hercules*, and an *Argonautica*, or history of the Argonautic enterprise. The district around Heraclea was the scene of one of the twelve leading exploits of the Theban hero; and the principal theatre of the Argonautic adventure was the same line of coast, Heraclea itself having been signalised by sundry subordinate incidents of the expedition. Herodorus has accordingly been at pains in each case to give prominence to those details which conferred honour on his native place.

¹ Mela, i. 19.

² Aristot. et Theopomp. ap. C. Müller, in Didot, *Fragg.* vol. II. p. 27.

The work on Hercules appears to have treated its comprehensive subject, the genealogy, birth, and adventures, of its hero, in ample detail, and to have been of considerable bulk. In one of the citations mention occurs of the seventeenth book¹; from which it were reasonable to infer that the whole work may have contained not less than the round number of twenty. The notices of the *Argonautica* make no mention of any division of its contents into books. This might seem to imply that it was a less voluminous composition than the *Life of Hercules*; but the ascertained citations of its text are nearly equal in number to those of the sister work, and their tenor also indicates that it treated its subject in similar detail.

The portion of the *Life of Hercules* which connected itself most closely with Heraclea was what is classed as his ninth labour, his expedition against the Amazon queen Hippolyta. Upon this occasion the hero, in his passage through Bithynia, conferred on Lycus, a king of that region by whom he had been hospitably entertained, a large additional territory wrested from another neighbouring hostile potentate. This territory the new proprietor, in grateful remembrance of the donor, named Heraclea.² The city itself was not founded until a later period; when the site selected, in terms of a divine injunction, was that marked by the grave of Idmon, the prophet of the *Argonauts*³, who died during their visit to that coast, and was buried on its soil. The city was built around his tomb, which was shown in later times in the agora. Although the affairs of the Argo-

¹ Frg. 31.² Frg. 15. conf. 49.³ Frg. 57.

nauts were thus connected by Herodorus with those of his favourite hero Hercules, the same hero was excluded by him¹ from the share in the Argonautic adventure usually allotted to him in the popular legend; obviously because it was not consistent with his dignity that he should act a secondary part in any great achievement; and his participation in the Colchian enterprise would necessarily have placed him in a secondary position as compared with Jason. Herodorus also denied to Theseus, not only the office of coadjutor to Hercules in his Amazonian expedition, an honour assigned to the Attic hero in the popular Attic fable; but appears to have disputed his title to the celebrity which he there enjoyed, as a performer of mighty deeds in his independent capacity.² Among other instances of preference given by Herodorus to his native region as the scene of Herculean enterprise, he described³ the infernal dog Cerberus as having been dragged from Hades to the upper world, at a place called Acherusium in the neighbourhood of Heraclea; the same adventure being placed in the popular accounts at Cape Tænaron in Laconia.

His Argonautica.

In his narrative of the Argonautic expedition, Herodorus gave, as we have seen, a prominent place to the death of Idmon the soothsayer at Heraclea.⁴ He also further consulted the honour of his native city, by describing the Argo on her voyage homeward as following the same course, by Heraclea consequently, which she had taken when outward bound, and as having retouched at that port; on which occasion,

¹ Frgg. 27. 38.

² Frg. 25.

³ Frgg. 16, 17. 34.

⁴ Frgg. 56. sqq.

and not on her first visit as in other accounts, both Idmon the seer and Tiphys the pilot passed to the other world.¹ In the appointment of Erginus, a primitive Milesian hero, as successor to the vacant office of Tiphys, Herodorus seems to have paid an episodic compliment² to Miletus, the foundress or patroness of so many Greek colonial settlements on the Euxine coast.

Apart from these and other details reflecting the literary patriotism of Herodorus, the treatment of neither of his subjects seems to have been distinguished by much novelty or ingenuity. That both works however enjoyed an extensive credit in their own department of mythical research, is evinced by the numerous, in all upwards of seventy extant citations of their text. This may be owing, partly to his having given complete and copious narratives of these popular chapters of national mythology; partly to his being the first prose author of the classical period who had treated them in a separate or integral form.

His composition
and style.

The anxiety of Herodorus to enliven the illustrative element of his text displays itself chiefly in his subtle attempts at mythological interpretation, and in his speculations on physiological subjects. These speculations, while savouring of the sophisticated taste of his age, are marked at times by a fantastic eccentricity, which commended them to the notice of abler naturalists than Herodorus himself. Aristotle³, among others, quotes and comments on his theories with a gravity which shows that, if he did not acquiesce in them, he considered them worthy of respect. "The

¹ Fragg. 55—58.

² Fragg. 43. 59.

³ Fragg. 10. 12.

vulture," says that philosopher, "builds her nest on inaccessible rocks: hence it is that a vulture's nest or a young vulture is rarely seen. This led Herodorus, father of Bryson the sophist, to maintain that the vulture was an animal bred in some other to us invisible world; alleging as proof, that no one had ever seen a vulture's nest, and the suddenness with which they appear in the air, at times in great numbers." This and other peculiarities for which the same bird was said to be distinguished, were illustrated in other texts of Herodorus, and were described by him as the source of the purity and sanctity attributed to it by Hercules, above the rest of the feathered tribe, not even excepting the eagle.¹ His commentaries on the nature and habits of various other animals are noticed by the Stagirite philosopher.²

The excursions of Herodorus into the region of mythological interpretation, while less poetical, are not more remarkable for common sense than his flight to the visionary abode of the vultures. The fabled structure of the walls of Troy by Neptune and Apollo as hired architects of Laomedon, with the impiety of their employer in refusing their stipulated wages, was explained³ as a figurative mode of showing forth how the impious king had withheld from the two gods their just meed of sacrifice, and devoted the funds accruing from this outrage on their dignity to the better fortification of his city. The story of Hercules undertaking for a season the burthen imposed upon Atlas of bearing the heavens on his shoulders, signified a course of lessons in astronomy, for which the Theban adventurer was in-

¹ Frg. 10.² De Generat. Anim. iii. 5, 6.³ Frg. 18.

debted to the African giant.¹ Prometheus² was a Scythian king; the eagle that preyed on his vitals was a river called the Eagle, which laid waste his country with its inundations. Hercules delivered him from its ravages, by turning off the course of the stream. These specimens will suffice to show, that this recondite branch of archæological research had undergone little improvement since the time when Hecataeus, in a like spirit of pragmatistical subtlety, had, as mentioned in a former page, proposed similar interpretations of other exploits of the same hero.

These two principal compositions of Herodorus appear to have survived to a late period, being quoted freely by authors of every subsequent age of classical antiquity. Two other works are mentioned as having been composed by him; one under the title of *Œdipus*, the other under that of *Pelopias*. A single passage alone of each is cited.³

His *Œdipus* and *Pelopias*.

It was to be expected that Herodorus, though a native of an *Æolo-Dorian* colony, would write in the *Ionic* dialect, as that commonly employed by authors in his own branch of composition. Traces of *Ionism* accordingly are observable in the few lines of literal extract from his text that have been preserved,⁴ but

¹ Frg. 24. Atlas is here called a Phrygian (?). ² Frg. 23.: conf. 61.

³ Frgg. 5, 6. 62. The passage of the *Pelopias* (frg. 62.) alludes to the rescue of the infant *Orestes* from *Ægisthus*; that of the *Œdipus* (frgg. 5, 6.) defines the stature of *Hercules*. It has been conjectured (conf. Müller ad frg. 5. sq.) that these titles may denote separate books of the *Life of Hercules*; the one descriptive of portions of his personal or family history connected with *Peloponnesus*; the other of portions connected with *Bœotia*. It is not, however, easy to see how the adventures of *Orestes* could be treated with propriety, even episodically, in connexion with those of *Hercules*.

⁴ Frgg. 20. 60.

which supply no adequate criteria for estimating the general character of his style.

HELLANICUS OF MITYLENE.

Hellanicus
of Mity-
lene.
His age.

17. The most authentic notice of the age of this historian¹ is the general statement of Dionysius of Halicarnassus², indirectly confirmed by Thucydides³, that he flourished during the latter half of the fifth century B.C., and that he outlived the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, in 431 B.C. A fragment of one of his works also implies that he survived the termination of that war, in 404 B.C.⁴: allusion being there made to transactions subsequent to the battle of Arginusæ, fought in the previous year 406; and if he was still engaged in writing after the latter date, his life may probably have extended to the close of the century. No great weight attaches to the authority of Lucian⁵, who states him to have reached the age of eighty-five. Admitting however that notice to be correct, and that he died about the year 400 B.C., his birth would have taken place about 485 B.C., within a year of the date usually assigned to the birth of Herodotus; so that the two historians would, on this basis, have been strictly contemporaneous.⁶ That

¹ His remains, ap. Didot, vol. i.; and Sturz, *Fragg. Hellanici*, 1826.

² *De Thucyd. Jud.* 5.

³ i. 97. conf. c. Müll. ap. Did. p. xxiv. sq.

⁴ *Frsg.* 80. (Didot); to which may be added his notice, in *frg.* 78., of the orator Andocides, who could hardly have been a person of such notoriety as to call forth so marked an allusion, until towards the close of the century.

⁵ *De Macrob.* 22.

⁶ Too great importance has been attached by the modern biographers of both Hellanicus and Herodotus to the authority of Pamphila (ap. *Gell.* xv. 23.), who makes Hellanicus sixty-five, and Herodotus fifty-three

Herodotus, in the popular adjustment of epochs, for authentic adjustment we have none, should rank as the younger of the two, would be the natural result of the more advanced stage of their common art which his work represents. By Suidas¹ we are told that the name of the Lesbian historian's father was "said by some to be Aristomenes, by others Andromenes, by others Scammon;" a piece of information hardly worth the elaborate commentaries bestowed on it by modern critics.² He is said by the same Suidas to have had a son called Scammon; to have resided at the court of Macedon; and to have died at Perperene, a small town on the Æolian coast opposite his native isle of Lesbos.

Hellanicus is distinguished among the historians of the flourishing age of Greece by the number of works which he composed; or which at least authors of various epochs cite by more or less distinct titles as passing current under his name. The sum total of

Catalogue
of his
works.

years old at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, in 431 B.C. This notice seems to be virtually falsified in the case of Hellanicus by his own evidence. For, if he was sixty-five in 431 B.C., he would have been past ninety at the time when he wrote the passage above quoted. So prolonged a life of literary activity, though not impossible, is not certainly probable; nor, had he really, like Isocrates, lived and written beyond ninety, is it likely that Lucian, whose object was to magnify his longevity, would have restricted it to eighty-five years. Mr. Grote differs from all previous authorities, in making Hellanicus decidedly junior to Herodotus. This eccentric, but not in itself unreasonable opinion, he supports by no arguments; and it is not very easy to reconcile with the implicit reliance which elsewhere, in treating of the age of Herodotus, he appears to place on the authority of Pamphila. Hist. of Gr. vol. vi. p. 617: conf. iv. p. 305. note. Little weight can attach to the statement by the author of the "Life of Euripides" that the birth of Hellanicus took place on the same day on which the battle of Salamis was fought; implying that he was so named in honour of that great "Hellenic" achievement.

¹ v. Ἑλλάνικος.

² C. Müller, ap. Didot, p. xxiv.

these titles amounts to about thirty; which number however requires to be greatly reduced, in order to furnish any accurate estimate of his literary labours. Some of the works enumerated were certainly spurious; or perhaps never existed but in the imagination of trifling grammarians. In several instances different titles are used to denote the same book. Others seem to have originated in the practice of quoting under separate denominations the principal subdivisions of works of great compass or variety of subject.¹ But even with due allowance for such reductions, there would remain some ten or twelve integral compositions of greater or less bulk. The entire list is subjoined. The principal works have there been ranked in the chronological order of their subjects, in so far as it admits of being distinguished. The details of the scheme of arrangement will be explained in the sequel.

DEUCALIONIA. Thessalica.

PHORONIS (Argolica, Bæotica).

ATLANTIS.

ARCADICA.

ATTHIS. *Historia Attica: Historiæ (Asopis).*

TROYCA.

SACERDOTES JUNONIS ARGIVÆ.

ÆOLICA (Lesbica).

PERSICA.

CARNEONICÆ.

¹ The title *Cranaïca*, in the Schol. of Aristoph. (frg. 85.), is evidently a corruption of *Carneonicæ*. That of *Tà περὶ Λυδίας* (frgg. 124. sq.), referring simply to certain remarks on, or notices of, Lydia, by Hellanicus, has no claim to a place in the list, either as a separate work, or a separate book or chapter of a work.

Ægyptiaca.

Iter ad templum Ammonis.

De Gentibus. De Gentium nominibus.

Instituta Barbarica.

Foundations (Foundation of Chios).

Cypriaca.

Scythica.

Phœnicica.

Jovis Polytychia.

Hellanicus was certainly, upon the whole, the most accomplished of the historical writers who flourished prior to Herodotus; forming the last link in the chain which connects the latter with Acusilaus or Cadmus of Miletus. His historical method betrays, it is true, the essential characteristics of the old logographic school; but those characteristics are developed under greater variety of forms, and in a more extended range of literary enterprise. A large portion of his genealogical labours is bestowed on as visionary pedigrees as those which figure in the four books of Acusilaus. A similar share of his geographical research is occupied with etymological trivialities rivaling any propounded by Hecatæus. But his notices even of mythical events, such as the early migrations of the Pelasgic races in Hellas and the neighbouring regions, are often fraught with a spirit of enlarged, almost critical investigation, of which there is little trace in the page of his predecessors. His researches in the region of more authentic history, if not remarkable for depth or precision, appear to have been honest and impartial, and extend over a wider field than those of any author prior to Herodotus. Of occasional errors or oversights there are no doubt

traces in his remains. But the sweeping charges of credulity, falsehood, and ignorance, brought against him by Ephorus¹ and Strabo², are not borne out by any evidence adduced in their support. He has also, as we have already seen, the merit of having attempted, with partial success, to impart chronological order to his researches, a merit to which Herodotus has no pretension.

The prominent fault of this author appears to have been his want of method in the distribution of his materials; which instead of being embodied, like those of his otherwise inferior predecessors, Pherecydes and Hecataeus, into one or more comprehensive works, were subdivided among a number of desultory treatises. His few attempts at a more enlarged range of historical combination appear to have resulted but in meagre summaries, or chronological compendia of matters in great part treated by himself in other separate tracts. Of epic unity or condensation he seems to have had no clear conception. His numerous compositions accordingly, embracing, in one form or other, the whole or the greater part of the subjects treated by Herodotus in his single work, bear to that work much the same relation as the ballads of the ante-Homeric age bore to the Iliad and Odyssey. For this defect he is pointedly stigmatised by ancient critics.³

It is certain, as already remarked, that the number of titles in the list above given exceeds that of the works actually composed by Hellanicus. The cata-

¹ Frg. 91. Didot.; conf. Phot., ap. C. Müller, p. xxxiii.

² x. p. 451., xi. p. 508., xii. p. 550., xiii. p. 602.

³ Agathem. i. 1. Ἑλλάνικος γὰρ Λέσβιος, ἀνὴρ πολὺν ἱστορίαν, ἀπλάστως παρέδωκε τὴν ἱστορίαν: conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 6.

logue, in order to simplify our analysis of its contents, has been divided into two parts. The first contains the ascertained genuine works of the historian; the second those the existence or genuine character of which is questionable. In the first, the principal title of each work has been given in capital letters. The titles subjoined in ordinary type, where not in parenthesis, are the duplicate or subordinate titles of the same work. Those in parenthesis belong to its separate heads or chapters. Few of the titles in the second list have been attested on such valid authority or in so distinct a manner, as to warrant their being assumed to represent integral works either genuine or supposititious. It seems not improbable that at least the principal titles of genuine works may emanate from the author. The division into books is, there can be little doubt, the work of later grammarians.

DEUCALIONIA. Thessálica.

18. It seems doubtful whether with Hellanicus the tradition as to the repeopling of the earth by Deucalion after the flood, enjoyed the same priority over other parallel legends, awarded to it by Hesiod and in the popular mythology; or whether he may not rather have given a preference to the claims of Phoroneus, the patriarchal hero of southern Greece, who in the Argolic tradition also figures as father of the human species, and whose affairs supplied Hellanicus with materials for another of his principal works. It may also be a question whether Hellanicus considered the flood of Deucalion as universal; and not rather as limited to the regions of northern Greece; and as a

His Deucalionia.

calamity consequently, from the effects of which the Peloponnesian races remained exempt. In the absence however of more positive data on the subject, it has here been assumed that he acquiesced in the popular view, and precedence has accordingly been assigned to the Deucalionia in the chronological order of his researches.

The two principal fragments describe the birth of Deucalion, and his rescue with his wife Pyrrha from the deluge, in their ark. The remainder are chiefly of geographical import, describing doubtless the recolonisation of Thessaly and the surrounding region by the new race of men. These notices are limited to the countries north of the Corinthian isthmus; a limitation which seems to confirm the conjecture that, in the tradition of Hellanicus, the southern peninsula was peopled by a race distinct from that called into existence by Deucalion.

There can be little doubt that the whole Thessalian chapter of mythical genealogy was treated by Hellanicus, as by most other logographers, in conjunction with the history of Deucalion, as king of Thessaly, and patriarch of the northern race of Hellenes.¹ We have not hesitated therefore to class the title *Thessalica* as a duplicate of that of *Deucalionia*. The connexion between Deucalion and Thessaly seems indeed to have been peculiarly close in the system of Hellanicus, who describes the ark of this Hellenic Noah as resting after the flood on the Thessalian mount Othrys², not on Parnassus as in the more familiar legend. From the tenor of several of the fragments, it appears that Hellanicus, like

¹ Frg. 15.

² Frg. 16.

other popular fabulists, gave a prominent place in the book of Thessalian tradition to the Argonautic enterprise.

This work was divided, probably by the grammarians of later times, into books; a first and second of which are mentioned in the citations.

PHORONIS (Argolica, Bœotica).

As the antient hero Phoroneus, from whom the principal title of this work is derived, styled “father of mortal men” in the old epic genealogy¹, represents the primitive Pelasgic race of the Argolis before the arrival of Danaus and his followers, the probability at once suggests itself that the title Argolica, or Argive history, belonged to the same work. That such was the case is further evinced by the fact, that passages relating to Phoroneus are quoted by antient authors from the Argolica.² No less certain is it that the title Bœotica was but a third designation of the same book, little as may seem on first view the connexion between Bœotia and Argolis; for several detailed notices of strictly Bœotian adventures, those for example of the Theban patriarch Cadmus, are cited by some authorities from the Bœotica, by others from the Phoronis.³ Phoronis therefore may be considered as the title in chief; the others as marking the two principal subjects comprised in the work.

However little alive Hellanicus may have been to the value of epic unity in historical narrative, he would yet hardly have brought these two regions, in

¹ See Vol. II. p. 478.

² Frg. 37.

³ Frg. 2, 8.

his genealogical system, into a connexion altogether unauthorised by any bond of union in their own traditions. But such a bond is not difficult to recognise. As father of Pelasgus, Phoroneus also claimed to be father of the entire primitive population of Greece¹, of the Bœotian aborigines consequently, as well as those of Peloponnesus. He was however essentially a physical or cosmogonical, rather than a human hero. Son of the local river Inachus, and of the ocean nymph Archia, he neither performs any human exploit, nor forms any human alliance. The etymology both of his own name and of his mother's seems to stamp him as a pure abstraction, representing rather productive power than social existence. The father of the heroic dynasty of Argos was Danaus. But Danaus of Argos and Cadmus of Bœotia are in the legend cousins, scions of the Syro-Egyptian stock of Belidæ. The relation between the heroes seems to have suggested to Hellanicus a parallel union in his system, between the destinies of the regions in which they settled. This union was maintained in the legend of Hercules, whose lineage and birth connect him equally with Argos and Thebes. It was further extended in the common chapter supplied by the Theban wars of succession to the book both of Argolic and of Bœotian tradition; in the refuge afforded by Adrastus king of Argos to Polynices; in the marriage of the refugee prince to the daughter of that king; and in the series of fatal adventures which resulted from the alliance. Another bond of connexion might naturally occur to the Æolian Hellanicus in the circumstance, that while Bœotia was the recognised

¹ See Vol. II. sup. cit.

mother state of his native Æolian colonies, those settlements were founded under the leadership of Argive princes; of Orestes son of Agamemnon, according to Hellanicus himself¹; of Penthilus son of Orestes, in other versions of the legend.

The fragments of this work commemorate the vicissitudes of the primitive Pelasgian descendants of Phoroneus, and of the subsequent dynasty of Belidæ; the adventures of Cadmus and of Hercules; the crimes and misfortunes of Œdipus and his descendants. Hellanicus also appears to have traced in the Phoronis the destinies of the Pelasgian race in other distant regions. The important passage² recording the migration of Tyrrheno-Pelasgians, flying before Hellenic conquerors from Thessaly to Italy, their occupation of Spina on the Po and of Cortona in Etruria, and their subsequent conquest of central Italy, a passage so often cited and commented by leading Italian antiquaries from the days of Dionysius of Halicarnassus down to those of Niebuhr, was contained in the Phoronis. It confirms the view above stated, that in the system of Hellanicus the aboriginal seat of the Pelasgians was the Argolis, whence they migrated to northern Greece and Italy. A like inference may be drawn from another fragment³, where the Thessalian Larissa is described as founded by the Argive king Acrisius, and named after Larissa daughter of Pelasgus; as a colony consequently of the Argolic metropolis, the antient name of which, peculiar in later times to its citadel, was also Larissa.

The tradition followed by Hellanicus⁴ regarding the

¹ Frg. 114.

³ Frg. 29.

² Frg. 1.

⁴ Frg. 12.

origin of the Theban war, placed Polynices distinctly in the wrong. It represented him as having voluntarily relinquished to his brother his right to the half-share of the throne, in consideration of his receiving the best allotment of the family treasure; in breach of which engagement he renewed, and asserted by arms, his claim to a participation in the royal dignity. There is no trace in the fragments, of any portion of the Phoronis having been devoted to the events of real history. It was divided into books, two of which are noticed in the citations.¹

ATLANTIS.

Atlantis.

The subject indicated by this title might be made to comprehend a wide field of mythical genealogy, the patriarchs of many Hellenic tribes being fabled the offspring of one or other of the daughters of Atlas. These nymphs were transformed, part into the constellation of the Pleiads, part into that of the Hyads. One of the fragments² enumerates the six who composed the latter constellation. Of these Taygete is described as mother of Lacedæmon by Jupiter; Electra as mother of Dardanus and Iasion by the same god; Alcyone as bearing Hyrieus to Neptune; Celæno, as mother of Lycus also by Neptune; Sterope as bearing Cænomaus to Mars; and Merope as mother of Glaucus by Sisyphus. It is, however, not probable that the mythology of the

¹ The notice by Harpocration of a tenth book of this work (frg. 4.), may originate in a corruption of *δευτέρῳ* into *δεκάτῳ*. There is no hint elsewhere of any work of Hellanicus having been divided into ten books, or even into half that number.

² Frg. 56. 58.

districts represented by these personages was treated at any length in this work ; the Atlantid patriarchs being for the most part, like Phoroneus, of the figurative rather than the heroic order, and superseded by the dynasties of more active rulers and founders, who rank as foreign adventurers under the titles of Belidæ and Pelopidæ. The fragments of the work, with the exception of that above cited, throw little light on its subject. Allusion occurs in one to the Homeridæ of Chios. The text was divided into books, of which the first alone is named in the citations.

ARCADICA. This title, unnecessarily classed by some Arcadica. commentators as a variety of Atlantis, sufficiently bespeaks the subject of the work to which it belonged. Of the few extant citations, two refer to the combat of Hercules with the Stymphalian birds, which Hellanicus, like Pisander, described as having been frightened away by the hero with gongs or rattles, rather than slain by warlike weapons.¹

ATTHIS. *Historia Attica : Historiæ (Asopis).*

19. The most important, and probably the longest Atthis. work of Hellanicus, was his Atthis, called by Thucydides² Attic history, and honoured in other citations with the comprehensive title of Histories.³ It treated

¹ Frg. 61.

² i. 97.

³ That this title, *Ἱστορίαι*, on the only two occasions of its occurrence in the fragments (3. 96.), denotes a particular work, rather than, as might otherwise appear natural, the historical researches of the author in the wider sense, is plain from frg. 3., where it is opposed to the title Phoronis. In this more specific sense the work to which it was most properly applicable was the Atthis, as being the most strictly historical composition of Hellanicus.

the annals, both mythical and real, of Attica, in partial connexion with those of other Greek states, from the remotest age to the close of the Peloponnesian war. The narrative commenced¹ with the reign of Ogyges, dated by Hellanicus 1796 years B. C., and seems, like the tradition of Hecatæus, to have brought the migration to Greece of Cecrops and his fellow Egyptian colonists into connexion with Moses and the Jewish Exodus.² It described the origin of the Panathenaic festival³, and of the court of Areopagus, with the more celebrated causes in which its jurisdiction had been exercised⁴; the adventure of Theseus with the Minotaur⁵, his wars against the Amazons⁶, his rape of Helen; the rescue of the princess by the Dioscuri; the capture by them of Æthra mother of Theseus⁷, and the slavery of that heroine as handmaid of Helen, until restored to liberty by her grandsons in the sack of Troy.⁸ The lineage of Codrus, the last king of Athens, was traced back through Neleus to Deucalion⁹; that of Miltiades¹⁰ through Æacus to Jupiter; that of the orator Andocides¹¹ to Ulysses. The occupation of Peloponnesus by the Dorians was narrated, with the reduction of the Helots to slavery¹², and the migration of the sons of Codrus to Ionia.¹³ The first establishment of the Lacedæmonian constitu-

¹ Frg. 62.

² Frg. 156. wrongly numbered by Müller among the fragments of the *Ægyptiaca*.

³ Frg. 65.

⁴ Frgg. 69. 82.

⁵ Frg. 73.

⁶ Frgg. 76. 84.

⁷ Frg. 74.

⁸ Frg. 75.

⁹ Frg. 10. very strangely numbered by Müller among the remains of the *Bœotica*.

¹⁰ Frg. 14.

¹¹ Frg. 78. The suspicion naturally arises that this connexion may have been figurative and, it follows, satirical.

¹² Frg. 10. 67.

¹³ Frg. 63.

tion was attributed¹, not to Lycurgus but to his ancestors Procles and Eurysthenes, the first Dorian kings of Sparta; a statement treated with contempt by Ephorus, but which the modern critic may be inclined to consider as indicating rational scepticism founded on independent research. Notice also occurred of the institution of the Hellenodicæ, or judges of the Olympic games.² In a fragment (which may better perhaps be referred to his Persica), the Naxians are said to have contributed six galleys to the Greek naval force at Salamis.³ Hellanicus here differs from Herodotus⁴, who describes those islanders as sending four ships to the fleet of Xerxes, all of which deserted to the Greeks. Hellanicus is quoted by Thucydides as having also treated in this work, but in a superficial manner, the general history of Greece between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars; and we have seen that, in a passage formerly referred to⁵, he alluded to events connected with the close of the latter contest. Four books of the *Atthis* are mentioned in the citations.

The single fragment of the *Asopis*⁶, in which the pedigree of Miltiades is traced back to Æacus, implies that composition to have been a book or chapter of the *Atthis*. It was the part probably which treated more especially of the line of Æacidæ who reigned in Salamis and Ægina; Ægina being fabled daughter of Asopus and mother of Æacus, and the Æacidæ being claimed by the Athenians of later times as original vassals of their state.

¹ Frg. 91.² Frg. 90.³ Frg. 81.⁴ VIII. 46.⁵ Frg. 80.⁶ Frg. 14.

TROICA.

Troica.

Of the Troica or Trojan history, two books are cited in the fragments. In the general treatment of this subject Hellanicus seems to have followed Homer; and several passages appear to have been little more than paraphrases of parallel portions of the *Iliad*. He described the origin of the Dardanian race¹; the abduction of Ganymede, and the gifts bestowed by Jupiter on Tros in compensation for the loss of his son²; the structure of the walls of Troy by Apollo and Neptune; the impiety of Laomedon towards those deities, and the punishment inflicted on him³; the treacherous conduct of the same prince towards Hercules, and the sack of his city by that hero and Telamon⁴; the amour of Tithonus and Aurora⁵; the birth of Memnon; and the genealogy, crimes, and exploits of the race of Priam.⁶ That he narrated the leading events of the *Iliad* with almost Homeric precision, may be gathered from a fragment descriptive of the combat between Achilles and the river Scamander; which adventure he explained by natural causes.⁷ The longest extant citation describes the escape of Æneas on the night of the capture of Troy; the year, month, and day of which event were specified.⁸ The passage, though not a literal extract, seems to have been preserved in substance by Dionysius, and narrates with singular fulness of pragmatistical detail the circumstances of the Dardanian hero's retreat from the burning city, as present to the imagination of the Lesbian historian.

¹ Fragg. 129, 130.² Frg. 136.³ Loc. cit.⁴ Fragg. 136, 138.⁵ Frg. 142.⁶ Frg. 140.⁷ Frg. 132.⁸ Frg. 127.: conf. 143, 144.

It describes the patriotic concern of Æneas for the preservation of his fellow-citizens, after all hope of saving the citadel was gone; and the stratagem by which their escape was secured and the enemy kept at bay while the fugitives collected without the walls. It relates the hero's subsequent series of military operations in the fastnesses of mount Ida; how he remustered the scattered Trojan forces in such numbers, and established them in so formidable a position, as to secure advantageous terms from the victors. The narrative in this passage closes with the surrender of his stronghold on honourable terms, his retirement from his native country with his followers, and his temporary settlement in Thrace. Thence, as we learn from another fragment of this work, and more fully from a passage¹ of the author's "Argive priestesses," the hero sailed to Italy and founded Rome. That Hellanicus also countenanced the Virgilian legend of the settlement of Trojan colonies in Sicily, appears from his mention, among the companions of the hero's flight, of an Elymus and an Ægestus, namefathers evidently of the Sicilian cities of Elyma and Ægesta.² The only symptom of his having extended his notices of Trojan affairs beyond the limits of the fabulous age, is a fragment in which he appears to have vindicated the claims of the Ilium of his own time to be the genuine descendant of the city of Priam.³

Among the variations from the more familiar Homeric legend in this work, may be noticed⁴ the oracle by which he describes the Trojans as having

¹ Frg. 53.² Frg. 127.: conf. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. i. 62.³ Frg. 145.⁴ Frg. 139.

been warned to abstain from maritime adventure, and devote themselves to agricultural pursuits, and that their neglect of this injunction would involve the ruin of their state. Æneas was also represented as rescuing his father and household gods from the flames in a waggon, not on his shoulders, as in the more popular Stesichorean legend. Ascanius, the eldest son of the hero, is with Hellanicus neither the founder of Alba longa, nor the ancestor of the Julian race; but while his younger brother accompanies Æneas to Europe, he remains behind, and founds the state of Ascania in the interior of Asia minor.¹

THE PRIESTESSES OF JUNO ARGIVA

Argive
Priestesses.

was a chronological compilation, arranged according to the succession of those venerable functionaries, and comprising notices of remarkable events occurring during the ministry of each. How far the line of succession was followed out by Hellanicus we are not informed; but as its dates were standard epochs at the time of the Peloponnesian war, being quoted as such by Thucydides, it may be presumed that the series extended down to historical times. In the extant citations notice occurs of but one historical event, the foundation of Naxos in Sicily. The most valuable passage is that describing the foundation of Rome. The tradition here followed by Hellanicus, while it differs from that of Antiochus the contemporary Sicilian historian, possesses a peculiar interest, as well from its coincidence in substance with that of Virgil, as from the discrepancy in the details of the two. We

¹ Frg. 127.

have seen¹ that Stesichorus had represented Æneas, after the fall of Troy, as sailing for Hesperia, or the Land of the west. Hellanicus, like Virgil, describes him as retiring first to the coast of Thrace. In the course of his subsequent wanderings he meets Ulysses on an amicable footing in Molossia; whence the two heroes continue their westward voyage in company. On the coast of Latium the female followers of Æneas, wearied of their vagabond life, destroyed his fleet with fire. The instigator of this desperate act was a matron named Roma, after whom was called the city, founded on a convenient site in the region which she had been the means of securing for her fellow-wanderers as their final resting-place.² An account was also given of the migrations across the straits of Messina to Sicily, of the various Italian tribes by whom that island was colonised.³

Three books of this work are mentioned in the citations, the general tenor of which implies its contents to have been chiefly geographical; describing the foundation of cities or colonies, at the several sacerdotal epochs which formed the connecting links of the narrative.

ÆOLICA (Lesbica). These titles may safely be classed as representing a single work on the history of the Æolian colonies; the latter of the two bearing special reference to the part of it devoted to the author's native island. In the principal extant fragment⁴ the foundation of the colonies is ascribed to Oræstes. The remaining citations are chiefly geographical notices of little interest.

Æolica :
Lesbica.

¹ Vol. III. p. 240. ² Frg. 53. ³ Frg. 53.: conf. 51. ⁴ Frg. 114.

PERSICA.

Persica.

This work, two books of which are mentioned, treated both the fabulous and the historical annals of the Persian empire, touching, in the form, it may be presumed, of introduction or episode, on the previous history of Assyria. Prominence was given to the adventure of Perseus and Andromeda, as one of the earliest connecting links between Greek and oriental mythology. It does not distinctly appear that Hellanicus, like Herodotus, made Perseus the patriarch of the Persian race; but he describes that hero as founding a city in the Persian territory. In his Persian history proper he seems to have differed materially from Herodotus, and celebrates a warlike queen and conqueress called Atossa, of whom Herodotus knows nothing. That his narrative comprised the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, may be gathered from his notice in two of the fragments¹, of the Thracian towns of Tyrodiza and Strepsa, the former of which, as we learn from Herodotus², was a station of the Persian army on its march from the Hellespont.

Carneonicæ.

The CARNEONICÆ³, while resembling the work just described in its plan and arrangement, possesses interest as one of the first essays in literary history of which mention occurs in Grecian literature. It was a Chronicle of the victors in the Carnean games, the chief musical festival of Sparta, founded in 676 B.C.

¹ Fragg. 161, 162.² VII. 23.

³ Athenæus, in his citation of the Carneonicæ (frg. 122.), appears to distinguish two works of Hellanicus bearing that name; the one in verse, the other in prose. Suidas also mentions poetical works of Hellanicus. But neither passage is sufficiently precise or authentic to warrant our assuming, amid the general silence of antiquity, that Hellanicus was a poet as well as a historian.

under the direction of the Lesbian musician Terpander. The solemnities of this festival continued to be regulated by a succession of distinguished musicians of the same school and country. Hence, probably the peculiar interest taken in its annals by the Lesbian historian. Of the only three extant fragments¹, two relate to the epoch of the institution and of its author; the other to the no less celebrated Lesbian musician Arion, inventor of the Cyclian chorus or Dithyramb, and whose sphere of activity may probably have extended, like that of Terpander, to the Spartan Carnea.

20. *Ægyptiaca*. The genuine character of this work has been questioned by modern commentators², chiefly on account of certain subtleties of moral dogma inculcated in one of the fragments, and little compatible either in substance or style with the genius of Hellanicus. The text appears, like that of most other early treatises on the same subject, to have mainly consisted of mythical anecdotes and descriptions of the marvels, real or imaginary, in which Egypt abounded or was fabled to abound. The only fragment of a strictly historical nature³ gives an account of the usurpation of the Egyptian throne by Amasis, somewhat different from the narrative of the same event by Herodotus.

Apocry-
phal
works.

The title, *Journey to the temple of Ammon*, might seem to designate a section of the *Ægyptiaca*; but in

¹ Fragg. 122, 123. 85. There can be no doubt that *κραναϊκοῖς* in the last-quoted citation, ranged by C. Müller as a separate title, is a mere corruption of *καρνεονικαῖς*.

² C. Müller, de Hellan. p. xxx.

³ Frg. 151.

the sole existing allusion to the work, by Athenæus, who questions its genuine character, it appears to be mentioned as a separate composition.

“On the Nations;” “On the Names of Nations.” These two kindred titles form each the subject of a single citation, the vagueness of which, with the tenor of the notices supplied, renders it doubtful whether the works referred to can be considered as independent compositions; or, if so, whether they can safely be ranked as genuine works of Hellanicus. The imposing fabric consequently which, on the feeble basis of the second of those titles, a modern commentator has constructed out of some eighteen notices¹ of names of nations culled from the miscellaneous fragments of Hellanicus, may be set aside as illusive, and its materials allowed to rank simply as unidentified passages of his other better-accredited works. The passages themselves afford however a fair sample of the method pursued by him in this branch of research; a method exhibiting no great advance in the art of ethnographical criticism beyond the standard of Hecatæus or Acusilaus. With him, as with them, the name of a founder is readily provided from that of the place founded. Thus Abdera is derived from Abderus; Macedonia from Macedon; Parnassus mountain from Parnassus hero; and so forth. One however of these etymological quibbles, the derivation of the name Italia from the Latin word Vitulus, a calf², possesses an intrinsic value, as establishing the fact that Hellanicus was acquainted, however slightly,

His knowledge of the Latin tongue.

¹ Frgg. 93. sqq.

² Frg. 97.

with the Latin language; the first symptom of any such knowledge on the part of a Greek author. We have seen that he was also familiar with the names of several cities of northern and central Italy, — Spina, Cortona, and Rome, little if at all explored or visited in his time; and that he knew the legend of the settlement of Æneas in Latium, much in the form in which it existed in the flourishing age of Roman literature. These notices, with those relative to the migrations of the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians across the Adriatic, to their adventures in their new seats, to the cities founded by them there, and to the consequent movements of the ejected Italo-Sicilian tribes through southern Italy and on the opposite shores of Sicily, all display a knowledge of those regions, and a spirit of research into their history, far surpassing any exhibited by Herodotus, or even by the standard historians of the next generation.

The remaining titles in the list may be briefly disposed of. The *Instituta Barbarica* may possibly have been an integral composition, not probably a genuine one.¹ The title *Foundations*, with that of *Foundation of Chios*, may indicate chapters of the *Chronicle of Priestesses*, or of other ascertained works devoted more immediately to geographical research. The rare and vague citations of *Scythica*, *Cypriaca*, and *Phœnicica*, also probably refer to integral portions of other works, in which the author may

¹ It is described by Porphyry (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* x. p. 466.), as a cento of passages pirated from Herodotus (?) and Damasus (Damasus?). See Müller ad Fragg. *Hell.* p. xxix.

have touched on the history or geography of Scythia, Cyprus, or Phœnicia. The title of Dios Polytychia, or Fortunes of Jupiter, once noticed by Fulgentius, may be allowed to remain in the same state of mystery in which that compiler has left it.

His style.

Although we possess several long paraphrases of passages of this author, the literal extracts from his text are but scanty. The imperfect evidence which they afford would indicate his style to have been, like that of his contemporary Pherecydes, a medium between the sententiousness of the primitive logographer, and the studied periods of the Siculo-Attic rhetorician. It is described by the antient commentators as not distinguished by popular attributes.¹ Of the Ionic dialect in which he composed, little trace is observable in his remains. This may be owing partly to the changes which his text may have undergone on its passage to posterity; partly perhaps to an approximation of his own idiom to that of Attica, which during the greater part of his literary career was rapidly acquiring, in every branch of composition, a marked ascendancy over the other dialects.

DAMASTES

Damastes
of Sigeum.

of Sigeum in the Troad, son of Dioxippus, is described by Dionysius as contemporaneous with Hellenicus and Herodotus²; and by Suidas and others as author of many works, four of which are specified under the following titles: 1. A genealogy of the

¹ Auctt. ap. Müller in Fragg. p. xxxiii.

² Dion. Hal. de Thucyd. 5.; Suidas, v. Δαμῆστης.

heroes who fought at Troy.¹ 2. A catalogue of nations and cities. 3. A Periplus. 4. On the poets and sophists. He is called a pupil of Hellanicus, and accused of having pirated from Hecataeus.² The former notice seems to be confirmed by the agreement between the two authors on several important subjects. By both the foundation of Rome was ascribed to Æneas³; both derived the name of the city from Roma, chief of the fugitive Trojan matrons who, by burning the hero's fleet off the coast of Latium, forced him to settle in that region; to which might be added other less momentous points of correspondence.⁴

This writer seems to have been chiefly quoted as an authority on geographical questions. Eratosthenes frequently referred to him; sometimes as a voucher for his own statements, sometimes for the purpose of refuting his opinions or censuring his errors. Eratosthenes has been severely blamed in his turn by Strabo⁵, for having honoured with so much attention one whom Strabo characterises as so frivolous a writer. But the hasty severity with which Strabo is apt to dismiss authorities of better-attested value than Damastes, renders his condemnatory verdict of less weight in any such case than the more favourable judgment of Eratosthenes.

The work On the poets and sophists may rank with that of Glaucus of Rhegium On the poets and

¹ Some ascribed this work to Polus of Agrigentum; Suid. v. Πῶλος.

² Suid. v. Δαμάστωρ; Agathem. Epitom. geog. i. 1.

³ Frg. 8.: conf. Hellan. Frag. 53.

⁴ Fragg. 1. 5, 6. 10.: conf. Hellan. Frag. 96.

⁵ i. p. 47., xiv. p. 684.

musicians, and with the *Carneonicæ* of Hellanic among the earliest essays in literary history. *Pherecydes* is quoted, probably from this treatise, as having, in common with *Pherecydes* and *Hellanicus*, traced the pedigree of Homer back to Orpheus.

CHAP. IV.

HERODOTUS. HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

1. HERODOTUS THE HOMER OF PROSE HISTORY.—2. HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.—3. OTHER NOTICES OF HIS LIFE. HIS HALICARNASSIAN NATIVITY. HIS SETTLEMENT AT THURIUM, AND ITS IMPUTED CAUSES. EPOCH OF HIS BIRTH.—4. TRADITION OF A RECITAL OF HIS WORK AT OLYMPIA. HISTORICAL OBJECTIONS TO THAT TRADITION.—5. ITS INTRINSIC IMPROBABILITY.—6. HIS WORK ROSE BUT SLOWLY IN POPULAR ESTIMATION. THE TEARS OF THUCYDIDES. OTHER SUPPOSED PUBLIC RECITALS AT CORINTH, THEBES, AND ATHENS.—7. ASSYRIAN HISTORY OF HERODOTUS. HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.

1. It may possibly have occurred to the critical reader, in following the previous course of this narrative, that a reasonable claim might be advanced in favour of Herodotus, to rank as prior rather than posterior to several of the authors who have occupied our attention in the foregoing chapter. But whatever may be the speculative arguments in favour either of his or their title to precedence, it is at least certain, that the literary life of each of the rival candidates was comprised in whole or in greater part within the second half of the fifth century B.C., and that all consequently were more or less contemporaneous. It has hence been thought desirable, setting aside any more subtle pretensions that might be advanced on one or other side, to assign to Herodotus the last, and, as due to his more advanced proficiency in the common art, the most honourable position in the series. This arrangement will tend, on the one hand to mark that individual prominence which belongs to him as the most accomplished master of the primitive school of

Herodotus
the Homer
of prose
history.

historical composition ; on the other hand, it will connect him more directly with his great rival in fame Thucydides, who stands to him in the immediate relation of successor in regard to the subject, the style, and it may be presumed the publication, of his work.

Next to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which two poems, as jointly representing the Homeric epopee, may here be considered as one, the history of Herodotus is the greatest effort of Greek literary genius. The analogy between the works is not more remarkable in their common features of grandeur, than in those of structure and character. The one is the perfection of epic poetry, the other the perfection of epic prose. Were it not for the influence which the prior existence of so noble a model, even in a different branch of composition, has evidently exercised on the historian, his title to the palm of original invention might rival even that of his poetical predecessor. It is usually, and perhaps reasonably assumed, that the *Iliad* is the prototype of the Hellenic epopee, and that the poems by which it was preceded were comparatively brief or desultory ballads. There is however no actual proof that such was the case ; while there are even symptoms in Homer's own allusions to earlier minstrels and their lays, of a certain advance having already been made towards that comprehensive unity of design which we admire in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But it is very doubtful at the best, whether any similar approach had been made by the predecessors of Herodotus to a similar unity in his order of narrative composition. If we follow out the analogy between the two authors, from their relation towards their predecessors to that which they bear to their successors, the claim of Herodotus to isolated individuality

of character will be found not inferior to that of his poetical ancestor. Though no subsequent poet has surpassed, or even equalled Homer in excellence of epic combination, many have honourably competed with him. But Herodotus here stands alone among succeeding, as among prior historians. His work may be characterised, by a familiar and expressive foreign phrase to which our own tongue offers no equivalent, as "unique," in its merits and in its defects. In the complexity of its plan, as compared with the simplicity of its execution; in the number and heterogeneous nature of its materials, and in the harmony of their combination; in the grandeur of its historical masses and the minuteness, often triviality, of its illustrative details, it remains not only without equal, but without rival or parallel in the literature of Greece or of Europe.

It is not here proposed to offer, as has been attempted by popular modern authors who have laboured in the same field, a complete or connected life of Herodotus; and for the simple reason, that there exists no adequate stock of materials for such an undertaking. With the exception of the few data incidentally supplied by himself, the notices of his life rest on such recent or questionable authority, or are so plainly fabulous, that it is only by the aid of conjectural criticism that we can hope to elicit the slender ingredient of truth which they may contain. We might indeed, following the example of more imaginative predecessors, amplify the legendary statements transmitted by Suidas, or Lucian, into as pleasant a form of biographical romance as we had ingenuity to impart to them. We prefer however the less ambitious, but safer course of a historical in-

quiry. In following out this method, it will be proper first to have clearly before us the facts that can be considered as more or less established on the historian's own testimony, or on that of the better class of secondary authorities ; after which the more apocryphal or purely traditional notices will be examined.

His autobiographical notices.

2. Although Herodotus habitually writes in the first person, and dwells often, and in detail, on his own opinions, and on the mode and results of his researches in the countries which he visited, this egotism is confined, with a strictness so unvarying as to imply its being intentional, to matters connected with the immediate subject of his work. He has not afforded a word of direct information as to the time or place of his birth, his parentage, habitual place of residence, or the vicissitudes of his life ; nor are his indirect allusions to any of these points either copious or precise. In the opening sentence of his history he describes himself, according to the now received reading of the passage, as a Halicarnassian ; but the accuracy of this reading, as will appear in the sequel, is open to question. That he flourished long after the events which he records, and which terminate with the defeat of Xerxes by land and sea in the year 479 B.C., is plain from his allusions, both to those events as belonging to a by-gone generation, and to other events of long posterior date. That his own generation however, was but a degree removed from that which fought at Salamis and Plataea, we learn from his statement¹ of his having been acquainted with one Thersander of Orchomenus, who had been present at a banquet given at Thebes to Mardonius the Persian general before the last-mentioned

¹ ix. 16.

battle: This Thersander, he further informs us, repeated to him a conversation which had taken place on that occasion between him and a Persian officer who sat next to him at table, in which the latter expressed a melancholy presentiment of his own impending destruction, and that of the mighty armament in which he served.

That Herodotus survived to nearly the close of the fifth century B. C., may be inferred from his incidental allusions to the Peloponnesian war as concluded or far advanced at the time when he was writing¹; also from several passages of his work where he seems to mention transactions which took place as late as the year 408 B. C.² He may therefore still have been engaged in writing in that year, or rather in some still later year; for it is not likely that the transactions in question would be noticed by him in his work, in the very year of their occurrence and of its termination. It is therefore a fair further inference, that his life may have been prolonged some years beyond the date of the last events mentioned by him, and that he may possibly have seen the commencement of the fourth century B. C.

The remainder of the information supplied by Herodotus in the same indirect manner concerning himself, relates chiefly to his travels by land and sea; in the course of which he visited almost every part of Greece and its dependencies, and many of the other countries the affairs of which are treated in his work. The more remarkable places visited by him in

¹ VII. 137. 233., IX. 73. See Appendix G. § 1.

² I. 130., III. 15. See Appendix G. § 2. For the remaining passages of the history in which allusion is made to events that took place after the close of its own narrative, see Dahlmann, *Herodot.* ch. iii. § 8. pp. 38. sqq. To the list may be added IV. 81. 163., V. 77., VIII. 3.

Greece proper were : Athens, Thebes¹, Lacedæmon²; and the sanctuaries of Dodona³, Delphi⁴, and Tænarum.⁵ He was probably a frequent sojourner at Athens. He describes himself⁶ as having seen the Propylæa of the Acropolis, which were commenced about the year 436 B.C.⁷; and his participation in the Thurian colony of 443 would imply that his earlier visits to the city may have taken place eight or ten years sooner. To the westward his travels extended to the Cephallenian islands⁸ and southern Italy; in which country he seems to have passed the greater part of the latter half of his life. The accuracy of his descriptions of other Hellenic localities, such as the battle fields of Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Plataea, can, even in the absence of more specific notices, leave little doubt of his having personally surveyed them. He shows a similar acquaintance with the parts of northern Greece and Thrace, through which lay the Persian invaders' line of route; with the Thessalian plain and rivers⁹, with Macedonia and mount Athos¹⁰, with the shores of the Thracian Chersonesus, and with the neighbouring islands.¹¹ He had sailed across the Black sea, but his knowledge of the countries on its more distant coasts seems to have been but limited; and he admits that he knew nothing, but from hearsay, of those immediately beyond the Danube.¹² He was however acquainted with the eastern shore of Scythia, between the rivers Hypanis and Borysthenes; and had even penetrated into the interior of that region, through the facilities it

¹ v. 59., i. 52.² iii. 55.³ ii. 55. sq.⁴ i. 51. 92. alibi.⁵ i. 24.⁶ v. 77.⁷ Harpoc. v. Προπύλα.⁸ iv. 195.⁹ vii. 129.¹⁰ i. 57., vii. 22.¹¹ ii. 44., vi. 46. sq.¹² v. 9, 10.

may be presumed, which the Milesian colonies on its coast afforded to the Greek traveller.¹ He had visited Colchis², on the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian seas; and had procured relative to the latter such information as to satisfy him that it was an insulated body of water, not a gulf of the Eastern ocean³, as supposed by the less well-informed of his countrymen in his own and in later times. With the coasts and islands of Asia minor on the Propontis⁴, Hellespont, and Ægæan, he was intimately familiar. He had also travelled in the interior of the Persian empire, as far as Babylon⁵, Susa⁶, and Agbatana⁷, possibly to parts of Bactria⁸; and his detailed description of the great imperial line of route from Sardis to Susa, warrants the belief that he had passed along it.⁹ He had visited Tyre, and other parts of Palestine or Phœnicia¹⁰; and had explored Egypt, from the shores of the Delta to the island of Elephantina.¹¹ Beyond that island he had not penetrated. One of his visits to this country, for it is not improbable that its attractions and facilities of access may have tempted him to several, took place not long after the war between the Persian satrap Achæmenes, and the Libyan king Inaros, who, with a force consisting chiefly of Egyptian insurgents, maintained possession of part of lower Egypt against the Persian government from 462 to 456 B.C. For, in alluding to a difference of formation between the skull of the Persian and that of the Egyptian race, he appeals to specimens of each, examined by him-

¹ IV. 76. 81. 105.⁴ IV. 14.⁷ I. 98.¹⁰ II. 44. 106.² II. 104.⁵ I. 181. sqq.⁸ IV. 204.³ I. 203.⁶ VI. 119.⁹ V. 52. sqq.¹¹ II. 29.

self among the bones strewed on the battle field of Papremis, where Achæmenes had been defeated by Inaros, and himself slain with many of his troops.¹

Herodotus does not seem to have possessed any knowledge of Arabia but from hearsay; with the exception perhaps of the route from Palestine to Egypt across the isthmus of Suez. In Libya he had visited the Greek colony of Cyrene.² But the details which he gives of the indigenous tribes of northern Africa, appear to have been derived from secondary sources. Nor is there any evidence of his having extended his travels to Carthage, to Spain, or to the parts of Italy northward of the Greek colonies on the lower extremities of that peninsula. It is also remarkable that he nowhere distinctly alludes to a residence in, or acquaintance with, any part of Sicily. He can hardly however have failed to visit that great and interesting seat of Hellenic power and civilisation.

Other
notices of
his life.

3. Thus far Herodotus concerning himself. The earliest extant allusion to his personal history by any secondary authority is by Aristotle; who, in quoting the opening passage of his work, makes him designate himself, not Herodotus the Halicarnassian, as in the now current text, but Herodotus the Thurian³; and Plutarch, or whoever may be the author of the tract against Herodotus ascribed to Plutarch, insinuates⁴ a doubt of his possessing any sufficient title to the honour, such as it was, of a Halicarnassian nativity. The unanimity however, with which his more impartial biographers describe Halicarnassus as his birthplace, leaves no reasonable doubt of the fact.

¹ III. 12.

² II. 181.: conf. 96. 32.

³ Rhetor. III. 9.

⁴ c. 35.

The other gentile of Thurian substituted by Aristotle, whether a different reading of the text, or one of those mistakes not uncommon with that otherwise accurate author in his casual citation of books, is explained by the united statement¹ of the same antient authorities who assign Halicarnassus as the historian's birthplace, that he took part in the colony of Thurium founded in Magna Græcia under Attic auspices in 443 B.C., and that he spent much of the latter part of his life in that city. The truth of this account is corroborated by several passages of his history, implying it to have been written in the south of Italy, a fact which is also stated by Pliny.² In a description, for example, of the Tauric Chersonesus, Herodotus compares that peninsula to the Sunian promontory of Attica; adding³, that to those who may not have visited the latter coast, the shape of the Iapygian peninsula south of Brundisium and Tarentum would supply an equally good illustration; and various other points of internal evidence indicate a mind under Italiote impressions.⁴

¹ Plut. de Exil. 13.; Strab. xiv. p. 656.

² Hist. Nat. xii. 4.

³ iv. 99.

⁴ v. 44. sqq., vi. 21. 127., where, among the suitors for the daughter of Clisthenes, the two first mentioned are Italiotes. That his European associations, in so far as not engrossed by the Thurian colony, were closely connected with the mother state of Attica, appears both from iv. 99., and from another passage (ii. 7.), where he compares the distance from the Egyptian town of Heliopolis to the sea, with that from Athens to the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia, of both which distances he professes to have obtained a measurement exact to a single stadium. To this argument of the strength of his local Attic impressions may be added that derivable, as more fully stated in another place (*infra*, Ch. vii. § 14.), from his tacit assumption of a familiarity on the part of his readers with the topography of the properly Attic battles of Marathon and Salamis; while his accounts of those of Thermopylæ and Plataea, the one fought in Locris the other in Bœotia, comprise more or less detailed geographical descriptions.

His Halicarnassian nativity.

Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, was a small Asiatic state, originally belonging to the Hexapolis, or confederacy of six Dorian colonies, on the coast of Caria and the neighbouring islands. The historian's native city never itself attained any high degree of political eminence, and such historical notoriety as it enjoyed was of no very creditable nature. It may however claim the honour of having produced three of the most remarkable men of whom, in their various branches of pursuit, the Greek republic of letters can boast: Herodotus, Panyasis, and Dionysius. The first was the most celebrated of Greek historians; the second, the accredited restorer of the art of epic poetry, and himself the most esteemed poet of the later renovated school; the third was one of the ablest Greek critics and antiquaries. Not long before the birth of Herodotus, Halicarnassus, as he himself informs us, had forfeited its privilege as a member of the Hexapolis, by a very discreditable breach of the common law of the confederacy, committed by one of her citizens and abetted by the remainder.¹ In the sequel she appears rather in the light of a Carian or Persian, than a Hellenic state, under the sway of a dynasty of petty tyrants tributary to the Persian emperor, and distinguished for their devotion to the service of their liege lord. The most celebrated of these local potentates was Artemisia, whose courage and zeal in the cause of her master Xerxes, during the disastrous vicissitudes of his Grecian expedition, are much commended by Herodotus.² It was hardly to be expected that the warm Hellenic patriotism which glowed in his own

¹ I. 144.

² VII. 99., VIII. 87. sqq. 101. sqq.

breast, would be very closely associated with the interests of his renegade Dorian birthplace. The fact of his having, like many other popular historians of the age, preferred the Ionic dialect to his native idiom in the composition of his work, can be considered in itself as no evidence of his alienation from Dorian tastes and habits. But he exhibits, in so many parts of his work that alienation, combined with so many feelings and associations proper to the rival Attico-Ionian races, that we are the less surprised to find him expatriating himself altogether, and identifying his nationality with that of the Athenians, as a denizen of one of their chief colonial settlements.

A more specific reason for this estrangement from the land of his birth has been assigned by Suidas¹; a compiler of a very low period and slender credit, but who supplies the only details that have been transmitted of the historian's early personal history. According to this authority, "he was a Halicarnassian of noble birth; his father was called Lyxes², his mother Dryo. He had also a brother named Theodorus. Driven from his native city by the tyrant Lygdamis, grandson of Artemisia, he took refuge in Samos, where he acquired the Ionic dialect, and in it composed his history in nine books. On his return to Halicarnassus, he succeeded in expelling Lygdamis. Finding himself however exposed to the envy of his fellow-citizens, he joined the Athenians as a colonist of Thurium. There he died, and was buried in the market-place. Others assert that he died at Pella."

His settle-
ment at
Thurium.

¹ v. Ἡρόδοτος.

² See also the Epigram ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 331., Steph. Byz. v. οὐβρύσι. Lucian, De domo, 20. Tzetzes, Chil. i. 19. alibi, calls his father Oxylus.

In another supplementary notice by the same author, we are told that Herodotus was nephew according to some, first cousin according to others, of the epic poet Panyasis ; and that the latter was slain by the same tyrant Lygdamis whom Herodotus afterwards dethroned.¹

These particulars, as resting on the sole authority of Suidas, and unnoticed by any previous writer among the many who allude to the historian's personal affairs, can advance, at best, but small pretension to authenticity. That the account of the completion of his work at Samos is false, there can be very little doubt : and considering how sedulously the Greeks of the republican age were used to record the efforts and sacrifices of comparatively obscure patriots in the cause of constitutional freedom, it were very unaccountable that these, the only remarkable traits in the political life of so remarkable a man as Herodotus, should never have been mentioned by any author of earlier date or better credit than Suidas. This consideration renders it more probable, that the account of his early political adventures is a fiction invented to explain his retirement to Thurium, than that his retirement to Thurium was a consequence of any such political adventures. A legend of this nature were the more likely to spring up, had Panyasis, his contemporary and fellow-citizen, really been also his kinsman, and a victim, to so much more cruel an extent than himself, of the same tyrannical oppression. But the doubts of the genuine character of either tradition, for both rest on the same weak authority, — are perhaps rather confirmed by

¹ Suid. v. Πανύσιος. In this notice the historian's mother is called Rhæo.

the connexion into which the two celebrated Halicarnassians are thus brought with each other; a connexion savouring at least as much of the artifice of biographical fable as of the reality of literary history. But although there may not be authentic evidence of Herodotus himself having suffered in the cause of republican liberty, we have good proof of his favour to free constitutional government, both in the general tone of his political allusions, and in the pointed terms in which he describes the rapid advance of his patroness Athens in prosperity, as an immediate consequence of her return to democratic forms after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ.¹ The account of his residence in Samos is also, apart from those apocryphal details, indirectly confirmed by the intimate knowledge which he shows of the topography of the island, and the apparent pleasure which he takes in dwelling on its affairs.

The most specific extant notice of the historian's age by any secondary author, is that cited by Aulus Gellius² from a work of Pamphila, a female polyhistor in the time of Nero. According to her Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, in 431 B.C. Admitting the correctness of this statement, he would have been born in 484 B. C., five years prior to the close of the Persian war; and if, as appears from his own text, he was alive and writing his history after the year 408 B.C., he could hardly have been much short of eighty, and may probably have been past that age, at the time of his death. Pamphila further described Hellanicus in the same year 431 B. C. as sixty-five

Epoch of
his birth.

¹ v. 66. 78.

² x. 23.

years of age, consequently twelve years older than Herodotus ; and Thucydides as forty, consequently thirteen years younger than Herodotus. No great weight can attach to the authority of a female compiler of the Roman period, referring to no prior testimony ; and we have already seen that in respect to Hellanicus her data can hardly be correct. For the life of that author was prolonged, as we learn from his own text, till near the close of the fifth century B. C. : so that had he been sixty-five years old in 431, he would have been past ninety at the epoch of his death, instead of eighty-five, the utmost assigned him even by Lucian in his specimens of human longevity. In regard however to Herodotus, the notice is partly confirmed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and tallies sufficiently well with the tenor of his own indirect allusions, to admit of our receiving it as at least a near approximation to the truth ; but not of our adopting it as a standard epoch, with the same implicit confidence which some of his biographers have reposed in it.¹

Tradition
of his re-
cital at
Olympia.

4. The most celebrated chapter in the legendary life of Herodotus, is that which describes his recital of his work before the assembled public of Greece at Olympia, and the effect produced by his narrative on the youthful mind of Thucydides. The only writer with pretensions to rank as a classic who mentions this story is Lucian. In order rightly to estimate the value of his authority, and the general merits of the much controverted question which his statements involve, a concise abstract is here sub-

¹ See *supra*, p. 218 note 6. Conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 5. For other secondary authorities of less weight, see Bähr's *Vit. Herodot.* in vol. iv. of his edition, 1835 ; Voss de *Hist. Gr.* i. iii.

joined of the passage of his work in which they are contained :

“ The historian, having brought his great work to maturity in his native Asiatic home, took counsel with himself as to the mode in which he might most speedily obtain for it a celebrity equal to its merits. As the best means of securing this object he resolved, instead of visiting in their turn the principal Hellenic cities, such as Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Lacedæmon, to attend the great Olympian festival, which was then at hand, and to which the most distinguished men of all parts of Greece were in the habit of resorting. Thither accordingly he proceeded; and on the day and hour when the assembly was at its full, he took up his post on the platform of the Temple, and recited his composition aloud to the assembled Greeks. The effect was immediate and complete. The delighted audience hailed the nine books into which the work was divided, by the title of the nine Muses, which they have ever since enjoyed. From that moment the celebrity of their author was such as to throw into the shade even that of the victors in the games. There was henceforth no man in Greece so ignorant as not to know the name of Herodotus. For those who had attended the feast pointed him out whichever way he bent his steps, as the Herodotus who had celebrated, in purest Ionian style, our victories over the Persian invaders. Not only was his renown proclaimed in the great national assembly, but in each individual state, by those of its citizens who had been present at the games.”¹

In a supplementary account transmitted by Suidas,

¹ Lucian, Herodotus, l. sq.

it is said that Thucydides, then a boy, was present with his father Olorus at the festival, and that he shed tears on listening to the recital of Herodotus ; upon which the latter, addressing himself to Olorus, congratulated him on the possession of a son whose zeal for knowledge displayed itself at so early an age, and in so enthusiastic a manner.¹

The simple question, whether Herodotus did or did not read his work at Olympia, may not on first view appear of such vital importance in its bearings on his own history, as to require any detailed discussion on the part of his biographer. It has however acquired that degree of importance, from the efforts made by the vindicators of Lucian's veracity, to force the more authentic notices of the historian's life into harmony with the apocryphal details of the Olympian anecdote, instead of testing the value of that anecdote by other better data. The result has been to invest those more authentic notices with an air of improbability, or even to set them aside altogether. While on these accounts a further consideration of the question is necessary, it may also tend to throw some additional light on various points, both of the historian's speculative biography, and of the literary habits of his age.

The substance of Lucian's account is : first, that Herodotus, having composed his history in his native town of Halicarnassus, proceeded direct to Olympia, and recited it aloud at the festival in its present state of integrity, divided into nine books or Muses as we now possess it : secondly, that from the day on which this recital took place, both author and work

¹ Suid. vv. *Θουκυδ.* and *Ἡρόδοτος*; Marcellin. Vit. Thuc.; Phot. Bibl. cod. LX.

acquired that high national celebrity and popularity which they ever afterwards continued to enjoy.

A preliminary objection to the authenticity of this story, is the circumstance that Lucian should be the first author who relates it, or even alludes to the bare tradition on which it may have been founded. Had any such tradition been current in the Greek public during the six centuries between the age of Herodotus and that of Lucian, it seems most unlikely that no allusion whatever should have been made by any previous author, to an event of so great interest in the annals of polite literature. This objection might not be insuperable, were Lucian's account probable in itself, or consistent with the more authentic notices of the historian's life. But so little is this the case, that all the details of the anecdote have been admitted to be false, even by the more candid of those who uphold the truth of the main fact to which they suppose those details to be subsidiary.

Historical
objections
to that tra-
dition.

The first of the two principal heads of Lucian's statement, that Herodotus completed the nine books of his history in his native city before visiting Europe, is contradicted by Pliny¹, an earlier and much more credible witness in any such case; who asserts that the historian's work was written at Thurium, after his final expatriation from Halicarnassus. Whatever may be the intrinsic value of Pliny's testimony in regard to the fact here stated, the statement itself is conclusive proof that Pliny had never heard, or if he had heard, did not believe in a previous recital of the work at Olympia; and it is not very likely that so inquisitive and gossiping a compiler could have been ignorant of the Lucianic story, had it been

¹ XII. 4.

already current in his day. There are also, it need scarcely be added, in the historian's own text, numerous passages¹ allusive to events of later date than the author's settlement in his Italian domicile; some of which bear, as we have seen, internal evidence of having been composed in Italy. It is true that the argument from internal evidence cannot here justly be considered so conclusive as it has been by several able objectors to the Lucianic tradition. There is much in the general character of the historian's work to warrant the belief, that it neither was written out continuously from an already prepared stock of materials, as a modern work of the kind usually is written, nor presented, even when brought to an integral form, at once to the public. After a first draught was embodied, it may probably have remained on the author's hands, receiving from time to time such additions as his more extended study or experience enabled him to supply.² The occurrence therefore of passages referring to more recent events, would in itself be no conclusive proof that the work had not been circulated in a less mature state at an earlier period. But any such publication of successive editions³ is as little supported by historical evidence as the Olympic lecture; and would be a fact of too great importance in the life of Herodotus, or the

¹ See note to p. 247. *supra*.

² This seems indeed to be stated by himself in iv. 30.

³ We cannot subscribe to the argument of Mr. Rawlinson (*Herodot. vol. i. p. 28.*) that the allusions by Herodotus to the incredulity of "the Greeks," regarding stories narrated in his existing work, necessarily imply that work to be a second edition, and those allusions to be in answer to criticisms provoked by the first edition; the stories in question being such as might have been current, and their credibility matter of discussion with the Greek public, long before Herodotus commenced writing.

history of Greek literature, to be arbitrarily assumed for the purpose of imparting a plausible air to the fables of Lucian. That author's further description of the history as having been, at the epoch of its supposed recital, already divided by Herodotus into its existing nine books, has been freely admitted to be false, even by the keenest modern vindicators of Lucian's general veracity; who have not hesitated to recognise in this distribution of the text the work of some grammarian of a subsequent age.

The assertion of Lucian, that from the epoch of the Olympic recital the historian's fame and popularity were spread over all Greece, is repugnant to the spirit of the entire Greek literature of the age of Herodotus, and of that which immediately followed. Neither orator nor sophist, neither poet nor philosopher; neither Aristophanes, nor, in so far as we have insight into their works, the contemporary comedians, in those burlesque allusions in which they delighted to the living standards of the national literature; neither Plato nor other graver authors, in their citations from those standards, have left a trace of any such fame or popularity having as yet been enjoyed by Herodotus. With one exception, no writer prior to Aristotle, who flourished half a century after the death of Herodotus, is known to have so much as mentioned his name, or otherwise distinctly shown a knowledge of his existence. The exception is Ctesias¹, his younger contemporary, who,

¹ Persica, frg. 29. § 1. 57. (pp. 45. 57.) Didot. If the passage of Thucydides (i. 20.), relative to the votes of the Spartan kings and to the Pitanate corps of the Spartan army, is to be considered as levelled at Herodotus (vi. 57., ix. 53.), which is certainly a reasonable assumption, it would supply additional evidence that the early reception of the latter

it is also remarkable, quotes him for the purpose, not of eulogising but condemning his statements. This silence of the contemporaneous public is certainly a strong argument, that the promulgation of the history did not take place till a late period of the author's life, possibly not till after his death. Nor is there wanting authority for such posthumous publication¹; authority indeed of little intrinsic value; but which can hardly in the present case be considered inferior to that of Lucian on the opposite side.

Its intrinsic
improbability.

5. Apart from these historical difficulties, the physical improbability, to say the least, of such an Olympian recital of any similar work, even in the less mature form in which Lucian's advocates assume it to have existed at the supposed date of the ceremony, goes far in itself to evict the falsehood of his story. The Olympic festival was, neither in respect to its object nor its locality, adapted to such performances. It was celebrated at midsummer, during the heat of a Greek solstice, the time of the year most favourable in all countries, at appropriate hours of the day, to gymnastic exercises, but least favourable to literary declamation. Nor does allusion occur in any author to a place destined for the latter purpose, under any one of the numerous titles, *Lesche*, *Tholus*, *Museum*, &c., by which such public saloons were known in Greece; and it cannot be supposed, had recitals of this kind formed an ordinary part of the Olympic entertainments, that some such accommodation would have been wanting.² Even had the

historian's work was not one of universal approbation. See further on the relation between Herodotus and Thucydides, vol. v. p. 14. sqq.

¹ Ptol. Heph. ap. Phot. cod. 189. p. 477.

² Since the above remarks were written, we have obtained access to the subjoined passage of an antient grammarian, containing evidence,

season of the year been propitious, no author of ordinary taste or judgement would have thought of rhapsodising in the open air to a miscellaneous crowd, a prose work, replete with geographical and statistical details, such as even in the most convenient form of lecture, were little calculated to fix the attention of any but the more intellectual part of a Greek audience. Lucian's description of Herodotus, as standing on the hinder platform of the temple, with book in hand, "chanting" aloud to the multitude scattered over the surrounding plain, is so palpably absurd, as to prove that its author did not believe the particulars of his own story.

Lucian in the same tract mentions Hippias, Prodicus, Anaximenes, and Polus, as having been encouraged by the example of Herodotus to become competitors for literary fame on the same Olympic arena; and his authority is here supported by older and better testimonies.¹ Nothing, indeed, could be more natural than that these professional sophists or rhetoricians, who in so far as professional were almost

both that the Lucianic legend was not generally acquiesced in by its author's own contemporaries or successors, and also that, among the principal objections urged against it by its opponents, were those last stated in the text, the extreme heat of the season and the want of proper accommodation:

"Εἰς τὴν Ἡροδότου σκίαν." ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ τελεσιουργούντων ἂ προσιδόντο. Φασὶ γὰρ Ἡρόδοτον τὸν λογογράφον, Ὀλυμπίᾳσι δεῖξαι βουλευθέντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἱστορίαν, ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας, φάσκοντα, σκιᾷ εἰ ἐπιλάβοιτο ἐν τῇ τεμένει τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου δεῖξιν τὴν ἱστορίαν. Ἔστι γὰρ δεινῶς προσήλιον τὸ χωρίον. Ἐλαθεν οὖν αὐτὸν διαλυθεῖσα ἡ πανήγυρις οὐκ ἐπιδειξάμενον τὰς ἱστορίας. Montfauc. Bibl. Coisl. cod. clxxvii. p. 609.

¹ Plat. Hipp. Min. p. 363.; Cic. de Orat. iii. 32.; Philostr. Vit. Soph. i. ix. 2., conf. Epist. xiii.; Pausan. vi. xvii. 5.; Dion. Hal. de Lys. Jud. 29.; Athenæ. xiv. p. 620., who would hardly have laid so much stress on the rhapsodising of the history of Herodotus by Hegesias at Alexandria, had he been aware that Herodotus himself had rhapsodised it at Olympia.

always itinerant, should select Olympia at the time of the games as a convenient theatre for their exhibitions. Nor probably would they have had difficulty in finding in the contiguous towns, or even within the sacred precinct, a convenient place for the purpose. But the circumstance that these more reasonable accounts refer to works of an altogether different character from that of Herodotus, to works the recital of which on such occasions was both practicable and natural, tends but to place in a stronger light the impracticability of any such performance by the historian. The popular essays of these itinerant lecturers, while specially adapted for rhetorical display, might, judging from the specimens that have survived, have required about half an hour for their delivery. The nine books of Herodotus could not have been similarly disposed of under an average of from four to five hours each. Let us however, as before, assume them to have been recited at the festival in less mature form, and to have required only from three to four hours each, in all thirty hours. The festival lasted four, or at the utmost five days. Six or seven hours consequently, of each of those days, in the particular olympiad in which Lucian supposes Herodotus to have exhibited, would have been devoted to a prose lecture; a space of time comprising, if not the whole, certainly the greater part of the day disposable during the Greek midsummer for any kind of bodily or mental exertion. The supposition that a festival properly devoted to gymnastic games should, on this single occasion, have been perverted to so different an object, added to the other difficulties of the case, forms a mass of improbabilities, such as it were an injustice to so clever a satirist as

Lucian, to suppose he ever meant to offer to his public as anything else than pure literary romance.¹

Even had there been no such obstacles to the delivery of this lecture, the work of Herodotus was perhaps, of all works of the kind, that least adapted to this mode of publication. Few national authors ever handled their subject in a manner so little calculated to gratify the vanity of a national audience. This is not the place to dwell in detail on the feature of his narrative here referred to, a feature to be duly considered in treating of the characteristics at large of his genius, one of the most honourable of which was his rigid impartiality, and unsparing castigation of the errors and crimes of his own countrymen.² It may here suffice to remark, that the portion of his history particularised by Lucian, as the source of that boundless panhellenic popularity which his Olympic lecture procured for him, his narrative of the great Persian war, was precisely that, the public recital of which was most calculated to wound the vanity and provoke the anger of a large portion of his fellow Greeks. Several leading members of the confederacy are there represented as having espoused the quarrel and fought in the ranks of the enemy; others as lukewarm or doubtful adherents to the patriotic cause. Nor are the motives by which the remaining states, except perhaps Athens and Plataea, are represented as having been induced to remain true to the national interest, or the mode in which they are described as exerting

¹ Lucian's contempt for historical truth, even in the ostensibly historical parts of his miscellany, and his ready resort to fiction wherever it suited the purpose of his sarcasm or his jest, have been ingeniously illustrated by Dahlmann, with many apt citations from his text. Herodotus, § 7. p. 26. sqq.

² See Ch. vi. § 21. sqq.

themselves in its support, so creditable, as to call forth towards the historian who proclaimed them very warm feelings of gratitude. There is indeed much reason to believe, that had Herodotus been so bold as to attempt this mode of publishing his work, or been gifted with such physical powers as to overcome the obstacles to his success, the consequence would have been an uproar in the assembly, ending perhaps in an assault on his person by one half of his audience, from which he would have been but languidly defended by the other. Nor is it likely that a man of so much good sense and kindly feeling would have had the bad taste to select the four days of national festivity, during which the intestine animosities of his countrymen were understood to be laid aside, as the occasion for publicly recording the treachery or cowardice of the fathers of a large portion of those to whom he addressed himself.¹

His work
rose but
slowly in
popular
estimation.

6. In fact, although the mature judgement of an enlightened posterity, and the innate spirit of candour which animates the historian's narrative, secured for him, on the subsidence of individual passions, the high character which he has so long enjoyed as an impartial investigator of truth, there can yet be little doubt, that owing to the above causes of unpopularity the reception of his work was at first comparatively cold, and that at all periods the national admiration of it was tempered with feelings of distrust or dissatisfaction in respect to portions of its contents. Such feelings lurk in many of the extant commentaries of Greek authors, which rarely express either admission or approbation of his impartiality, more frequently contain querulous imputations of inaccuracy or dis-

¹ See VII. 138. 222. 233.; VIII. 30. sq. 34. 72. sqq.; IX 52. 60. 85.

honesty. The attacks of Ctesias have already been noticed. In other malicious quarters Herodotus was accused of exacting bribes from the Greek states, as the price of his honourable mention of them, or even of his abstaining from calumniating them in his page. He was specially charged with blackening the conduct of the Thebans¹, because they had not only refused him money, but prohibited him from discouraging or associating with the youth of the city. The somewhat ambiguous tenor of his allusion to the part played by the Corinthians in the battle of Salamis, was attributed² to their refusal of a similar demand. The Athenians, on the other hand, were reported³ to have presented him with ten talents, in reward of his having made them act so noble a part throughout the war of national defence. The tract of "Plutarch" on the Malignity of Herodotus, is a condensation of these calumnies, for as such they have been recognised by the intelligent public of every age removed from the prejudices in which they originate. Notices exist of other similar tracts no longer extant.⁴ A work the contents of which were calculated to excite such bitter feelings, must have been singularly ill adapted for public recital to an audience composed in great part of those on whose honour it so seriously reflected.⁵

¹ Aristoph. *Bæot.* ap. *Plut. de Mal. H.* § 31.

² *Dio Chrys. Orat. xxxvii.* p. 456.

³ *Plut.* § 26.

⁴ *Æl. Harpocration*, ap. *Suid.* v. *Ἀποκαρίων*. *Polion*, apud *Euseb. Præp. Ev.* x. p. 467.; *Manetho*, ap. *Smith, Biogr. Dict.* ii. p. 916., conf. *Lucian. Ver. Hist.* ii. 31.; *Aristot. de Gener. Anim.* iii. 5.; *Strabo*, p. 43. 62. 508. 531. 550.; *Josephus* (*contr. Ap.* i. 3.); who after noticing the objections taken by one or other Greek writer to the authority of different native historians, adds, that all agreed in denouncing the falsehood of Herodotus: *Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐκινῶσι*. Conf. *Rawlinson, Herodot.* vol. i. p. 76.

⁵ See Appendix H.

It would seem then, that every particular of Lucian's narrative may be convicted of falsehood, either by its own improbability, or by its repugnance to the better attested facts of the historian's life. We may therefore reasonably feel surprise that, in this age of rational scepticism, when truth itself has often difficulty in emerging unscathed from the severe tests of critical alchemy to which it is daily subjected, so many intelligent commentators should still insist on maintaining that a mass of parts, all or most of which they acknowledge to be individually false, may yet as a whole be substantially true.¹ Their argument is much to the subjoined effect: "Granting the Olympian recital of Lucian to be fabulous, it does not necessarily follow that an Olympian recital may not have taken place. Herodotus *may* have read at Olympia a first draught of his work, or a portion of it more easily comprised within the limits of time

¹ Bähr, *Vit. Herod.* in vol. iv. edit. Lips. 1835; Heyse, *de Herod. Vit. et itinn.*; Kenrick, *The Egypt of Herod.* p. xiii. sqq.; Krüger, *Unters. üb. das Leben des Thucyd.* p. 24. sqq. The last quoted author's argument goes far to confute in detail the tradition which he adopts in the gross. The point of Lucian's narrative centres in his description of the historian's Olympic exhibition as being his first public appearance. Krüger supposes that the success of his previous exhibitions at Athens and Corinth may have induced him to aim at distinction in a still higher sphere. According to the same critic, the lecture to which Thucydides listened and wept was not that held at Olympia. The youthful historian's tears he understands to have been shed in the dwelling of his father Olorus, to whom Herodotus was reading his book in a private friendly manner.

There can be no better evidence of the incompatibility of this Olympic legend with the realities of Greek literary history during the fifth century, B. C., than the fact that Bähr, a learned and able commentator of Herodotus, after acquiescing, *op. cit.* p. 398., in the popular view that Herodotus read his history about the year 456 B. C., and thus established the celebrity which Lucian describes it as subsequently enjoying, adopts in the sequel the opinion that Hellanicus, the rival historian of the age, who was contemporaneous with Herodotus during some forty years afterwards, possessed no knowledge of the work, which had procured for its author so great an ascendancy of fame and popularity over himself.

which the festival allowed. This portion he may have read to a select circle in some more convenient locality than the gymnastic arena. Instead of the Persian war, he may have selected some part less likely to give umbrage to any portion of his audience. This he may have done, not at the earlier date assigned by Lucian, but at some later epoch more compatible with the authentic records of his life." All this no doubt may have happened ; but those who assume that it did happen, must do so on their own responsibility, not on the authority of Lucian, whose account is evicted of falsehood by every word of the above exposition of it. Nothing assuredly can be more at variance with the principles of sound criticism, than in a case where all the particulars of a story, in the shape in which it has been transmitted by its only narrator, are acknowledged to be false, to assume, in deference to some favourite prepossession of our own, that in some other shape it must have been true. History consists in the record of authenticated facts, not in the invention of probabilities to sustain the credit of popular falsifiers of its page.

That the tears of Thucydides, celebrated by Suidas and other writers¹ of a recent age, are a later fable, supplementary to Lucian's lecture of Herodotus, may safely be assumed. It is not very probable, had the former story been already current in the time of Lucian, that he would have neglected to avail himself of so valuable an ingredient of that rhetorical effect, which he is so anxious to impart to his Olympic narrative. Nothing, on the other hand, could be more conformable to the ordinary course of popular

The tears
of Thucy-
dides.

¹ Sup. citt. in p. 258.

fiction in any such case, than that where Herodotus declaimed as already an accomplished man, Thucydides should be present as an enthusiastic youth, to listen and inhale the genial inspiration of his illustrious predecessor.

Other supposed recitals :

at Corinth,

Of the three other traditions of the historian's lectures, in Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, the first two are subsidiary to the stories current in later times of his exacting bribes from the Greek states. The Corinthian story will here be allowed to speak for itself, on the authority of Dio Chrysostom¹, by whom it has been preserved. That rhetor, in a complimentary harangue addressed to the Corinthians, reminds them that Herodotus had visited their city, and recited to their forefathers a version of his account of the battle of Salamis, in which their valour and that of their commander Adimantus was fairly appreciated. But on the same Herodotus demanding his fee, and on its being refused by the Corinthians, who disdained to make traffic of their glory, he altered that portion of his narrative in such a manner as to place their conduct in a discreditable light. Those who admit the truth of the main fact which it is the object of this anecdote to promulgate, may also believe in the ancillary circumstance of the Corinthian lecture ; but if the imputation against the historian's honesty be rejected as false, as it has been by all intelligent modern critics, the story of the lecture can hardly be sustained as authentic. The details of the Theban anecdote are very similar. That such calumnies were for the most part of mere local circulation, may be inferred from the circumstance, that the

Thebes,

¹ Orat. xxxvii. p. 456.

charge of extorting money from the Corinthians finds no place in "Plutarch's" catalogue of offences, from which it would hardly have been excluded had it reached the compiler's ears.

The account of the historian's recital of parts of his work at Athens has better claims to authenticity. and
Athens. It were as unreasonable to doubt that popular authors of the Periclean age were in the habit of reading their works aloud on appropriate occasions, as it were to assume, with more credulous modern commentators, that Herodotus was a sort of itinerant prose rhapsodist, who travelled from place to place to court applause and collect money from his audience. The extent to which this mode of publication might be resorted to in particular cases, would depend much on the moral or physical habit of the individual author. A reserved or sensitive man might rarely, perhaps never, venture on any such exhibition. Nor was there any necessity for his putting a force on his inclinations. If his book was one of general interest, there would be no want of persons qualified for the office of reading it to those who were unable to provide themselves with copies, or of pecuniary inducement to the task. It is very probable that Herodotus may, in his adopted homes of Athens or Thurium, have availed himself of both these means of circulation. Nor, in repudiating the legends of his exaction of bribes at Thebes or Corinth, need we be precluded from crediting the account of a gift of ten talents having been bestowed by the state of Athens on the most illustrious of her naturalised citizens, in recognition of the services rendered to herself and the entire Hellenic nation, by the composition of his great work. This fact was attested, if we may

trust "Plutarch," by Diyllus, a native Attic historian of good credit during the Alexandrian period.¹

Assyrian
history of
Herodotus.

7. The history which we now possess was the only work recognised by the critical public of antiquity as the genuine production of Herodotus. He appears however to have contemplated another, under the title of Assyrian histories ; to which on several occasions² he refers the reader, for further information on oriental subjects not fully treated in his existing text. But no such work is mentioned by any other author, although, had such a one been extant, it seems scarcely possible that it would have been overlooked by successive generations of quoters or commentators.³ It may be presumed therefore, that the book, though planned, had not been completed ; or that if completed it remained unpublished. The terms of his own allusions are, indeed, such as to leave room for doubt whether it was intended as a separate work, or only as another of those longer episodes in which he indulges in his extant narrative, and which

¹ Plut. de Malig. H. 26. : conf. Didot, Fragg. Hiatt. Gr. vol. II. p. 360. The details of this story are somewhat confused. The lecture is described as taking place about 445 B. C. (Euseb. Chron. p. 169. ad Ol. 83.), before the author's settlement at Thurium ; at which time his work was not yet written. The decree conferring the gift, on the other hand, is stated to have been proposed by Anytus, an Athenian statesman, who first appears in a prominent capacity towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, about 409 B. C. nearly forty years after the supposed epoch of the lecture. (Smith, Biogr. Dict. I. p. 220.) If both lecture and decree be dated toward the end of the century, the notice would be in harmony with the view above adopted of the chronology of the historian's life. The date of Eusebius reflects probably some popular impression that the literary distinction enjoyed by Herodotus at Athens, during his previous residence in the city, was the cause of his staking his future fortunes as an Athenian colonist.

² I. 184. : conf. 106.

³ In the passage of Aristotle, De Generat. An. VIII. 18., where such a work of "Herodotus" appeared to be cited, the true reading is now understood to be "Hesiodus." See Dahlmann, § 38.

may have been inserted in their places at different intervals of time, in the progress of the text to its present state of maturity. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the tract on the life of Homer which passes familiarly current as a work of Herodotus, is acknowledged by the general consent of modern critics to possess no claim to that honour.

According to one tradition Herodotus died at Thurium, and was buried in the market-place of that city; another placed his decease at Pella in Macedonia.¹ The former account were the more probable of the two, but for the recorded fact that Thurium in 412 B.C. revolted from Athens, and the leading partisans of the mother state were driven into exile; on which occasion Lysias, the fellow colonist of Herodotus, returned to Attica. Unless we assume Herodotus to have joined the insurgents, he may naturally be supposed to have followed the example of Lysias, and to have ended his days among his Attic protectors. This view is partially supported by the statement of Marcellinus, the biographer of Thucydides, that the tomb of Herodotus was shown at Athens. The legend of his death at Pella connects itself with another, of his having been a fellow-guest with Hellanicus at the court of Macedon.²

Slender as are the notices transmitted by Herodotus himself of the actual events of his life, his text will yet be found a copious source of materials for the illustration of his character both as a man and a writer. We have here another trait of analogy between Herodotus and Homer, in addition to those already noticed

¹ Suid. v. Ἡρόδ.

² See note to p. 46. supra, and conf. Rawlinson, Herodot. vol. i. p. 33.

or to be pointed out in the sequel. Of the historian it may be said, with nearly the same truth as of the poet, that he lives for posterity but in the pages of his work ; with this difference however, that Homer lives in comparative seclusion, Herodotus in open and cheerful converse with his public and his age. By the data derived from this source, we shall be enabled to form no imperfect estimate of his moral, religious, and political principles ; and of the temper and spirit in which he examined the varieties of men, manners, and things, which long experience and extensive travel had presented to his observation. By these data we shall be enabled to judge how far his reports of facts or events are to be considered as accurate and trustworthy ; or in the contrary case, how far he himself, how far the authorities on which he relied, are to be held responsible for his oversights or errors.

The proper place to examine in detail these materials for a full estimate of his character, will be the ensuing analysis of his work. We shall here be content with a few general remarks which more obviously present themselves, as supplementary to the foregoing biographical sketch.

That Herodotus was, according to the standard of his age, a highly educated man, is abundantly evinced by the internal evidence of his elaborate work. His thorough knowledge of the poems of Homer, and the influence which their study exercised on his own art of composition, are apparent in the whole design of his history, in many appeals to their text, and in many peculiarities of his own style and phraseology. That he was also versed in the compositions of other standard national classics appears from his familiar

citation of Hesiod, the Cyclic poems¹, and the Arimaspea²; of Archilochus³, Alcæus⁴, Sappho⁵, Solon⁶, Æsop⁷, Simonides⁸, Lasus⁹, Pindar¹⁰, Phrynichus¹¹, Æschylus¹². To this catalogue may be added the apocryphal poems of Olen¹³, and Musæus.¹⁴ Hecataeus¹⁵ alone is quoted by name among preceding prose authors; but traces also occur of a familiarity with the works of other early logographers.¹⁶ His mastery of his own language displays itself in every line of his narrative. It is also probable that he had been initiated, to however limited an extent, in those rhetorical and dialectic arts which, in his own time, rose and flourished in the parts of Hellas where he resided during his maturer years. His philological acquirements appear to have been confined to his native tongue. His text offers no trace of an acquaintance with any foreign language, beyond the few words or phrases with which a visit to the country could hardly fail to render him familiar. Strange as may appear this indifference to a branch of science so peculiarly important to one who was not only a writer of foreign history, but a zealous traveller

¹ II. 53. 117., IV. 32.² IV. 14.³ I. 12.⁴ V. 95.⁵ II. 135.⁶ V. 113.⁷ II. 134.⁸ V. 102., VII. 228.⁹ VII. 6.¹⁰ III. 38.¹¹ VI. 21.¹² II. 156.¹³ IV. 35.¹⁴ VII. 6., VIII. 96., IX. 43. The reputed authors of oracles, such as Bacis and Lysistratus (VIII. 20. 77. 96.), hardly merit a place in a list of classical poets.¹⁵ II. 143., VI. 137. alibi. The correspondence between one or two incidental facts or sentiments, in passages of Herodotus and Sophocles, affords no sufficient evidence of a personal acquaintance between the authors, or even of a knowledge of each other's works; the facts or sentiments being themselves of a nature to have obtained popular currency in those days. Antigone, 909., conf. Herod. III. 119.; Œdip. Col. 339., conf. Herod. II. 35.¹⁶ *Infra*, Ch. v. § 4. sq.

and geographer, it was a defect inherent in the genius of the age, rather than that of the man, and one to which attention has frequently been called in these pages. His attainments in natural science, while the result apparently of observation and experience rather than study, do not seem, even as referred to the standard of his day, to have been of a high order. As a practical geographer indeed he could have had few rivals ; but his allusions to meteorological or astronomical phenomena show little or no advance beyond the popular notions of his age, and no very extended acquaintance with the more subtle, but not perhaps better-founded speculations of contemporary philosophers.

The general tone of his narrative, here as before our only genuine source of knowledge, indicates a man of amiable and honest heart, and independent spirit ; feelingly alive to what is noble and generous, and averse from what is vicious and base in human character and conduct. His disapprobation of folly and vice is occasionally exhibited in a lively or even bitter vein of sarcasm, which seasons, without offensively alloying the prevailing kindliness of his language and sentiment. An example of this sarcastic turn has already been cited in our notice of his predecessor Hecataeus. While severe even to acrimony on that author, on account of his vanity as a man and his blunders as an author, he does ample justice to his merits as a statesman and a patriot. His satirical humour also broadly displays itself in his judgements on the conduct of the several Greek states during the Persian war ; portions of his text which have afforded to hostile critics opening for reasonable, if not valid charges of partiality and malignity. The deep sense

of the fundamental truths of natural religion, which animates every page of his work, is combined with an almost childish subjection to the popular superstition of his age and country. The cheerfulness of his narrative is also overcast at times by melancholy, or even gloomy shades of moral sentiment, which imply that he was no stranger to the ills of life, though neither soured nor subdued by his experience of them. Among the passages in which his train of reflexion assumes this morbid tone, one is especially remarkable¹; where he assures us, in such emphatic terms as to evince the thought to be his own though placed in the mouth of another, that in this life, short as it is, there has never sojourned a man, however prosperous, but has had occasion, not once only but many times, to wish himself dead rather than alive.

In the case of Herodotus, as in that of Homer, it will be desirable, as the best foundation for a critical analysis of the work, to offer a compendious summary of its contents.

¹ VII. 46.

CHAP. V

HERODOTUS : HIS WORK, AND ITS MATERIALS.

1. EPITOME OF THE TEXT.—2. RESEARCH OF HERODOTUS. HOW TO BE CRITICALLY ESTIMATED. DEFINITION OF THE GREEK TERM *ἱστορίη*, HISTORY. DIFFERENT KINDS OF HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.—3. PERIOD OF HISTORY TREATED BY HERODOTUS. HIS NEGLECT OF THE MYTHICAL AGE. HIS HISTORICAL SOURCES.—4. PREVIOUS HISTORIANS. HECATÆUS. XANTHUS.—5. CHARON OF LAMPSACUS. HIPPY8. ANTIOCHUS. STRSIM-BROTUS. HELLANICUS. GEOGRAPHERS.—6. MONUMENTAL RECORDS. ORAL TESTIMONY.—7. MYTHICAL LEGEND, RULES FOR APPRECIATING ITS HISTORICAL VALUE.—8. APPLICATION OF THOSE RULES TO THE NARRATIVE OF HERODOTUS.—9. MYTHOLOGICAL MECHANISM OF EARLY PROSE HISTORY. LIFE OF CRÆSUS. DEATH OF ATYS. CRÆSUS ON THE PILE. BATTLE OF THYREA.—10. FOREIGN HISTORY OF HERODOTUS, AND ITS SOURCES. ASSYRIAN HISTORY.—11. MEDO-PERSIAN HISTORY.—12. PERSIAN HISTORY.—13. EGYPTIAN HISTORY.—14. SUDDEN TRANSITION FROM MYTHICAL TO REAL IN THE EGYPTIAN ANNALS. BLENDING OF EGYPTIAN AND GREEK MYTHOLOGY. GEOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH OF HERODOTUS.

BOOK I.

Epitome
of the text.

1. THE historian explains the object of his work to be: To preserve the memory of past events; to secure for the great actions of both Greeks and Barbarians their just meed of renown; and to trace the causes and course of the wars waged between the Asiatic and Hellenic races.

He first concisely notices the early fabulous adventures to which the popular voice ascribed the origin of those national quarrels. Passing on to more recent history, he describes the conquest of the Greek republics of Asia minor by Cræsus king of Lydia, as the first authentically recorded act of aggression by a Barbarian power against the Hellenes. A few details of early Lydian history are subjoined.¹

The most antient royal dynasty of that country was founded by Lydus son of Atys. From the last of his successors the kingdom

¹ 1—6.

passed to Agron, son of Ninus, and fourth in descent from Hercules. Candaules, the last Heraclid sovereign, was deposed, and his throne usurped by Gyges, chief of the race called Merminadæ. From this Gyges Croesus was the fourth king in lineal descent.¹

Of the predecessors of Croesus, several had made war on the Greek states, but with little permanent success. The benefits derived by the Milesians, during their contest with Alyattes father of Croesus, from the wise counsels of Periander of Corinth, are described, and the celebrated maritime adventure of Arion, court musician of Periander, is related.

Under Ardys son of Gyges, the Cimmerians had invaded Lydia and burnt Sardis. They retained portions of the Lydian territory until finally expelled by Alyattes.²

Croesus subdues the whole Asiatic peninsula west of the river Halys, Lycia and Cilicia excepted. He is visited by Solon the Athenian legislator, who had voluntarily subjected himself to ten years' exile, after the promulgation of his code in his native city.³ The prosperity of Croesus is suddenly clouded over by the death of a favourite son.⁴ He is roused from his grief by alarm at the conquests of Cyrus the Persian, who had already dethroned Astyages sovereign of the neighbouring empire of Media. After consulting the most celebrated oracles of the time, he determines on attacking Cyrus before his power should receive further increase; and courts the alliance of Athens and Lacedæmon, then the two leading states of European Greece.⁵ Some account is given of the origin and early history of each of these commonwealths. The Athenians, a Pelasgian race and indigenous in their present seats, had lately, after a keen struggle of factions, fallen under the tyranny of Pisistratus, who now ruled them with firm, but mild and prudent sway. The Lacedæmonians, a Dorian race of Pindus, governed by a family of Heraclid princes, had, after various wanderings in northern Greece, subdued, in conjunction with other kindred Dorian tribes, the greater part of Peloponnesus. Not long after their settlement in their new territory, they were raised by the wise legislation of Lycurgus from a state of anarchy to a political ascendancy over the neighbouring states. At this time they had just brought to a successful close a long war against the Arcadians of Tegea. The Lydian king's offers of alliance are accepted.⁶

¹ 6—13.² 14—25.³ 26—33.⁴ 34—45.⁵ 46—56.⁶ 56—70.

The animosity of Crœsus against Cyrus was embittered by the circumstance, that Astyages the Mede, whose empire had been overthrown by the Persian chief, was his brother-in-law. This alliance had been the result of a war between Alyattes father of Crœsus and Cyaxares father of Astyages, which terminated in a drawn battle; the two armies, overawed by a sudden eclipse of the sun, the same foretold by Thales of Miletus, having simultaneously desisted from the combat. A peace ensued, and was ratified by the marriage of Astyages the crown-prince of Media to a daughter of Alyattes.¹

Crœsus marches against Cyrus, is defeated, and besieged in his capital. The Lacedæmonians, having just concluded a war against the Argives, are about to send succours to Crœsus, when they hear of the capture of Sardis. Crœsus is made prisoner, and in his captivity enjoys the friendship and confidence of his conqueror.² The historian, after closing this part of his subject with some remarks on the geography of Lydia, on the manners and religion of its inhabitants, and on the Tyrrhenian colony established by them in Italy³, takes a retrospective view of the rise of the Persian power.

In the five hundred and twenty-first year of the old Assyrian empire, its Median subjects revolt, and establish a separate state, the sovereignty of which is conferred on a popular citizen named Deïoces. Cyaxares, the second king in descent from Deïoces, subdues the greater part of Asia; but his empire is overrun in its turn by a swarm of Scythian invaders. These barbarians penetrate to the frontiers of Egypt; but are bribed by the Egyptian king Psammetichus to retire into Asia. After a twenty-eight years' rule in that country they are again expelled by Cyaxares. To him succeeds Astyages, who, warned by a dream that the offspring of his daughter Mandane would supplant him on the throne, gave her in marriage to a Persian of low estate but honourable birth named Cambyses; Persia being then a province of the Median empire. Mandane bears a son, who is named Cyrus. Astyages orders the child to be put to death, but his life is humanely spared by those charged with his destruction. On attaining manhood, he conspires with his Persian fellow-subjects against the Median supremacy, dethrones Astyages, and reigns in his

¹ 71—74.² 75—92.³ 93—94.

stead.¹ The Persian manners and customs, civil and religious, are described.²

After the conquest of Lydia, the Ionian and Æolian republics, with the exception of Miletus, resist the arms of Cyrus. A description is given of these states; of their original settlement, their territory, dialect, and habits; and of the neighbouring Dorian colonies to the south. On the departure of Cyrus for Agbatana, Pactyas, a Lydian whom he had appointed treasurer of the Sardian province, vainly attempts to excite a revolt among his Lydian countrymen.³ Harpagus, the lieutenant of Cyrus, reduces the Greek states. The great body of the inhabitants of Phocæa abandon that city before its capture, with their ships and valuables, and sailing westward, after sundry piratical adventures found the colony of Velia on the coast of Italy. The Lycians, Caunians, and Carians are also subdued by Harpagus. Their origin and manners are described.⁴

Cyrus, having reduced the western parts of Asia, invades and conquers Babylonia, which had maintained its independence against the Medes. A detailed description is given of this country; of its antient metropolis, its river Euphrates, and its great fertility and wealth; with some account of its previous history, religion, laws, and customs.⁵

Cyrus next directs his arms against the Massagetæ, a race dwelling on the plains beyond the Caspian sea, and governed by a queen called Tomyris, to whom he makes proposals of marriage. She refuses his offer, and a war ensues, in which the Persians are defeated and Cyrus is slain.⁶

BOOK II.

Cyrus is succeeded by his son Cambyses, the first act of whose reign is an expedition against Egypt.

To the description of that country the whole second book is devoted. The historian enlarges on the singularity of its geographical features, and on the many marvels which it offered to the attention of the curious traveller. He defines its boundaries, with the primeval formation and gradual increase of its soil, from the alluvial deposit of the Nile. He describes the course of that river in so far as explored, and relates the traditions current regarding

¹ 95—130.

⁴ 162—176.

² 131—140.

⁵ 177—200.

³ 141—161.

⁶ 201—216.

its hitherto undiscovered fountain head. He speculates on the causes of its annual overflow, and reports the conflicting theories on the subject, inclusive of his own opinion. He describes the rare plants and animals which the country produced, the laws by which it was governed, the different orders or castes into which its inhabitants were divided. He enlarges on their many singular customs, and great proficiency in useful and ornamental art and science; on their modes of writing, and of embalming their dead; on their public monuments, tombs, temples, pyramids, obelisks, labyrinths, canals; on their ships, and on the navigation and commerce of their great river. He enters into similar details regarding their religious belief and superstitious observances; the origin, names, and attributes of their gods; their animal worship, oracles, festivals, and funeral solemnities; and examines the traditions concerning the influence exercised by Egypt on the religion, manners, and institutions of other countries. A sketch is also given of the civil history of the Egyptian empire, extending over a period of 11,500 years, from its founder Menes to the reigning king Amasis. Special notices are bestowed on the lives and actions of the more distinguished sovereigns; on their wars and conquests, and other remarkable events of their reigns. Under Psammetichus the fourth predecessor of Amasis, Egypt had been first opened to foreign settlers, and Greek colonies established in its interior. Amasis had been raised to the throne by an insurrection of the army against his predecessor Apries, who had rendered himself unpopular by acts of violence. The reign of Amasis, which had already lasted forty-four years, had been mild, just, and prudent; and under him the country was believed to have attained its highest state of internal wealth and prosperity.

Book III.

The cause or pretext of the Persian king's expedition was resentment for an insult offered to him by Amasis, whose daughter he had asked in marriage. Amasis, fearing that the damsel would be treated more like a concubine than a queen, yet unwilling to offend his powerful neighbour, sends, in her assumed character, a daughter of the deposed king Apries. Cambyzes discovers, and determines to revenge the fraud. Securing the

good will of the Arab tribes, he advances on Egypt by way of Palestine, and across the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Red sea. The geographical features of that region are described.¹ Shortly before the Persian army reaches the Egyptian frontier, Amasis dies, and is succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who marches against the invader. A great battle ensues in which Psammenitus is defeated. His kingdom is conquered and annexed to the Persian dominions. The Libyan tribes to the westward, with the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca, send gifts and offers of allegiance to Cambyses.²

He plans three new conquests of African nations; of the Ethiopians on the upper Nile; of the Ammonians in the western desert; and of the Carthaginians. The latter enterprise is abandoned; the Phœnician mariners, who at this time formed the chief naval force of the Persians, refusing to wage war against their African kinsmen.³ The country and habits of the Ethiopian race are described. Cambyses divides his forces into two armies; one of which he conducts in person against the Ethiopians; the other is sent against the Ammonians. His own division, owing to the rashness of its leader, in marching unprepared through an inhospitable country, perishes in great part from fatigue and famine. Cambyses, with the remnant that survives, effects his retreat into Egypt. The force dispatched against the Ammonians is destroyed in the sands of the desert.⁴

The natural violence of the king's temper, aggravated by these disasters, at first vents itself in outrages against the Egyptian religion. Soon after, having dreamt that his brother Smerdis, whom he had banished from his court through jealousy of his martial accomplishments, was destined to supplant him on the throne, he causes him to be put to death. He also marries two of his sisters, contrary to the Persian law, murders one of them, and commits other ferocious acts.⁵

While these things were passing in Egypt, refugees from Samos apply to the Spartan government for aid against Polycrates, who had usurped and now exercised despotic power in that island. The Lacedæmonians accede to their request, and fit out an armament against Polycrates. The Corinthians also send a force in aid of the enterprise, having an old quarrel with Samos, on account of favour formerly shown by that state, to their rivals

¹ 1—9.² 10—16.³ 17—20.⁴ 20—26.⁵ 27—38.

the Corcyræans; the particulars of these past transactions are narrated. The expedition is unsuccessful. The Spartans return home, and the Samian refugees seek to better their fortunes by piratical adventure.¹

One of the Magi, or Perso-Median priesthood, called Smerdis, at the instance of his brother Patizithes, chief of the king's household at Susa, usurps the royal dignity in the assumed character of Smerdis son of Cyrus. The king is about to march against the impostor, but is prevented by his own death, from a wound accidentally inflicted with his sword when mounting his horse. The mass of the Persian nation transfers its allegiance to Smerdis, believing him to be the true prince. Certain of the nobles, detecting the fraud, conspire against the offender, who with his accomplice Patizithes is slain. One of the conspirators, Darius, of the royal blood of the Achæmenidæ, is chosen successor to Cambyses.²

The new sovereign divides the Persian empire into twenty satrapies. An account is given of these provinces, of their geographical peculiarities, and of the nature and amount of the annual tribute paid by each to the crown.³

Shortly before the accession of Darius, Oroëtes, viceroy of Sardis, had entrapped Polycrates of Samos on friendly pretences into his province, and murdered him. Democedes of Croto, state physician of Polycrates, and the most skilful practitioner of his time, who had accompanied his patron on this journey, is enslaved by the same Oroëtes. Soon after Oroëtes himself, having been guilty of other outrageous acts, is put to death by order of Darius.⁴ In the sequel the king dismounting hurriedly from his horse dislocates his ankle joint. Unable to procure relief from his own surgeons he has recourse to the skill of Democedes, whom he releases from slavery, transports to Susa, and retains in his service. Democedes, an unwilling exile from his native Hellas, engages Atossa the queen, in grateful return for the benefits conferred by his healing arts on herself and lord, to procure him the means of restoration to his home. This she effects by inducing Darius to send him as guide to a royal commission, about to be dispatched by sea to Greece, to examine and report on the state of that country, with a view to its future invasion. While the squadron lay off the coast of Italy, Democedes

¹ 39—60.² 61—87.³ 88—119.⁴ 120—128.

escapes to Croto. His fellow-navigators, after vain attempts to recapture him, return to Susa ; having been the first Persians who had yet set foot in Hellas.¹

Darius, in grateful remembrance of a benefit conferred on him before his accession to the throne by Syloson brother of Polycrates, sends an armament to conquer Samos, with the purpose of bestowing on Syloson the sovereignty of the island, lately enjoyed by his slain brother. The Persian troops, irritated by acts of treachery on the part of the Samians, ravage the island and exterminate the population.² About this time the Babylonians revolt from Darius ; but their city, after a spirited defence, is reduced, and the province restored to obedience.³

BOOK IV.

Darius undertakes an expedition against the Scythians, in revenge of their ancient inroads on the Median empire. The traditions relative to the origin and early vicissitudes of those races are narrated. After some notice of the travels of Aristæas of Proconnesus in the Hyperborean regions, a description ensues of the country, religion, and manners of the Scythians proper and other neighbouring tribes. A general summary is given of the historian's views of the structure and geography of the earth, in so far as yet explored ; with some account of the more remarkable maritime enterprises by which geographical science had been extended.⁴

The more prudent of the king's counsellors vainly warn him against risking his army in those inhospitable regions. He crosses the Thracian Bosphorus by a bridge of boats, and sends a fleet of Ionian ships, with instructions to its commanders to sail up the Danube and prepare a similar bridge for the passage of that river. Traversing Thrace, he subdues the tribes through whose territory his march lay. On crossing the Danube he leaves the Ionians in guard of the bridge ; and with the rest of his force advances into Scythia. The Scythians retire into the interior, followed by Darius, who vainly attempts to force them to a battle. After wandering several months in the desert, harassed by the cunning tactics of his adversary, he retreats on the bridge. Miltiades of Athens, lord of the Thracian Chersonesus, proposes to his fellow Greek chiefs to cut away the bridge, leave Darius

¹ 129—138.

² 139—149.

³ 150—160.

⁴ 1—82.

to his fate, and avail themselves of the opportunity to emancipate the Ionian states from the Persian yoke. This proposal, at the instance of Histiaeus of Miletus, is rejected; and Darius, with the remains of his army, recrosses the river in safety.¹

Simultaneously with the Scythian expedition, a Persian armament had been fitted out in Egypt for the conquest of Libya. An account is given of the first discovery of Libya by the Greeks, and of the foundation of the Spartan colonies of Cyrene and Barca in its north-western district:

Not long after the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus, Hellenes of Lemnos, descendants of the Minyan Argonauts, had, when driven from their native island by Pelasgian invaders, taken shelter at Sparta and acquired the right of citizenship in that state: afterwards, convicted of seditious practices, they are allowed, in commutation of the capital punishment to which they were liable, to form part of the colony then about to be settled by Theras, a Spartan hero of Cadmean origin, in the island subsequently named, after himself, Thera. The descendants of these Theræan colonists, having received an order from the Delphic oracle to establish, under the guidance of Battus, new settlements in Libya, found first the city and state of Cyrene, of which Battus became king. Another Battus, second in descent from the founder, defeats Apries king of Egypt who had invaded his territory. The brothers of Arcesilaus the fourth king found the colony of Barca, in the same region of Libya. His grandson, the sixth king, Arcesilaus, is expelled from Cyrene with his mother Pheretime, and takes refuge in Samos. Collecting a force in that island he returns, and reestablishes his authority; but is slain soon after by the citizens of Barca. Pheretime, flying to Egypt, supplicates aid from Aryandes satrap of that country, on the ground of her deceased son's steady adherence to the Persian interest. Aryandes fits out an expedition accordingly, with the two-fold object of avenging the cause of Pheretime and effecting the conquest of Libya. A detailed description is given of that country and its numerous tribes of inhabitants.²

The Persian commander obtains possession of Barca by a stratagem, and avenges the wrongs of Pheretime. He then by order of the satrap returns to Egypt, leaving the native tribes unmolested.³

¹ 83—144.

² 145—199.

³ 200—205.

BOOK V.

Megabazus, lieutenant of Darius, who on his master's return to Persia after the Scythian expedition, had remained in Europe, completes the reduction of the Thracian tribes, already in part subdued by Darius. A general description is given of the Thracian people, its origin and national customs. A few notices are subjoined of other barbarous European nations to the north and westward. Megabazus extends his conquest to the Pæonians, on the Macedonian frontier.¹ He then sends ambassadors to Macedonia, to demand submission by gift of Earth and water, from Amyntas king of that country. The demand is acceded to; but the Persian envoys are slain, in revenge of their insolent conduct, while hospitably entertained at the Macedonian court, towards the females of the royal family.²

Darius rewards Histæus tyrant of Miletus for his fidelity during the late Scythian war, by bestowing on him a principality on the coast of Thrace. Afterwards, becoming jealous of his influence, he invites him to Susa and detains him as counsellor and friend at his court. Histæus appoints his kinsman Aristagoras governor of Miletus during his absence. Aristagoras, in the hope of adding the isle of Naxos to his Milesian sovereignty, espouses the cause of certain Naxian refugees, and persuades Artaphernes the Persian satrap to join in an attempt to subdue that island. The enterprise fails owing to dissensions between the Greek and Persian commanders.³ In the sequel Aristagoras openly revolts against Darius, secretly abetted by Histæus. Most of the Greek colonies join the insurrection, and application for aid is made to Sparta. The present state of that republic is described. Cleomenes the reigning king, after a conference with Aristagoras, declines engaging in a war against a sovereign whose capital lay so far distant from the sea coast. A description follows of the imperial line of route from Sardis to Susa.⁴

Aristagoras then applies to Athens, the state of which city, lately delivered from the sway of Hippias son of Pisistratus, is described. Mention is made of the assassination of Hipparchus, brother and colleague of Hippias, by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The descent of these patriots from the old Phœnician settlers

¹ 1—16.² 17—22.³ 23—34.⁴ 35—54.

in Bœotia suggests some notice of Cadmus, and his introduction of letters into Greece. The family of the Alcmaeonidæ, who when ejected from Athens by Hippias had fixed their residence at Delphi, bribe the Pythoness to espouse the cause of Attic liberty. She induces the Spartan government to join in an attack on the usurper, who is expelled the city. Athens, now restored to freedom, makes rapid advances in prosperity, though still disturbed by factions, of which some account is given. The Spartans and Bœotians, desirous of checking the rising power of Athens, take part with the Athenian malcontents, and invade Attica. The Spartan force, after an empty demonstration, returns home. The Bœotians, defeated by the Athenians, apply for succour to the Æginetes, who accede to their request; having been from a remote period on unfriendly terms with Athens. The traditional causes of this feud are related. The Spartans, in a counsel of the Dorian states, propose as the best means of subduing the spirit of their Attic rivals, to reestablish the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ. This scheme is opposed by the Corinthians, whose orator at some length describes their own sufferings under the rule of their late despots Cypselus and Periander; and protests against the attempt to impose a similar yoke on any other Greek republic. Their opposition is successful, and the project falls to the ground.¹

Hippias, when ejected from Athens, retains possession of Sigeum, an Athenian dependency on the coast of Æolia. Here, abetted by the Persian satrap Artaphernes, he concert measures for his restoration to power. The Athenians remonstrate with the satrap on this proceeding, but without effect. About the same time Aristagoras arrives at Athens, and solicits support to the Ionian league against the Persians. The Athenians send twenty ships, which with five from Eretria in Eubœa, join the Ionian force in an attack on Sardis. The town is burnt, but the citadel holds out, and the allies are forced to retire. On their subsequent defeat by the Persians, the Athenians reembark and return home.²

Aristagoras succeeds in extending the insurrection against Darius to the isle of Cyprus. Histæus persuades the king that the revolt of the Greek provinces is owing to his own absence from his Milesian seat of government; whither he is allowed to repair, having engaged to use his influence in restoring the royal authority. In Cyprus the combined Ionian and Cyprian forces

¹ 55—93.² 93—103.

are beaten, and the island is reduced to subjection.¹ The Carians next join the league, but they too are defeated. Aristagoras, baffled in all his schemes, retires to Myrcinus, the European territory formerly given by Darius to Histæus, where he and his followers are soon after destroyed by the neighbouring Thracian tribes.²

BOOK VI.

Histæus, on reaching Ionia, openly espouses the cause of the insurgents. They assemble a large naval force, but in a battle with the Perso-Phoenician fleet their own is defeated and dispersed. The Persians besiege Miletus; which city, in the sixth year of the war, is taken and destroyed, and the neighbouring region submits to the Persians. A body of Samian citizens, shunning the Persian yoke, emigrate to Sicily; where by a signal act of treachery they obtain possession of the city of Zancle.³

Histæus, with the force still at his disposal, prosecutes the war; but is captured by the Persian general Harpagus and put to death. The Greek colonies are again brought under allegiance to Darius, together with those on the European shore of the Hellespont.⁴ The most remarkable of the latter was the principality of Chersonesus, originally founded by Miltiades a noble Athenian. On the failure of his male issue, the succession had devolved on another Miltiades, nephew of the founder, the same who, on the Scythian expedition of Darius, had proposed to his fellow Ionians to destroy the bridge over the Danube; and who now, without attempting terms with Darius, returns and resettles in his native city Athens.⁵

Darius fits out an expedition under the command of Mardonius against that city, in revenge of her late attack on his Lydian capital. The fleet in attempting to double cape Athos is shattered by a storm, and Mardonius returns to Asia.⁶ In the sequel the king sends envoys to demand submission by gift of Earth and water from the Greek states; with which demand many, among others the Æginetes comply. The Athenians and Spartans are about to punish them for this unpatriotic act, when a difference arises between the two Spartan kings, Cleomenes and Demaratus. An account follows of the origin and genealogy of the royal race of Sparta, and of their monarchical office, its privileges

¹ 103—116.² 117—126.³ 1—25.⁴ 26—32.⁵ 33—41.⁶ 42—45.

and duties. The rivalry between the two kings ends in the deposition of Demaratus, on the alleged ground of illegitimate birth. Irritated by this indignity he takes refuge at the court of Darius. Cleomenes his late colleague becomes deranged, and after other extravagant acts destroys himself. This catastrophe was supposed by some to be a judgement on him for having, in a late war between Sparta and Argos, burnt alive some six thousand warriors of the latter state in the sacred grove of their god Argus. Desultory war continues between Athens and Ægina.¹

Darius fits out against Attica a second expedition of 600 ships under Datis and Artaphernes, accompanied by the refugee Athenian tyrant Hippias. They first assault and sack Eretria in the isle of Eubœa, which city had taken part with the Athenians in their attack on Sardis. Then crossing over to the Attic coast, they occupy a position on the plain of Marathon. The Athenians march out to oppose their advance, and send to Sparta for aid against the common enemy. The Plateans, who had formerly placed themselves under the protection of Athens against the oppression of the Thebans, join the Athenians with their whole force. A battle ensues, in which the allies, commanded by Miltiades, defeat the Persians, who fly to their ships, reembark, and return home.² The Lacedæmonian succours arrive too late for the battle. The historian notices the charge brought against the Alcæonidæ, of having treacherously cooperated with Hippias on this occasion. The rise of that family is described, with an account of the marriage of Megacles son of Alcæon to the daughter of Clisthenes tyrant of Sicyon.³

Miltiades, having persuaded his fellow-citizens to place at his disposal a fleet of seventy ships, invades the friendly isle of Paros, without authority from the Athenian government. The Parians make a gallant resistance, and Miltiades retires, suffering from the effects of a fall while attempting to take the place by stratagem. On his return to Athens he is found guilty of treason; but the punishment of death due to his offence is commuted to a heavy fine, in consideration of his services at Marathon, and of his having formerly annexed the isle of Lemnos to the dominions of Athens. Shortly after his trial he dies of his wound.⁴ An account is given of the mode in which Lemnos was acquired, with some details of the early history of the Lemnian Pelasgi, formerly resident in Attica, whence they had migrated at a remote period to the island still possessed by their descendants.⁵

¹ 48—93. ² 94—120. ³ 121—131. ⁴ 132—136. ⁵ 137—140.

BOOK VII.

Darius, on hearing of his defeat at Marathon, prepares a more powerful armament for the invasion of Greece. While thus engaged, he learns that the Egyptians had revolted, and resolves to superintend in person the measures for their reduction. Before setting out he names Xerxes successor to his throne, in preference to his elder children, as being the first son born to him since he became king. His designs are frustrated by death. Xerxes follows out his father's military projects: Egypt is speedily reduced, and the ensuing four years are occupied in preparations for the conquest of Hellas. In order to escape the maritime disasters formerly suffered by Mardonius, he causes a canal to be cut through the isthmus connecting mount Athos with the continent, and a bridge of boats to be thrown across the Hellespont; the construction of which work is described.¹ In the following spring he crosses into Europe, and advances southwards with a host of several millions of men and a fleet of above 4000 vessels. A descriptive catalogue is given of the nations ranged under his banners.² Traversing Thrace and Macedonia he halts for a time in Pieria; when the Thessalians with the Thebans and other Bœotian states renew their allegiance.³ The preparations of the more patriotic Greeks for the national defence are described.⁴ The Argives remain neutral, disheartened by the recent destruction of their best warriors by the Spartans.⁵ Envoys are sent to Corcyra, Crete, and Syracuse soliciting aid; and some account is given of the political state of Sicily. Gelon, prince of Syracuse, offers to contribute a large force, on condition of sharing the command of the common armament with the Spartans and Athenians. The refusal of this condition breaks off the negotiation. In the sequel Gelon himself is engaged in a war with the Carthaginians, whom he defeats on the same day on which the Greeks conquer at Salamis.⁶ The Corcyreans agree to send assistance, but afterwards evade the fulfilment of their promise. The Cretans are warned by the Pythoness to abstain from the alliance, on grounds connected with certain events of their early history, of which an account is given.⁷

A Hellenic force, sent to defend the Thessalian frontier, retires

¹ 1—36.² 37—100.³ 101—137.⁴ 138—147.⁵ 148—152.⁶ 153—167.⁷ 168—171.

by advice of Alexander king of Macedon, who secretly befriends the Greeks, and points out the impolicy of their plan. The Thessalians, who had hitherto wavered, now cordially espouse the cause of Xerxes. A Greek land force occupies the pass of Thermopylæ between Thessaly and central Greece. The fleet takes up a station at Artemisium on the neighbouring coast. The Persian fleet and army continue their advance southward.¹

The Greeks, in number about 6000, under the command of the Spartan king Leonidas, defend the pass of Thermopylæ during several days against the entire Persian army. Xerxes, through the treachery of a Melian named Epialtes, obtains possession of a mountain track which enables him to surround the Greeks. Leonidas now abandons all hope of protracting the defence. He therefore sends home the troops under his command, with the exception of his own 300 Spartiates, with whom he resolves to die at his post, of 700 Thespians who also voluntarily remain, and of 400 Thebans whom, aware of their secret disaffection, he detains in order that they may be forced to combat the invaders. The Spartans and Thespians after a heroic conflict are destroyed. The surviving force of Thebans supplicates and obtains quarter from the enemy.²

Book VIII.

A catalogue is given of the Greek naval armament of 280 ships assembled at Artemisium. Eurybiades of Sparta is appointed commander in chief; the Athenians having ceded their prior claim to that honour. The Greeks, terrified by the overwhelming force of the Persians, propose retreating southwards and taking refuge in the inner seas or gulfs of Hellas. They are prevented from following out this intention by Themistocles the Athenian commander, who by a cunning stroke of policy forces on an engagement. After several days' fighting, to the advantage of the Greeks, the fleets separate without decisive success on either side. The Greek fleet retires on receiving the news of the battle of Thermopylæ.³

The land army of Xerxes ravages the Phocian territory. A portion of it, in an attack on the Delphic sanctuary, is routed by supernatural agency.⁴

The Greek fleet now numbering 378 galleys takes up a new position off the isle of Salamis. The Athenians, on learning that

¹ 172—200.

² 200—239.

³ 1—26.

⁴ 27—39.

the Peloponnesian land forces, in breach of their engagement to make a stand in Boeotia, were limiting their defence to the Corinthian isthmus, abandon their city, and seek refuge for their families in Salamis, and the neighbouring isles and states of Peloponnesus. Xerxes occupies Athens, after a gallant resistance by a few citizens who clung to the defences of the Acropolis.¹ The Greek naval commanders, on the advance of the enemy, propose retiring from their new position at Salamis, and taking up one more favourable for the protection of the Isthmus. Themistocles succeeds in persuading them to hazard an action, by threatening, should they abandon the coast of Attica, to withdraw the Athenian force altogether and found a new state on the coast of Italy. The fleet of Xerxes advances on Salamis, simultaneously with the march of his land force on the Isthmus. The Greek naval commanders once more contemplate a movement in that direction; but are again prevented by a stratagem of Themistocles, and forced to fight. In the battle which ensues the Persian fleet is vanquished and in great part destroyed.²

Xerxes resolves on returning to Asia, leaving 300,000 of his best troops with Mardonius, who engages to complete the conquest of Greece in the ensuing season.³ Themistocles proposes that the confederate fleet should sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge of boats. This counsel is overruled by that of Eurybiades, who urged the danger of leaving on the soil of Hellas a large body of desperate men, reduced to obtain subsistence by deeds of rapine and violence. Themistocles then scours the Archipelago with the Athenian squadron, exacting fines from states that had espoused the Persian interest.⁴

Xerxes reaches the Hellespont, with a small remnant of his troops; the greater part, with the exception of those left with Mardonius, having perished by the way from fatigue, famine, or disease. He finds the bridge of boats destroyed by inclement weather, and crosses the strait on shipboard. Mardonius takes up his winter quarters in Thessaly.⁵

Themistocles is judged by the general award of the Hellenes, to have deserved best of the common country in the late series of naval actions.⁶

Artabazus who, with 60,000 of the troops of Mardonius, had escorted Xerxes on his march to the Hellespont, besieges and

¹ 40—55.² 56—96.³ 97—107.⁴ 108—112.⁵ 113—120.⁶ 121—125.

takes Olynthus, but is baffled in an attempt on Potidæa; and retreating with the loss of three fifths of his force, rejoins Mardonius in Thessaly.¹

The remains of the Persian fleet take up positions at Cuma and Samos, to check attempts at insurrection in the Asiatic Greek colonies. In the ensuing spring the Greek fleet, mustering at Ægina, is invited by the Ionians to aid them in shaking off the Persian yoke; but proceeds, for the present, no further than Delos.²

Mardonius sends Alexander king of Macedon to treat for a separate peace with the Athenians. The Argive origin and early history of the Macedonian royal family are narrated. The proposals of Mardonius are rejected.³

Book IX.

Mardonius, advancing southward through Bœotia, occupies Athens. The Spartans after much delay send, under the command of Pausanias nephew of Leonidas, a large force towards the Attic frontier, ready to take the field against the Persians.⁴ Mardonius, having destroyed Athens, retires on Bœotia, and distributes his troops along the banks of the Asopus in the neighbourhood of Platæa. The Greek army, advancing in the same direction, takes up a position opposite the Persians on the declivities of Cithæron. After many days occupied in manœuvres and skirmishes between the two lines, a general engagement takes place, in which the Persians are routed. Mardonius is slain; his camp and treasure captured; and his army, with the exception of 40,000 men under the command of Artabazus, who had treacherously kept aloof from the battle, is dispersed.⁵

The confederate force invests Thebes, and compels the inhabitants to deliver up the leaders of the Persian party in that city; several of whom are put to death by Pausanias.⁶

On the same day on which the battle of Platæa was fought, another victory was gained at Mycale on the coast of Ionia by the Greek naval force under the Spartan king Leotychides, invited by the Samians to support them and their fellow-colonists in a general insurrection against the Barbarian power. The remains of the enemy's force escape to Sardis, where the court of

¹ 126—129.

² 130—132.

³ 133—144.

⁴ 1—12.

⁵ 13—85.

⁶ 86—88.

Xerxes then lay.¹ Some details are given of the illicit amours and other criminal excesses of that monarch and his family.²

The Hellenic fleet sails for the Hellespont, to destroy the bridge of boats. On discovering it to be no longer in existence, Leotychides, with the Spartan ships, returns to Greece. The Athenians remain and invest Sestus, within the walls of which city, as their last stronghold in that region, a large body of Persians had collected. The place, after an obstinate defence, is abandoned by its garrison, and occupied by the Athenians, who return home, carrying with them, among other spoils, the fragments of the bridge of boats as the last trophies of this victorious war.³

2. The critical examination of every historical work involves two principal heads of inquiry. The first relates to its value as a work of utility ; how far it is to be considered as a complete and authentic narrative of events. The second relates to its value as a work of art ; how far the mode in which those events are narrated is judicious and elegant. We shall first direct attention to the former head, both as being in itself the more important of the two, and as involving subordinate questions, the consideration of which may be useful also in their bearings on the more strictly literary part of our subject.

Research
of Hero-
dotus.

It must further be remarked that, in the case of a work such as that of Herodotus, the merits of the author may, with reference to the first head of inquiry, deserve to be judged by a different standard from that which we are bound to apply to his text. The value of every history, as a work of utility, must primarily depend on the number and authenticity of the materials at the author's disposal. . He is responsible for diligence in his efforts to discover those materials where they exist, and for judgement and

How to be
critically
estimated.

¹ 89—107.

² 108—113.

³ 114—122.

honesty in his treatment of them when found. But where they are wanting he cannot create them. The historian therefore, who undertakes a subject the materials for which are abundant and accessible, while he enjoys a greater advantage, also incurs a greater responsibility, than one whose researches are undertaken in a region comparatively barren of such historical aids.

By reference to this rule, the responsibility incurred by Herodotus in regard to the intrinsic value of his history, will be measured, both on account of his limited sources of knowledge, and of the elementary state of the critical art in his age, by a less rigorous norm than is commonly enforced in the case of a modern historian. But this indulgence towards the author cannot be extended to his work. History, in the better sense in which alone the term is here used, may be defined the narrative of authentically attested facts ; and the value of every historical work, as a work of utility, depends on the degree in which that definition is applicable to its contents. The circumstance that in any particular case such authentic testimony was not to be procured, may be an apology for the author who, in default of it, presents his public with an imperfectly verified narrative, especially where he displays candour and ingenuity in the treatment of his defective materials ; but it cannot invest such a narrative with the attributes of authentic history. If judged by this rule, the work of Herodotus will be found greatly deficient, in comparison with many others of far inferior ability, celebrity, or popularity.

Definition
of the
Greek term

The original Greek term History, *ιστορίη*, applied by himself to his labours, signifies, in the primitive

sense in which he solely or chiefly uses it, "knowledge procured by inquiry or research." In a more advanced stage of technical language, of which there may also be traces in his text, it assumed its now familiar sense of "narrative of facts or events" concerning which such knowledge has been procured. The phrase seems to have been first used in this sense after the historical art had reached a certain stage of advancement, in order to express the greater degree of care expected from its professors in collecting and sifting their materials. It also probably implied a distinction between their method and that of the old logographers, whose works were little more than prose paraphrases of the still older poetical repertoires of mythical tradition. The frequency of its occurrence in Herodotus, and the emphatic manner in which at times he uses it, show, apart from other evidence, how much he was alive to the duty of careful research which it enjoined, and how desirous to fulfil that duty to the best of his ability. In order to judge how far he has succeeded, the following points occur for consideration : What was the precise nature of the historical research of Herodotus ; in what mode was it conducted ; and towards what sources was it directed ? On these points the historian nowhere affords any specific explanation ; but the indirect notices occurring in his narrative enable us to form a tolerably accurate estimate. For the better guidance of our judgement, it will be desirable here to take a concise view of the general principles by which the value of all historical research must ultimately be tested.

ἱστορίη,
History.

As history, in the more critical sense, denotes the record of authenticated events, historical research may

Different
kinds of
historical
evidence.

be defined as that research alone which aims at the discovery of authentic evidence of events. Events may be authentically attested in two modes ; by oral testimony or by written record. The latter kind of evidence is by far the more important of the two, and forms, in periods of advanced civilisation, the only species of authority to which, in regard to any other than the affairs of his own time, the critical historian is used to defer. It admits however of being classed under several degrees of authenticity. The first or highest degree is that of records prepared by persons contemporaneous with the events recorded. The second is that of records so nearly contemporaneous with the events, as to afford a presumption that the persons by whom they were prepared derived their knowledge from other strictly contemporaneous authorities ; or in which appeal is made to such authorities, now perhaps no longer extant. Where the events belong to an age long prior to that of the writer, and are not certified by appeals to more authentic sources, the written record of them can be considered of authority, merely as representing the oral tradition current at the time when it was embodied.

Oral testimony can rank as strictly authentic evidence, only where the person from whom it is derived was concerned in or cognisant of the events which he attests, or where he was at least contemporaneous with them ; the events themselves being of sufficient general notoriety, to warrant the belief that an intelligent contemporary would possess a competent knowledge of them. In respect to transactions of remoter date, such testimony loses its value in a degree commensurate with the greater or less remote-

ness of the date. Where the person affording it speaks, not from contemporaneous knowledge or information, but on reports transmitted from a previous generation, his evidence becomes Tradition; where the supposed epoch of the events is still more remote, tradition degenerates into Legend or Mythology. If the stages through which tradition passes are few, and the organs of transmission possess reasonable claims to be considered trustworthy, it may be allowed a share, however limited, of historical value; and a like indulgence may even, on valid grounds of speculative historical probability to be further considered in the sequel, be extended in special cases to mythical legend.

In order to estimate the number or worth of the historical data of these various kinds at the disposal of Herodotus, and his mode of turning them to account, it will be proper briefly to consider that portion of the history of the antient world which he has selected for treatment.

3. The main subject of Herodotus may be said to commence with the usurpation of the Lydian throne by Gyges in 717 B.C.; and the remoter events to which, either in his principal narrative or his episodes, he assigns historical importance, to be comprised within the epoch of the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus. This event, which dates in the received chronology above three centuries before the accession of Gyges, has been recognised by the general consent of the critical public, antient and modern, as forming a boundary line, however faint or ill-defined, between the heroic and the historical age of Greece.

Period of
history
treated by
Herodotus.

When we consider the ingenuous fondness with which Herodotus in so many places dwells on the

His neglect
of the My-
thical age.

mythical legends of his country, and the evident faith which he reposes in the more prominent among them, as embodying in poetical form the facts of primeval history, we have the better reason to appreciate the good sense which led him to restrict his own immediate subject to the events of a comparatively recent period. This exercise of critical caution is also the more creditable to him, from its contrast to the course pursued by other popular authors of his own age; who not only allotted a large share of attention to such poetical matters, but gave them in some cases an exclusive preference over the events of later authentic history.

It may however be asked: Why, if Herodotus believed these heroic traditions to record historical facts, has he excluded them from a due share of attention in a work, the object of which was to digest into one grand historical mass all that was most interesting in the early annals of his country; many of them being also far more closely identified as historical truths with the sympathies of his public, than other later transactions treated by him in detail? If he believed in a Trojan and a Theban war, or an Argonautic expedition, why should he have assigned to those popular standards of early Hellenic history, a less prominent place in his page than he has allotted to the revolutions of extinct Lydian dynasties, or the migrations of Scythian and Cimmerian barbarians?

To this question it may be answered, in the first place, that credulous as Herodotus was, even while admitting the events recorded in those heroic legends to be facts, he did not admit them to be so altogether in the same sense as the events which form his principal subject. His mind was here under the influence

of two kinds of faith : of a full and positive faith in the one class of events ; of a limited or conventional faith in the other. If asked whether he believed in the great national vicissitudes of the ante-Dorian age, he would assuredly have answered, and has in fact in many incidental passages answered, in the affirmative. But he would probably have added, that the poetical mode in which those vicissitudes are recorded, the remoteness of the age in which they took place, and their consequent slender connexion with the subsequent course of events, rendered them inappropriate subjects for treatment in the graver forms of authentic history ; especially in a work the design of which was not so much to narrate in consecutive order the annals of Greece, as to concentrate the principal vicissitudes of the civilised world around that grandest of the whole series, which forms the catastrophe of his great historical epopee. He might further have added, that such familiarity with those primeval events as was desirable for his readers, was already fully provided in numerous other popular works in poetry or prose ; that he has therefore been contented to treat them, if at all, but in the way of episode, and as a means of imparting relief or embellishment to his principal subject.

A like method has been pursued in regard to the foreign nations which act the more prominent parts in his narrative. Their remote mythical annals are, as a general rule, if not overlooked altogether, noticed but in the same episodical form as the parallel Greek traditions. The affairs of Persia and Media, for example, are traced back so far only as was necessary to a right understanding of the position of those countries towards each other and the neighbouring states,

at the epoch when they assume historical importance in his page. A partial exception may perhaps appear to be made in favour of Egypt. The remote, and for the most part mythical details of the 11,500 years and 360 kings, of which his native Egyptian authorities boasted, are certainly treated with more attention than the parallel legends of other rival nations to the eastward. This may be explained on the ground, that a full statistical account of this extraordinary land was evidently an uppermost thought of Herodotus in the general plan of his work; and such an account, owing to the peculiar character of the country, its geography, and its monuments, necessarily comprised a more or less copious ingredient of primeval history. The details given relate accordingly, with little exception, to the supposed authors of those stupendous works of art which the historian takes so great pleasure in describing.

His historical sources.

Thus far concerning the portions of history, if such they can be called, to which he has denied a place among his principal heads of subject. It remains to consider somewhat more narrowly the claims to authenticity of those to which that honour has been conceded; or in other words: What is the nature, and what the value, of his historical materials in the proper sense?

Admitting the narrative of Herodotus, from the epoch of the Heraclid invasion downwards, to rest on a substantial basis of fact, it must also be admitted that the authorities which he either expressly cites, or to which he appears to have deferred, are, as tried by the standard of modern criticism, of no very satisfactory nature. His statements, in so far as appeal is made to testimony of any kind, rest, with

rare exception, on that inferior class of testimony which has above been ranked under the general head of oral. His references to written authorities are so few and incidental, as to show both the paucity of those at his command, and how little alive he was to their preferable claims to attention over that hearsay or tradition to which he so constantly appeals. Those which he quotes, or which it was in his power to quote, may be classed under two general heads: first, works of previous historical writers; including incidental allusions by early, chiefly lyric poets, to events of their own age¹; secondly, state registers, and other monumental records public or private. We shall first direct attention to those of the former class.

4. It has been seen, in a previous chapter, that none of the prose authors who preceded Herodotus can claim an antiquity, or by consequence credit as contemporary chroniclers, beyond a few generations prior to his own time. The only one whom he cites by name is his immediate predecessor Hecataeus. Of the two recorded works of this author, one was entirely devoted to mythological subjects. The other was properly a geography not a history; and such historical notices as it contained referred chiefly to the mythical age. Accordingly, on one of the only two occasions where Herodotus quotes Hecataeus, he does so not in the mode of appeal to his testimony, but in ridicule of his vainglorious attempt to trace back his pedigree to an Egyptian god.² On the second occasion he quotes him as at issue with the native Athenian authorities on a point of the early

Previous
historians.

Hecataeus.

¹ Archilochus, i. 12. Alcæus, v. 95. Sappho, ii. 135. Solon, v. 113. Phrynichus, vi. 21. Simonides, v. 102.

² ii. 143.

mythical annals of Attica.¹ The other passages of Herodotus, in which speculative commentators² would discover plagiarism from, or indirect allusion to the text of his Milesian predecessor, relate to matters of a strictly geographical nature, and respecting which it is probable that he was himself as well qualified to speak from personal observation as any other writer.

Of the other prose authors whose works were, or may have been published before that of Herodotus, the greater number were, like Hecataeus, either geographers or mythologers. Six alone appear to have treated subjects of real history belonging to the period over which the historian's narrative extends: Charon of Lampsacus; Xanthus the Lydian; Hippys of Rhegium; Antiochus of Syracuse; Stesimbrotus of Thasos; and Hellanicus of Lesbos. None of these writers have been named by Herodotus; nor, with the single exception of Hecataeus, does he distinctly allude to the testimony of any previous prose author as the foundation of his own statements. His expressions, either in referring to authorities, or in discussing, as he constantly does, the varieties of belief which existed as to events recorded by him, apply in their natural sense to verbal information, whether procured in answer to his inquiries or in the way of current rumour. It is true indeed that such phrases as "it is said," "it is reported," might at times, according to the idiom of the Greek as of other languages, admit of being interpreted of what had been said or reported in writing, rather than by word of mouth. In a work however, where such expressions so constantly occur in a plainly literal sense,

¹ VI. 137.

² Müller ad Hecatæi Frag. 292. sqq. (Didot.)

we are not at liberty to take them in any particular case in a figurative sense, without some strong internal evidence in favour of the latter; the less in a work where there is an almost total absence of direct citation of written authorities. The cases, if any there be, in which such latitude of interpretation is admissible, are of rare occurrence.

Among the six writers above mentioned, the one Xanthus. by whose previous labours it might appear most natural for the historian to have profited was Xanthus, whose Lydian history may be presumed to have been published during the youth of Herodotus. As Xanthus was himself a Lydian, and had compiled from native sources, a stranger writing on Lydian subjects was under the greater obligation to consult his text, if not to defer to his authority; and in regard to Herodotus we have a general, but somewhat vague statement of Ephorus, that he knew the work of his predecessor.¹ The collation however of the Lydian history of Herodotus with the remains of Xanthus, affords no evidence of any such knowledge. In our previous notice of Xanthus, it has been seen that the two historians differed widely in the treatment of their common subject. Yet Herodotus nowhere alludes, as was his ordinary practice in similar cases, to any varieties of tradition current on the points where the two disagree. Among the principal cases of discrepancy is the account of the Lydian hero Tyrrhenus, whom Herodotus describes as migrating to Italy, and colonising a great part of that peninsula; while Xanthus makes him the patriarch of a provincial tribe of Lydians in his native country. As it is obviously not probable that

¹ Ap. Athen. xii. p. 515. D.

Herodotus would willingly have departed from his usual and often declared custom', of stating both sides of the question, in a case of marked disagreement between himself and the highest native authority, it may reasonably be inferred that the work of Xanthus was unknown to him.

Charon of
Lampsacus.

5. Of the other predecessors of Herodotus, the one to whom there is the greatest appearance of his having been indebted for a part of his materials, is Charon of Lampsacus. This highly respectable chronicler had, before Herodotus, described the Greek wars of Darius and Xerxes, with which he was in great part contemporaneous; and even the scanty remains of his text evince, that many details of Greco-Persian history, to which prominence is given by his successor, had been previously narrated in his page. Such are the dream of Astyages concerning his daughter Mandane, the mother of Cyrus; the conspiracy of Pactyas the Lydian treasurer of that conqueror; the joint assault and sack of Sardis by the Ionians, Athenians, and Eretrians, where the number of ships contributed by the Athenians is identical in each account; and the superstitious aversion of the Persians for white pigeons. These points of correspondence will appear the less likely to be the result of accident, when it is remembered what a variety of conflicting legends there were, as Herodotus himself tells us, regarding the birth of Cyrus.² The Persian superstition on the subject of white pigeons was also little likely to have been noticed by two authors writing in an independent capacity.³

Of the other two works of Charon, one on the annals of his native Lampsacus, the other on the succession of Spartan magistrates, the former was

¹ See especially III. 9. ² I. 95. ³ I. 138. See *supra*, p. 168.

on so limited a subject, that it might easily have escaped the notice of even a more zealous indagator of written authorities than Herodotus; and his ignorance of the antient name of Lampsacus, Pityusa or the City of pines, mentioned and illustrated by Charon, implies that he was not familiar with the work.¹ The Chronicle of Spartan chief magistrates seems to be referred to in the passage of his sixth book² where, speaking of the Lacedæmonian kings, "he abstains from tracing in further detail their origin or lineage, as that had already been done by others."³ But Charon is the only historian prior to Herodotus, who is recorded to have treated that subject.

That Herodotus should have profited to the extent here supposed, by the previous labours of Charon, without any acknowledgement of his obligation to a predecessor, can expose him to no such charge of literary piracy, as that to which in a parallel case a

¹ VI. 37.: conf. infra, Ch. vi. § 3. note; and Charon, frg. 6. ² § 55.

³ Mr. Rawlinson (Herod. vol. i. p. 47. note) pronounces this statement a mistranslation of Herodotus, and asserts that: "what Herodotus abstains from tracing is, not the origin and lineage of the Lacedæmonian kings, but the establishment of the kingdom of Danaus in the Peloponnese." Our statement was not meant for a literal translation, but simply to convey what we still believe to be the sense of the passage in which Herodotus (VI. 55.) sums up his genealogical notice of the Sparto-dorian sovereigns; and which is as follows: ὅτι δὲ ἰόντες Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔλαβον τὰς Δωριέων βασιλείας, ἄλλοισι γὰρ περὶ αὐτίων εἰρηται, λίσσομεν αὐτά.

It must, we think, be evident to Mr. Rawlinson, as to every other critical reader, that in this digression, extending from § 51. to § 55., the sole object of the historian is to illustrate the origin and descent of the Spartan Heraclidæ. For this purpose he finds it necessary to carry their genealogy, through their eponyme ancestor Hercules, to Argos and to Egypt; but not to examine its further details, that having been done by others. Mr. Rawlinson's assertion therefore, apparently because Herodotus has here reached the Argivo-Egyptian stage of their descent,—that he is no longer alluding to the origin or lineage of the Lacedæmonian kings, but to the establishment of the kingdom of Danaus, is an oversubtle distinction, which we can only meet by the counter assertion that the historian

modern historian would be liable. It was not the ordinary custom, either of Herodotus or his contemporaries, to cite by name the authorities for or against their own statements, either in the numerous cases of verbal information, or in the more rare instances of written testimony. Such an accumulation of names and references in his main text, would have detracted from the ease and elegance of his style; and the practice of marginal citation was reserved for the age of printing. He seems therefore to have treated his written authorities as he has treated his verbal informants, omitting all mention of names, unless when such precision was calculated to give zest to his narrative. The citation by name for example¹, of Thersander of Orchomenus, as his authority for the conversation between the same Thersander and a Persian warrior on the eve of the battle of Plataea, is essential to the spirit of that well told anecdote. A like motive existed in the interest and

is still alluding to the Lacedæmonian kings; and that the establishment of the kingdom of Danaus, unless in so far as connected with their origin or lineage, could form no part of the historian's subject. In regard to our critic's doubt (*loc. cit. conf. ad Herod. vi. 55.*) whether Charon carried his Chronicle beyond the Dorian conquest, we may refer to the one among the extant fragments, which C. Müller has very judiciously assigned to that work (*frg. xi.*), and which records an event preceding the birth of Hercules.

We do not understand Mr. Rawlinson's apparent anxiety, in this and other instances, to prove that Herodotus, while thoroughly versed in the works of the Greek poetical mythologers, possessed no similar knowledge of those of the more intelligent prose historians who preceded him; as if such knowledge were something derogatory to his own dignity. Charon, as agreed by the best authorities, was contemporaneous with the Persian war, and recorded its vicissitudes. If Herodotus, writing in the next generation, was to lazy to inquire after the works of contemporaneous authors, or too proud to make use of them, it would be greatly to his discredit, as well as that of his book. But the marked coincidences above noticed between him and Charon suffice to relieve him from any such imputation in the present case.

¹ ix. 16.

curiosity of the case, for his mention¹ of Timnes chief minister of Ariapithes king of Scythia, as his authority for one account of the genealogy of Anacharsis, the celebrated Scythian traveller. In the only two instances where the text of a previous prose writer has been cited, that of Hecataeus, the exception may be explained, partly as a tribute to the celebrity of that author, both as a statesman and a man of letters; partly as indicating a lurking spirit of rivalry towards so distinguished a predecessor.

Of the four other historians who may have preceded Herodotus in the treatment of any part of his subject, Hippys, Antiochus, Stesimbrotus, and Hellanicus, the first two had devoted their attention chiefly to the Italo-Sicilian colonies, concerning which they seem to have been the earliest, and at this time the best accredited authorities. The remains of their works contain allusion to but one historical event recorded by Herodotus, the foundation of Velia by the Phocæans; the account of which in Antiochus² and in Herodotus seems to have been substantially the same. The only historical work ascribed to Stesimbrotus was his Memoirs of Themistocles, Thucydides, and Cimon; and the only portion of it by which Herodotus could have profited, was that relative to the early part of the life of Themistocles. But here we have no means of forming an opinion, as the extant allusions of Stesimbrotus to that statesman are confined to the latter part of his career. Hellanicus, though classed by the popular

Hippys.
Antiochus.

Stesimbrotus.

Hellanicus.

¹ IV. 76. More or less parallel are the cases of Etearchus king of the Ammonians, II. 32.; of Archias of Samos, III. 55.; of Epizelus, VI. 117.; and of Diceus, VIII. 65.

² Frag. 9.

authorities as an older man than Herodotus, can hardly be considered as an earlier author. In the most important of his works, that entitled *Atthis*, which treated subjects in part common to Herodotus, mention occurred, as we have already seen, of an event which happened as late as 406 B.C., two years later than the latest event alluded to by Herodotus. Judging therefore from internal evidence, the only clear evidence on the subject, the *Atthis* may have been the last published work of the two. In that case the question might be, whether Hellanicus may not have borrowed from Herodotus, as indeed one ancient commentator¹ of slender credit has maintained, rather than Herodotus from Hellanicus. The other works of Hellanicus which can be distinctly recognised as having treated of historical times, may possibly have been published at an earlier period than the *Atthis*, and have been known consequently to Herodotus. But neither their remains nor his text contain evidence that such was the case.

Geogra-
phers.

To the published researches of previous geographers the work of Herodotus contains as little distinct allusion as to those of previous historians. It abounds on the other hand in proof of the pains he took to acquire a personal knowledge of the countries he describes. When disappointed of this object, his next anxiety was to procure information from eye-witnesses; either natives of those countries, or travellers who had enjoyed greater facilities than himself. The only written authority which he distinctly cites on any geographical subject is the *Arimaspea* of *Aristeas*²; a work both

¹ Porphyr. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* x. p. 466. Müll. *Frag. Hellan.* p. xxix.

² *iv.* 13.

in form and substance of a purely poetical character, but giving a description of the author's researches in the extreme north of Europe, which seems to have combined with a copious mass of fable a certain ingredient of truth. He also mentions¹ the voyage of discovery made by his Dorian fellow-countryman Scylax, on the opposite or Indian extremity of the habitable world; but without allusion to any written narrative of that adventure. There seems, however, no reason to doubt that Scylax left such a narrative. Herodotus also notices² in some detail the still more important voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, effected by Phœnician navigators in the service of Neco king of Egypt. He further mentions, in general terms, "many" previous writers of Descriptions of the earth, or constructors of Maps of the world, for the expression may admit of either interpretation; but characterises their labours as defective, and tending to mislead rather than instruct.³ The geographical work of Hecatæus was assuredly one of those the authority of which Herodotus dismisses in this somewhat cursory manner. Porphyry⁴ indeed charges him with having pirated from that author several parts of his description of Egypt, those more especially concerning crocodile-fishing, the hippopotamus, and the phoenix. It is however obviously not probable, that a traveller who had studied with such care and diligence everything Egyptian in Egypt itself, should have condescended servilely to copy from another Greek traveller, for whose authority he entertained no great respect, his notices of these three particular matters;

¹ IV. 44.² IV. 42.³ IV. 36. 42.⁴ Ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. x. p. 466. Müll. Frag. Hecat. 292.

an equal knowledge of which he could have easily procured at the fountain head. In spite of the disparaging terms in which Herodotus alludes to the maps current in his day, there can be little doubt that he availed himself of them in digesting his own geographical descriptions. The detailed account which he gives¹ of the provincial subdivisions of the Persian empire established by Darius, must have been drawn from original Persian documents, illustrated probably by some species of plan. Aristagoras is introduced accordingly by the historian², tracing those provinces on a map, in his interview with Cleomenes king of Sparta.

Monumental records.

6. The other class of written authorities available to Herodotus were the monumental records preserved in national archives and religious sanctuaries, or exposed in places of public resort. The most antient and best-accredited monuments of this kind appear to have been the state registers of the Peloponnesian republics. Such were the genealogies of the kings and magistrates of Sparta, Corinth, and Elis; the Chronicles of the priestesses of Juno Argiva; the records of the Olympic victors preserved in the Pisan sanctuary, and those of the victors in the Carnean games of Sparta.³ Herodotus nowhere cites or even mentions any of these registers; but we cannot infer from his silence that he had not consulted them, with the evidence before us how little punctilious he was in quoting authorities; and the formal manner in which, on several occasions⁴ he recapitulates the

¹ III. 89.

² V. 49.

³ Vol. III. p. 430. sqq. 501.; 2nd edit. Append. N.; and the author's Remarks on two Appendices to Grote's History (vol. III.), Longman, 1851, p. 1. sqq.

⁴ VII. 204., VIII. 131.

Spartan royal descent from Hercules to Leonidas, implies his knowledge to have been derived from the fountain head. All these registers seem to have been more of a genealogical and chronological than a historical character. Their notices, that is, were restricted solely or chiefly to the succession of kings or magistrates in the different states, and the periodical returns of national festivals ; nor is there a trace of the archives of any Hellenic state, prior to the time of Herodotus, having embodied a detailed or continuous record of events.

More numerous and often more detailed, were the notices supplied by the monuments dedicated in the agoræ, cemeteries, and other public places of the Greek cities, and especially within the precincts of the great national sanctuaries. Herodotus duly appreciated the value of this class of records, both as historical data, and as antiquarian curiosities or works of art. Several pages¹ are bestowed on the votive offerings sent by Cræsus to the Greek oracular shrines consulted by him during the latter part of his reign ; and it is probable that the inscriptions with which the historian implies those monuments to have been provided, may have afforded him illustrations of the eventful close of the Lydian monarch's career. Mention is also made of donations to the Delphic sanctuary by Alyattes the father, and Gyges the remote ancestor of Cræsus² ; and of a still earlier date by Midas king of Phrygia.³ Similar offerings by Amasis king of Egypt, and other remarkable personages native and foreign, to Greek deities, are alluded to from time to time as still extant in their

¹ I. 50. sqq. 54. 92.

² I. 14. 25.

³ I. 14.

sanctuaries.¹ The longest commentary in which he indulges on any such monument, is that bestowed² on the very antient tripods inscribed with Cadmean characters in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes. Other remarkable works of monumental art noticed by him are : the sculptured group of Arion and his dolphin at Cape Tænarum³, commemorating, in figurative form, the preservation of that celebrated musician from maritime disaster ; the picture of the bridge of Darius⁴ over the Bosphorus, dedicated to the Samian Juno by Mandrocles architect of that work, with an inscription recording its execution ; the two stelæ of Darius⁵, describing, in Greek and Assyrian characters, the numbers and composition of the army which he led across that bridge ; the quadriga⁶ dedicated by the Athenians in their acropolis, commemorating their victory over the Bœotians on the Euripus ; the inscribed column at Samos, recording the valour displayed by Samian citizens in a sea-fight against the Perso-Phœnicians⁷ ; the stelæ erected on the battle-field of Thermopylæ by the Amphictyons⁸ ; the tripod at Delphi, on which were engraved the names of the Greek republics which fought against the Persians ; with other similar monuments of less historical interest.⁹

Oral testimony.

None of these memorials, whether couched in the form of state registers or monumental inscriptions, however valuable as vouchers for isolated facts, could supply Herodotus with the materials for a connected narrative. The internal evidence of his text also

¹ II. 182. : conf. 159.

⁴ IV. 88.

⁸ VII. 228.

⁵ IV. 87.

⁹ VIII. 82., IX. 81. : conf. IV. 15. 152.

² V. 59.

⁶ V. 77.

³ I. 24.

⁷ VI. 14.

shows him to have been dependent for the details of any such narrative all but exclusively on oral testimony. In every part of his work¹ he describes himself as diligently engaged in seeking such testimony, whether from persons who had been themselves concerned in the events, or from such as he considered likely to be well informed regarding them. For this purpose he was in the habit of visiting the chief metropolitan seats, native and foreign, of traditional knowledge. We shall examine the amount and value of the information procured by him in this way, and his mode of turning it to account, with special reference to the several degrees of unwritten evidence, classed in a former page as Contemporaneous oral testimony, Tradition, and Mythology.

Herodotus assures us, and his text contains proof, that he was in the habit of carefully sifting and comparing the conflicting reports derived from different sources, and of digesting his narrative on a balance of their claims to confidence.² His method was thus, in regard to more recent events, closely parallel to that of the modern historian in dealing with contemporaneous written records; the one class of data being, in fact, but a reduction to writing of those statements which in the other continued to be circulated by word of mouth. It is certain indeed, that the best accounts of the European wars of the early part of this century,—the events of our own time which offer the nearest analogy to those narrated in the more authentic parts of the historian's work,

¹ I. 20., II. 3. 44. 104., III. 55., IV. 16., &c.: conf. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. I. pp. 52—54., and p. 77.

² I. 1. sqq. 95. 214., III. 9. 56. 121., IV. 8. 76. sq., V. 44., VI. 84., VII. 150. 214., VIII. 94. *alibi*.

are compiled in great part from communications derived from persons who served in those wars. To take a nearer case of illustration ; were an author of the present day to undertake a history of the campaign of Waterloo, or even of the previous series of continental wars, he would still find abundant sources of information in the testimony of surviving combatants. The case here put, making allowance for difference of times and circumstances, would be virtually that of Herodotus, assuming him to have first commenced collecting materials for his account of the Persian war at a date equally removed from that of its close. The chief distinction between his case and that of the modern writer would, in respect to this particular kind of data, be to his advantage. In the present advanced state of historical literature, the existing stock of personal knowledge, in proportion as it is less indispensable, becomes less available. The abundance of written documents being such as to supersede in a great degree the necessity of minute personal inquiries, the author who institutes such inquiries exposes himself to the charge of officiousness, and those to whom he applies are the less inclined to indulge his curiosity. Herodotus on the other hand, in proportion as he wanted the like supplies of written information, would have the stronger claim on the memories of earlier contemporaries. His narrative therefore, in so far as resting on the oral testimony of informants contemporaneous with the events narrated, may safely be considered as authentic in substance, whatever allowance may be made for the inaccuracy of its details, owing to error or prejudice on the part of his authorities, or to the fallibility of his own judgement.

7. The case alters when we go back beyond the epoch to which such contemporaneous information can reasonably be supposed to have reached. That epoch cannot, on the most indulgent computation, be extended in the case of Herodotus beyond the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., or about the year 525 B.C. ; assuming him to have been born in 484 B.C., to have commenced his researches into that remoter period at the age of twenty-four, or in 460 B.C., and to have had opportunity of consulting persons whose memories could carry them back about sixty years prior to the last-mentioned date. Toward the middle of the sixth century contemporaneous oral testimony gave place to tradition ; which again, some generations further back, degenerated into mythical legend. From one or other of these more or less defective sources, the copious details which Herodotus gives of events prior to 525 B.C. must chiefly have been derived. The monumental records of those times supplied but a meagre skeleton of names or facts ; prose history, in so far as already written at or prior to that date, was exclusively engaged with the heroic age ; epic poetry was restricted to the same class of subjects ; and the few notices transmitted by the lyric poets, whose sympathies were more nearly identified with their own times, were so desultory, as rarely to be intelligible but when taken in connexion with some fuller account of the transactions to which they referred. The question then occurs : In what mode were those copious narratives of the events of Grecian history from the Dorian irruption downwards, with which we are regaled from time to time by Herodotus, transmitted ; and what degree of historical value are we justified in attaching to them ? Which

Mythical legend.

question involves another of great importance and equal difficulty : How far the historical inquirer is entitled to assume any basis whatever of fact in unwritten or purely traditional records ; and by what principle is he to be guided in any particular case, in his attempts to investigate the nature or extent of that basis ?

Rules for
appreciat-
ing its
historical
value.

The principles by which the historical research of this work has been guided in respect to those questions have already been explained.¹ It will here suffice to offer such a summary of them as may facilitate their application to the case immediately before us. We have without hesitation repudiated the hypercritical doctrine of a modern school of classical antiquaries : that in no case whatever is the reality of any event or person to be admitted, unless it can be authenticated by contemporaneous written evidence. The fallacy of this doctrine is evinced by the inconsistencies and self-contradictions in which its advocates have been involved in their attempts to enforce it ; their own practice being in perpetual conflict with their theory. It has been shown elsewhere², that if this dogmatical rule be valid at all, it must be valid to the extent of condemning as fable nearly the whole primitive annals of Greece, down to the first rise of authentic history about the epoch of the Persian war. This condemnation would include not only the Trojan and Theban wars, the exploits of Theseus and Hercules, and other legends where the existence of a basis of fact has, even by the more indulgent class of interpreters, been admitted to be

¹ Book I. ch. ii. ; and the author's Remarks on two Appendices to vol. III. (3rd ed.) of Grote's History of Greece. Longman, 1851.

² See Remarks on two Appendices, &c., as already quoted sup. p. 312.

doubtful, but many other events, the reality of which has scarcely ever been questioned, and has even, strange to say, been fully admitted by the leading advocates of this same theory with which such admission is so plainly incompatible. It would set aside the belief in a Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus ; in an *Æolian* or *Ionian* migration ; in the early history of the *Lydian* monarchy, and of the *Græco-Asiatic* republics as connected with that monarchy. For it would certainly be difficult to adduce authentic contemporaneous written evidence respecting any event of those times.

The more rational principle of research here preferred is : that in regard to the remoter ages of any people, where written records fail, where consequently the primary condition of all inquiry is an absence of positive proof, the historical critic is entitled to test the truth or falsehood of national tradition by the standard of *Speculative historical probability*. The results of such speculative inquiry can never, indeed, possess the same value as those founded on authentic written documents. They can rarely amount to more than a fair presumption of the reality of the events in question, as limited to their general substance, not as extending to their details. Nor can there consequently be expected in the minds of different inquirers, any such unity of opinion regarding the precise degree of that reality, as may frequently exist in respect to events attested by documentary evidence.

The grounds of any speculative argument in favour of an element of truth in oral tradition, admit of being ranged under the following heads : First, the comparative recency of the age in which the event transmitted is supposed to have taken place, and the

proportionally limited number of stages through which the tradition has passed : Secondly, the inherent probability of the event ; and, more especially, the existence of any such close connexion in the ratio of cause and effect between it and some other more recent and better attested event, as might warrant the inference, even apart from tradition on the subject, that the one was a consequence of the other : Thirdly, the presumption that, although the event itself may not have enjoyed the benefit of written transmission, the art of writing was, at the period from which the tradition dates, sufficiently prevalent to check, in regard to the more prominent vicissitudes of national history, that license in which the popular organs of tradition in a totally illiterate age are apt to indulge.

Applica-
tion of
those rules
to the nar-
rative of
Herodotus.

8. The portion of antient history, specified in a previous page as forming the main narrative of Herodotus, commences with the accession of Gyges to the Lydian throne in the latter part of the eighth century B. C. ; and the events of earlier date to which, in the form of retrospective narrative, he assigns an equal degree of historical value, such as the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, the expulsion of the Ionian tribes of that country, and their occupation of new territories on the coast of Asia, extend several centuries farther back. It forms no part of our present object to test in detail the truth of these, or other legendary chapters of Grecian history, by reference to the various degrees of speculative evidence above enumerated. The result however of any such analysis would tend, no doubt, to justify the distinction which Herodotus has tacitly drawn, between the historical value of those traditions and that of others

recording the more remote vicissitudes of his nation ; a distinction recognised by the general concurrence of the modern critical public. It may here suffice to remark that in our own view of the case, the strongest argument in favour of a broader basis of fact in the events of the Dorian period, is that which has above been classed under the third head : the presumption that although the events may not themselves have enjoyed the benefit of written transmission, the art of writing was practised in the age when they are supposed to have happened, to an extent sufficient to counteract the license in which the popular organs of tradition, in the absence of such control, are apt to indulge. The evidence that writing was so practised has been adduced in another part of this work.¹ But that evidence also tends to show, that any such written check on the license of fable was confined to the substance of the events recorded. The written monuments of that period contained, as we have seen, little more than the names of certain lines of kings or magistrates, with an imperfect notation of the years during which they held their office ; and here and there perhaps a notice of some remarkable occurrence, more frequently of a sacred than a political

¹ Vol. III. p. 397. sqq. The recent publication of Niebuhr's *Lectures on ancient history* (London, 8vo, 1852), has supplied a new and unexpected addition to the list of eminent scholars bold enough to emancipate themselves from the trammels of Wolfian fallacy on the subject of early Greek writing. The reader is referred to Lecture xx. vol. I.; from which it will here suffice to subjoin the following extracts, pp. 180. 183. "I cannot possibly doubt that the art of writing was known to the Greeks at the time which we call that of the Trojan war." "It is not improbable that at Athens there may have been records of the last kings, and of the archons for life. . . . The priestesses of Hera at Argos appear also to have been recorded." This whole lecture is well worth perusal ; although the distinguished author carries his faith somewhat further than we are prepared to accompany him.

character ; the appearance of some prodigy, the delivery of some oracle, the enactment of some standard law. But such permanent records, even of the bare names of persons in whose times important national vicissitudes took place, would help to perpetuate the connexion between the names and the vicissitudes ; and in so far prevent the latter from being either consigned to oblivion, attributed to other persons or times, or otherwise entirely perverted. Besides such more properly historical registers, the gradually increasing practice of writing for ordinary purposes, would supply collateral means of preserving the memory of transactions not themselves recorded in writing. The more definite allotment and settled possession of property, with the subdivision of the classes of citizens, in themselves and as distinguished from the vassal or slave population, would be provided for by written census ; the transfer or transmission of property by written conveyance or testament. Such documents form a sort of pivots on which would hinge the memory of contemporaneous persons and events ; and the parallel increase of sepulchral or dedicatory monuments, commemorating the existence and actions of individuals or communities, would tend more directly to the same effect. Abundant scope would no doubt still remain for the play of mythological fancy. The particulars of events being still dependent for transmission on the popular voice, would be subject to the usual caprice of popular fiction ; to the substitution of supernatural agency for human action ; to the license of figurative imagery and poetical embellishment ; to exaggeration by the organs of a successful party ; to suppression by their opponents. Such influences, operating through a

series of generations, might suffice to invest the original nucleus of written fact with almost as dense a crust of mythology as envelopes the legend of the Golden fleece or the Trojan war. Let us assume, for example, the names of Procles and Eurysthenes to have been recorded during their own lifetime, as the first Heraclid sovereigns of Lacedæmon. That record, without any detailed account of their actions, would probably have sufficed to impart durable substance to the tradition that the Dorians of Sparta were foreign conquerors, not an indigenous race of Peloponnesus. But it would not suffice to preserve that tradition from the exuberance of mythical detail which it actually presents, not in the text of Herodotus, for he dwells but little either on the main event or its accessories, but in that of other compilers, who drew doubtless from the same sources to which he must have resorted had he thought fit to enlarge on the subject.¹

The question as to the mode in which, or the agents by whom, so many legends of the post-Dorian period treated by Herodotus, may have been handed down in that copiousness of circumstantial detail which they present in his page, is one to which no satisfactory answer suggests itself. We have seen above² that they were denied the benefit, not only of detailed written record, but of that metrical aid to oral transmission enjoyed by the fables of the heroic

¹ See Apollodorus and Pausanias, ap. Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. II. ch. xviii. p. 1. sqq.; who in the face of his own twofold doctrine, that all such legendary lore is worthless without written documents, and that no such documents existed in Greece prior to 776 B.C., yet recognises (p. 7. alibi) a substantial basis of fact in the series of Sparto-Dorian traditions from the Heraclid invasion in the eleventh century B.C. downwards. See the author's *Remarks on two Appendices*, &c., sup. cit.

² p. 60. sqq.

age. What was here the substitute for this latter expedient, usually considered indispensable in an illiterate state of society for the preservation of legendary stories? Were there in the Greek cities popular story-tellers, such as we read of among certain eastern nations, who went about reciting the later national vicissitudes in familiar prose, as did the Homeric minstrels the mythical glories of older times in hexameter verse? Or were there in the principal states professional "loghioi," or depositaries of antient lore, such as Herodotus describes in Egypt, whose duty it was to instruct the citizens in those details of national history which the state annalists disdained to record? No trace exists of any such classes of men in Greece. Yet it is difficult to conceive how, in the mere form of colloquial communication between ancestor and descendant, the memorials of the remote past could have been maintained, in that varied richness of fact or fiction which they display in so many parts of the historian's text.¹

Mythological mechanism of early prose history.

9. The mythological mechanism which the compilers of these narratives, whoever they were, have employed to impart spirit to their tale, is somewhat different from that familiar in the minstrelsy of the earlier period. The direct intervention of the gods is now rare. Its want however is amply supplied by the secondary order of divine agency, by oracles, dreams, omens, and prodigies; which are accumulated often to such a degree in Herodotus, as to destroy the freedom of human action as effectually as the

¹ Such are his long and complicated accounts (B. IV.) of the settlements of Spartan colonies in Thera and parts of Libya; and the better-digested narrative by the Corinthian orator in v. 92., of the political vicissitudes of his country under the Bacchiadæ and Cypselidæ, with the historian's own supplementary notices of Periander and his family.

personal interference of the gods in the Iliad. This indirect kind of supernatural intervention is not, indeed, confined to the more properly mythical parts of the historian's narrative, but is common even to those which rest on contemporaneous authority. As a general rule however, it is more actively displayed in the conduct of events of remoter date.

We can select no better illustration of these remarks than the life of Cræsus, which forms the opening chapter of the historian's work.

This monarch, in all the more important vicissitudes of his life, is as complete a tool in the hands of destiny as any hero of Homer or the tragic drama. The declining stages of his career hinge on a train of oracular announcements of impending fatality, in the form chiefly of prophetic warnings which, ambiguous or even deceitful in their terms, and by consequence misunderstood or misapplied, are but so many seductive instigations to the follies or faults against which his insidious Mentors profess to caution him. It had been foretold by an antient but neglected oracle that he was to be the last of his line, and that the sceptre was to be violently wrested from his hand. He is warned in a dream that Atys, the favourite son of the two he possessed, the other being deaf and dumb, was to be slain by a steel weapon. To avert this fatality, he debars the youth from martial exercises ; but is induced by his entreaties to permit him, under the guardianship of a confidential friend, to take part in a boar hunt ; where, by an accidental shot of that friend's javelin he is slain. The afflicted father consults the Delphic oracle concerning his remaining son's delivery from his infirmity, and is informed that the prince will be endowed with the

Life of
Cræsus.

faculty of speech on a day of great calamity. On the spread of the arms of Cyrus, he has recourse to the more accredited oracles of the age, testing their claims to infallibility by proposing to each a miraculous feat, which the Pythoness alone performs to his full satisfaction. She thus secures his boundless confidence in her god, and rich donations to her shrine. In the fulness of his faith, he consults her as to his prospects of success in an attack on his formidable rival, and the presumptuous self-confidence inspired by her delusive answer costs him his kingdom. To his further inquiries as to the duration of his power the oracle replies, that he need be under no alarm until a mule shall sit on the throne of the Medes ; the absurdity of which alternative confirms him in his fatal security. After his first defeat by Cyrus, the mule thus mystically alluded to, another omen of his impending fate is vouchsafed. The suburbs of his city suddenly swarm with snakes, which are devoured by herds of horses flocking from the neighbouring pastures to partake of the filthy repast. Scarcely have his soothsayers time to expound the prodigy, when his empire is overthrown. His capital Sardis, which he attempts to defend, is taken, owing to an oversight of a former king Meles. The concubine of this king had by him become mother of a lion-whelp, which he was instructed by his augurs would, if carried round his city walls, render them impregnable. He caused his monstrous offspring to be carried round every part of the city but one, supposed to be already inexpugnable by nature ; and at that point the Persians now effect their entrance. On the point of being slain by a Persian soldier, Cræsus is preserved by an exclamation of the

previously dumb prince, now suddenly endowed with speech, as had been foretold. When enveloped in the flames of the pile to which he is condemned by Cyrus, he prays to Apollo for deliverance, and is preserved by a sudden shower of rain sent by the god to extinguish the fire.

The interesting and beautifully told tale of the death of Atys has, apart from the dreams, prodigies, &c., on which it hinges, all the appearance of being made up of purely poetical elements. The calamity is announced as a judgement on Cræsus for the vain-glorious presumption displayed by him in his (also probably fabulous) interview with Solon. The whole adventure proceeds accordingly under the immediate guidance of the goddess Nemesis. The name Atys, whatever its genuine import in the Lydian tongue, becomes in the Herodotean legend palpably significant of its owner's fate: "the youth under the influence of Atë," the demon of judicial blindness; and under that influence he is made to court the destruction to which he is doomed. The name and character of Adrastus¹, the constituted guardian and involuntary destroyer of Atys, are equally significant of his part in the fatal drama. Adrastus is the hero who, in the Greek mythology, acts as the type or eponymus of Nemesian destiny. It was as a refugee from the terrors of his own Nemesis, which pursued him on account of a recent fratricide, that this Phrygian Adrastus sought an asylum at the court of Cræsus, where he becomes the involuntary agent of the designs of the same evil genius on his benefactor.

Death of
Atys.

¹ "The Doomed;" from *α* privat. and *διδρασκω* fugio: "One who cannot escape or fly from his destined calamities." Adrastea, "The Inevitable," is hence, in the same Greek mythology, a title of the goddess Nemesis.

His Phrygian pedigree, which represents him as son of Gordias, son of Midas, does not tend to add historical reality to his character. Even the less allegorical part of the story, the appearance in a distant province of a wild boar, so fierce and formidable as to require for his destruction an army of huntsmen from the metropolis under the command of the crown-prince, — sounds more like a prose paraphrase of some Nestorian episode of the *Iliad* than an event of real history.

Cræsus on
the pile.

The authenticity of some of the other more striking details of the historian's Lydian narrative are open to question, partly on internal grounds, partly because a different account is given of the same transactions by the rival annalist Ctesias, who professed to give the Persian version of them. In a question as to the general claims of the two authors to credibility, Herodotus might be entitled to a preference; and several of the variations of Ctesias are as little probable as the statements of his predecessor. But on some points he has the advantage; especially in omitting, as does also Xenophon¹, the story of the condemnation of Cræsus to the stake, of the repentance of Cyrus, and the delivery of the captive monarch from the flames. It seems in itself far from probable that a Persian fire-worshipper would have degraded his deity to the office of public executioner; and this objection is confirmed by Herodotus himself in another part of his work. Among the outrageous acts committed by Cambyzes in Egypt, he caused the body of the late king Amasis to be disentombed and burnt. Upon which the historian remarks²: that to consume human bodies by fire was contrary to the law of the Persians, who worshipped fire as a god.

¹ *Cyrop.* vii. ii. 9.

² *III.* 16.

Cyrus, the type and essence of Persian patriotism, would assuredly never have been guilty of such an act of sacrilege.

This chapter therefore of the historian's work, if stripped of its apocryphal details, presents, of historical substance, at the most but the following three or four principal facts; that the last Lydian monarch was called Cræsus, that he was in the habit of consulting Greek oracles, and that his kingdom was conquered by Cyrus. It hence illustrates in a very pointed manner the remark formerly made, that when we ascend beyond the period of which Herodotus can be supposed to speak from contemporaneous data, his historical facts in the proper sense resolve themselves into little more than the existence of certain remarkable personages, under certain names, as the leading actors in certain remarkable events; but the particulars of their lives, characters, personal relations or performances, remain shrouded under that mythical disguise, in which a few generations of popular transmission sufficed to envelope them.

We subjoin one more example borrowed from the contemporaneous affairs of European Greece, the account of the battle of Thyrea between the Spartans and Argives.¹ That these two states should have agreed to decide an important national dispute by a combat between 300 chosen warriors on each side, is certainly a possible circumstance. But the sequel of the story, which constitutes its main point and spirit, is both impossible and absurd. When the battle was interrupted by nightfall, the whole 600 combatants, we are told, were slain, except three, two on the side of the Argives one on that of the Spartans,

Battle of
Thyrea.

¹ I. 82.

who survived under such circumstances as to deprive either party of positive claim to the victory, and leave the quarrel to be decided in the ordinary forms of warfare. It is hardly necessary to point out how impossible it is, that of 597 men placed, to use an expressive foreign phrase, "*hors de combat*," in a single day's action, a very large portion should not have been but temporarily disabled by wounds or fatigue ; many of whom consequently would have recovered, and either have effected their return home, or if animated by the same ferocious spirit might have renewed the combat on the ensuing day. Nothing however can be more distinct than the historian's assurance that the whole 597 actually died on the ground. He is even at pains to inform us that the surviving Spartan, although his countrymen claimed the victory on the strength of his successful championship, was so ashamed of not having shared the glorious death of his 299 comrades, that he slew himself on the field of battle. The portion of the narrative which forms its cream and spirit being thus evidently false, it is the less easy to judge what part of the remainder may be true. There seems however no reason to doubt the primary fact, that in a war between the Spartans and the Argives in support of their respective claims to the disputed frontier district of Thyrea, a drawn battle was fought between nearly equal armies of the two republics.

Foreign
history of
Herodotus,
and its
sources.

10. The obstacles which the state of society in the age of Herodotus interposed, even in his native Hellas, to the investigation of truth, beyond the limits of what has here been defined as contemporaneous oral testimony, were still more serious and the results still

less satisfactory, where the same investigations extended to the affairs of distant foreign countries. And here another difficulty presented itself in a characteristic defect, not so much of the historical research of Herodotus as of the literary culture of his age, the prevailing indifference of the Greeks to the study of foreign languages. Admitting the full force of the apology supplied in the case of Herodotus, by the elementary state of intellectual culture in his time, it yet remains difficult to understand how, in the particular line of pursuit to which he had devoted himself, one so zealous and indefatigable in his researches, should not have been alive to the extraordinary benefit to be derived from a competent knowledge of the tongues of the two great foreign nations, the Persians and Egyptians, who figure most prominently on his scene of action ; and to the great advantage it would have afforded him over rival labourers in the same field. The accessibility in his day of both Asia and Egypt to foreign visitors offered ample facilities for study. Since the settlement of Greek military colonies in Egypt two centuries before his time, that country abounded, as he himself tells us, in natives versed in the Greek tongue ; and it may be assumed that an equal number of Greek colonists were familiar with the Egyptian dialect. The courts of the Persian emperor and his satraps also contained many Greek adventurers, who from motives of interest or necessity had acquired a competent stock of those linguistic attainments, to which men of letters at home attached so little value. Be this as it may, it is certain that the genius of Herodotus was here neither above nor beyond that of his

age, and that he was content to borrow his notices of foreign affairs at second hand, from persons qualified to impart them in his native tongue.

Of the foreign nations to whose history Herodotus devotes any large share of attention, the most remarkable are the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, who successively held the empire of central Asia, and the Egyptians. There can be no reasonable doubt that both the Assyrians and the Egyptians possessed written records of contemporaneous events, of a much earlier date and more copious nature than those preserved in any part of Greece. It may however be questioned whether those imperial chronicles, in their greater richness of detail, were of a more trustworthy character than the more meagre notations of the Greek republics. Much of the amplification that might otherwise have formed the advantage of the Asiatic records, consisted of hyperbolical, and probably in great part fabulous, eulogies on the virtues and exploits of the vainglorious despots who ruled those countries, and who, in furtherance of the same object of personal glorification, were in the habit of expunging or corrupting the annals of their predecessors. The question as to the intrinsic value of these documents, is one which comparatively little concerns our present inquiry ; the inability of Herodotus to read or understand them rendering him as dependent, as if they had never existed, on the popular organs of tradition ; a tradition which, while founded doubtless to some extent on written memorials, appears as fabulous in much of its detail as the mythology of the Greek heroic age.

Herodotus dwells but slightly on the remoter annals of central Asia, for the reason assigned by

Assyrian
history.

himself¹, that he contemplated a separate work or chapter on Assyrian history, which does not seem ever to have been composed. The Assyrian traditions, as narrated in greater detail by other popular Greek compilers, form themselves into three more prominent groups, concentrated around the biographies of as many principal personages, Ninus, Semiramis, and Sardanapalus ; upon whom all or most of what was good or evil in the race of native heroes and heroines appears to have been accumulated. Ninus, the founder of the empire and of its capital Nineveh, acts much the same part as Menes in Egyptian legend, or Hellen in that of Greece. Semiramis, the mighty queen and conqueress, finds her counterpart in the Sesostriis of Egypt. The history of Sardanapalus, the indolent voluptuary whose empire is wrested from him by one of his own generals, is an evident type of the decline of his race and nation. The remainder of the numerous series of Assyrian kings were so little remarkable for qualities or actions of any kind, that their Greek historians consider even their names to be not worth recording. An exception was made by some writers in favour of Memnon ; a hero borrowed from Homer, whose Memnon, son of Aurora, was very naturally converted by Græco-oriental fabulists into an eastern prince, sent by the mighty monarch of Asia to support his vassal Priam in his last extremity. Such are the main features of Assyrian history as embodied by the popular Greek classics, Ctesias, Diodorus, and others, who have treated it in detail.² In the few notices on the subject transmitted by Herodotus, he differs in several points

¹ I. 184. : conf. 106.

² Ap. Clint. *Fast. Hellen.* I. p. 263. sqq.

from those authorities. The duration of the Assyrian monarchy is limited by him to 520 years¹, commencing in 1230, and ending in 710 B.C. His rival and opponent Ctesias, who advanced special pretensions to draw from native sources, rated it at 1306 years, commencing in 2182, and ending in 876 B.C. Berosus, the native Babylonian compiler, numbered some 36,000 years as the duration of the entire Assyro-Chaldean empire which corresponds to the Assyrian empire of the Greek writers.²

We may form some notion of the authenticity of the data on which the more extended but unpublished oriental researches of Herodotus were based, from an incidental passage of his Lydian history³, where he informs us that Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian

¹ I. 95. These 520 years evidently correspond to the 526 years assigned by Berosus the native Babylonian annalist to the forty-five Assyrian kings, who occupy nearly the same chronological position in his system. Nor can we have better proof of the vagueness and imperfection of the historian's data, than the wide discrepancy by which this incidental correspondence between the two authors is counterbalanced. With Herodotus these 520 years form the whole duration of the Assyrian empire. With Berosus they form but a single dynasty among the many which he enumerates. With Berosus, Semiramis is the first queen of this dynasty; with Herodotus, she flourishes more than 500 years later, about the close of the empire. With Herodotus, both dynasty and empire are overthrown by a revolt of the Medes; in Berosus, no such revolt is alluded to. The latter compiler, on the other hand, has in his Assyro-Babylonian empire a dynasty of eight Median kings, reigning 234 years, and commencing above 900 years before the Assyrian monarchy of Herodotus, after the break up of which the Medes of Herodotus first appear on the stage. That the 520 years of Herodotus comprehended, in his system, the whole duration of the empire which in the system of Berosus lasted several myriads of years, is evident from the circumstance that with Herodotus the founder of the empire is Ninus son of Belus; which two personages figure, in every variety of the tradition, as the chief god and patriarch of the Assyrian race; although Herodotus most absurdly makes them both descendants of the Greek Hercules. Conf. Beros. Fragg., Didot, vol. II. p. 509.

² Clint. loc. cit. The dates of Ctesias have been preferred, with occasional slight variations, by most of the subsequent native Greek chronologers.

³ I. 7.

monarchy, was a great-grandson of the Greek hero Hercules, and father of Agron, founder of the Heraclid dynasty of Lydia. He enters somewhat more in detail on the circumstances attending the break up of the empire of Ninus. He describes it¹ as falling to pieces in its 521st year, by a general revolt of the vassal provinces against the supreme government. The antient metropolitan districts, of Assyria proper with its capital Nineveh, and of Chaldea with its capital Babylon, continued each for a time to maintain a separate independence²; the latter, it would appear from the somewhat ambiguous terms of the historian's text, under a remnant of the old imperial family. The Medes of the upper Euphrates now became, under an independent dynasty of native princes, founded by a popular chief named Deïoces, the dominant power of central Asia.³ Nineveh was conquered by Cyaxares grandson of Deïoces.⁴ Babylon continued to hold out until reduced by Cyrus, great-grandson of Cyaxares, and founder of a new Medo-Persian dynasty.⁵ Labynetus, the reigning sovereign of Babylon at the epoch of its conquest by Cyrus, was son of a patriotic queen called Nitocris, and sixth in lineal descent from Semiramis. According to this account Semiramis, instead of being, as represented by her popular biographers, the mighty conqueress and extender of the old Assyrian empire, would be either the sovereign under whom that empire was subverted, the Sardanapalus in fact of Ctesias; or would be but a petty Asiatic queen, reigning over the Babylonian remnant which Herodotus describes as surviving for a while the general wreck.⁶ Senna-

¹ I. 95.² I. 184. sq.³ I. 96.⁴ I. 106.⁵ I. 188.⁶ Cyrus the conqueror of Labynetus was fifth in descent from Deïoces (I. 102. sqq.), in whose time, or immediately before, the disruption of the

cherib¹, the celebrated Scripture king of Assyria, is represented by Herodotus as flourishing and carrying on his extensive wars nearly about the time of the disruption; whether before or after it, does not distinctly appear. Sardanapalus² is also incidentally mentioned by name as a very wealthy king of Nineveh; but here again we are not informed whether of Nineveh before or Nineveh after the disruption, or what may have been his character or ultimate fate. As little knowledge does the historian afford of the name or character of the hero who, in his tradition, acted the part of universal conqueror, jointly assigned by his fellow Greek annalists to Ninus and Semiramis; for assuredly such a conqueror, in the general spirit of Græco-oriental history, could not have been wanting.

Medo-
Persian
history.

11. In the chronology of the Median empire which succeeded, we have another great discrepancy between the leading classical authorities.³ Herodotus has here 150 years and four reigns, commencing about 709 B.C. and ending 559 B.C. Ctesias has 317 years and nine reigns commencing in 876 B.C. The numbers of Herodotus, as tested by collateral data, seem here preferable. Admitting however his framework of fact to be correct, nothing can be more palpably fabulous than the details with which it is filled up and embellished. The whole story of Deïoces⁴, founder of the new dynasty, is a pure political romance, illustrating the speculative theories of the age regarding the origin of regular government. On the dissolution of the Assyrian em-

old empire took place; Semiramis therefore, the ancestress of Labynetos in the sixth degree, must have been contemporaneous either with Deïoces or with his father.

¹ II. 141.

² II. 150.

³ Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* i. pp. 258. 261.

⁴ I. 95. sqq.

pire, its Median province, deprived of the benefit of central administration, is described as still further broken up into its primary social elements of separate households ; without law, police, or courts of justice. Each village elder therefore, performs within his own immediate sphere the functions of magistrate ; but in so defective a manner that the consequence is universal discontent. One alone among these patriarchal judges, by name Deïoces, possessed the rare faculty of so adjusting his decrees as to give satisfaction to all litigants. The result was a flocking of such crowds to his tribunal, that he found it necessary to shut his door against their importunities ; alleging that he could not allow his own private affairs to suffer by gratuitous attendance on the affairs of his neighbours. The disorder now became greater than ever ; until at length they were reduced to the necessity of appointing Deïoces king, of supplying him with a body guard, and building him first a palace and then a fortified city, called Agbatana, where he exercised a righteous but unlimited sway. Cyaxares, the grandson of Deïoces is described, in the same conventional spirit of political fable, as doing for the military organisation of the state what his predecessor had done for its civil government, by dividing the national forces, which hitherto fought in one promiscuous body, into separate corps of men at arms, cavalry, and archers.

The only historical fact, which could at the best be assumed to lie at the root of this luxuriant growth of didactic legend, might seem to be that the Medes, on shaking off the Assyrian yoke, had found it necessary to appoint a king of their own. Ctesias however, the rival authority, gives a different

and more probable version of the whole story. According to him Arbaces, a Median officer of Sardana-palus, revolts against his effeminate lord, deposes him and reigns in his stead. The same author describes Agbatana, the newly founded city of Deioces in the legend of Herodotus, as the antient metropolis of Media, which the new native sovereign naturally selected as his place of residence.¹

While the circumstances which mark the close of the Median dynasty in the page of Herodotus are, as will be seen, no less palpably mythical than those which signalised its commencement, the intermediate transactions, consisting chiefly in the subjugation of provinces of the old empire by the new monarchs, have a greater semblance of historical truth. This is the mode in which the political mythology of Herodotus is usually worked up, and is indeed the ordinary course of mythical invention; the beginning and end of any important series of events being the epochs which commonly supply the best materials for poetical embellishment. The legends of the dream of Astyages, the last Median monarch; of his consequent bestowal of his daughter in marriage on Cambyzes the Persian; of the exposure of her son Cyrus by order of his grandfather; of his providential preservation, and his dethronement of Astyages on reaching man's estate, while narrated by Herodotus² with all the gravity of authentic history, enjoy about as much and deserved credit with the critical public of the present day, as the Roman fables concerning Romulus and Remus, of which they are the evident prototypes.³ Herodotus himself informs us that he

¹ Ctes. Fragg. Didot, p. 24. 35. sqq.

² 1. 107. sqq.

³ The analogy between the two stories extends even to such par-

knew in all, including the one he has given, four traditions as current among the Persians concerning the birth of Cyrus and the establishment of the Persian dynasty; and that he has preferred that which he had received from informants who appeared to him more studious of truth than of flattery to the family of Cyrus.¹ It has been well observed by modern commentators, that this version has much the appearance of being the Median account, and conceived in the mode best calculated to save the national honour of the Medes: Cyrus being here made as much a Mede as a Persian; a legitimate descendant of the Median kings, and in fact the rightful heir of the throne. The Persian account was probably that transmitted by Ctesias², who here, as in other controvertible points, is at issue with Herodotus. Ac-

ticulars as the name or nickname of the herdsman's wife, by whom in each case the royal infant is preserved; which is Spaco the "She-dog," in the Græco-Persian original, and Lupa the "She-wolf," in the Latin copy. (Liv. i. 4.) The correspondence between Herodotus and Livy in other details of their respective narratives, strikingly illustrates the influence which the work of the former exercised on the legendary lore of the early Latin logographers. The story of Tarquin and the poppy heads is identical in substance with that of Periander and the corn stalks. The devotion of the 300 Fabii is but a paraphrase of that of the 300 Spartans at Thermopylæ. The combat of the three Horatii and three Curiatii finds its parallel in that between the 300 Spartans and 300 Argives at Thyrea. The Greek origin of the story of Tarquin and the Sibyl also betrays itself by a comparison with the two similar cases of Melampus and Tisamenus in Herodotus, ix. 33, 34.

The contempt for historical credibility in the hyperbolical element of these anecdotes, displays itself in curiously parallel forms in the two authors. The wild impossibility involved in the account of the mutual massacre of the 300 Argives and Spartans at Thyrea has already been noticed. It is however equalled or surpassed by the statement of Livy, that the 300 patriots who fell on the banks of the Cremera left behind them but a single male relative, a youth of tender years, to maintain and propagate the subsequent race of Fabii. Liv. ii. 50.

¹ i. 95.

² Ap. Phot. Bib. cod. LXXII.; Didot, Frag. Ctes. 29. § 1. sqq.

according to Ctesias there was no blood relation between Astyages and Cyrus; the latter was a native Persian chief, who headed his countrymen in a successful attempt to shake off the yoke of the Medes, as the Medes had a few generations before shaken off that of the Assyrians; and Cyrus was the husband, not the son, of the daughter of Astyages, having married the princess after the dethronement of her father. Here again the only substantial fact that can be elicited from this conflict of fabulous tales is, that the empire of central Asia, first overthrown and then reconsolidated by the Medes, was wrested from them in their turn, and transferred to the Persians by a Persian chief called Cyrus, the first and greatest sovereign of the Persian dynasty of historical times. The accounts of this monarch's death¹ were as numerous and conflicting as those concerning his birth.

Persian
history.
Behistun
Inscription.

12. How slender was the knowledge possessed by Herodotus, of the internal history of the East, even under the Persian empire of his own day, to the affairs of which he devotes so great attention, strikingly appears from a comparison of his account of the early part of the reign of Darius, with the account given by Darius himself, in that most important contemporaneous record, the Inscription of Behistun.² The events which occurred about, or shortly after the death of Cambyzes: the murder by that sovereign of his brother Smerdis; the personation of the slain prince by the rebel Magus; the general adhesion of the Persians to the pretended Smerdis; the death of Cambyzes while preparing to reassert his authority;

¹ Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. vii.; Ctesias, *Frag.* 29. § 6.; Herodot. i. 214, conf. Mitford, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. ii. p. 22. ed. 1822.

² See *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x.; and in the Appendix to Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii.

the death of the usurper by the hand of Darius and his comrades; with the accession of Darius to the throne,—are related much to the same effect by Herodotus and in the Inscription. But from this point there is a wide and irreconcilable discrepancy between the two authorities.

In the Inscription Darius informs us, that his occupation of the throne was the signal for a wide spread revolt among the provinces of his empire. The example was set by his own metropolitan province of Susiana; and was followed by Babylonia, Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Sagartia, Parthia, Hyrcania, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Sacia. His wars against these rebel states seem to have lasted five or six years¹; each year comprising several campaigns; the insurgents not having acted in concert, but each country, in its turn, asserting its separate independence with its separate army, under its own king or local chiefs.² Some of the principal states, Susiana, Persia, Babylonia, and Armenia, made a prolonged or obstinate resistance; the Susians having, after a first revolt was suppressed, rebelled a second and third time, the Persians and Babylonians a second

¹ This is the estimate of Mr. Rawlinson (note to Herod. iii. 126.). Three or four years, at least, are proved by the dates of the Inscription. That of the month Anamaka occurs four times; and the notices of intermediate events imply, that in no two cases could a month of the same year be alluded to.

² Mr. Rawlinson (note to Herodot. loc. cit.), speaks of the Inscription as recording: "a combined revolt of the three most important provinces, of Assyria, Media, and Armenia; a descendant, real or supposed, of the antient line of Median kings being placed on the throne." We find no proof of this in the Inscription. Each province is there described as rebelling on its own separate account. The first revolt of Assyria, or rather of Babylonia, led by its native chief, is put down before Media rebels. Nor does notice occur of any concert between the Medes and Armenians, or of any recognition, by either Assyria or Armenia, of the royal authority of the Median chief.

time, before they were finally subdued. These wars, as the whole tenor of the Inscription implies, must have engrossed the king's unremitting attention so long as they lasted. The restoration of peace cost him, as he himself informs us, nineteen battles, in which he slew or captured nine¹ kings.

This momentous series of events was altogether unknown to Herodotus; unless indeed, (if we could imagine such an alternative,) it has in his narrative been wilfully suppressed or falsified. According to his account, Darius on being elected king, entered at once on the full possession of his sovereign rights²; his reign, in so far as regards internal government, was a nearly uninterrupted course of prosperity; and his first recorded act, after dedicating a monument to the horse and groom who procured him the throne, was his celebrated division of the empire into Satrapies³; a thing hardly possible so long as the civil war lasted. Herodotus further represents his authority, shortly after his accession, as so paramount even in the distant Lydian extremity of his dominions, that a simple exhibition of letters under the royal seal, by an envoy of the king, unsupported by any military force, sufficed to procure the deposition and death, by the hand of his own body guard, of Orætes, viceroy of Lydia, Phrygia, and Ionia; who during the disturbances connected with the Magian usurpation, presuming on his local power and influence, had affected a sort

¹ This number includes the rebel Magus Smerdis.

² III. 88. . . . βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἔσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι . . . δυνάμιός τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιπλέατο. As these statements occur before the account of the king's dedication of the monument to his horse and groom, they cannot be interpreted of any other than the very first part of his reign.

³ III. 89. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα, (viz. having dedicated the monument,) ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι . . .

of independence, and treated with contempt the authority of the new king.¹

The punishment of Orætes was one of the earliest acts of the reign of Darius, or at least is so represented by Herodotus; having preceded, in the historian's narrative, the conquest of Samos and the revolt of Babylon; the first of which events, (immediately followed by the second,) he describes as the king's first military achievement. Not long after the affair of Orætes, queen Atossa is introduced, reproaching her husband, now that he is in possession of so great power and wealth, with sitting idle, instead of acquiring honour in the eyes of his subjects by adding to his dominions, and at the same time keeping alive their martial spirit. An amicable discussion ensues on the question: whether it would be better in the first place to attempt the conquest of

¹ III. 126. The attempts of several commentators to extract from this, and one or two other incidental passages, an argument that Herodotus was familiar with events, of which the whole remainder of his text implies him to have been profoundly ignorant, have not been successful. Nothing can, we apprehend, be more clear, than that the *ταραχή* here in question alludes merely to the troubles connected with the Magian usurpation. So Mr. Rawlinson has correctly enough rendered it in his version. Yet in his commentary on the passage, he refers it to the six years of subsequent rebellion against Darius. It is not easy to believe that Herodotus, if he knew the real state of things, could ever have designated a six years' exterminating civil war, involving nineteen battles and the death or deposition of eight Asiatic princes, a mere "trouble of the season." Nor can the expression: *Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρεμένους τὴν ἀρχήν*, apply to any part of the events recorded in the Inscription, except the first part devoted to the Magian conspiracy; where by fraud, not by force, the Persians were induced to transfer their allegiance from Cambyzes to his pretended Medo-Magian brother. The rest of the Inscription contains no account of the Medes having deprived the Persians of their government. The events there recorded cannot rightly be considered as mere wars or rebellions either of the Medes against the Persians or of the Persians against the Medes; but of the Persians, Medes, and some nine or ten other provinces, against the authority of Darius; the Persians themselves being among the ringleaders. See additional note at the end of the volume.

Greece, or to execute the project which had already occurred to him, of throwing a bridge across the Bosphorus and marching against Scythia.¹ How incompatible all this is with any knowledge by Herodotus, of Darius being at that moment engaged in bloody civil war against some two thirds of his own subjects, it is hardly necessary to remark.

Both the Greek and the Scythian project are however represented by the Historian as having for the time been laid aside; for he soon after informs us² that the first martial achievement of Darius was his conquest of Samos. This enterprise is described as an act not so much of state policy, as of favour to an old Hellenic benefactor, (a brother of Polycrates, late tyrant of the island,) whom he wished to establish in his deceased relative's sovereignty. Here again, is it conceivable that Herodotus, in representing Darius as wasting his forces on so very uncalled for an enterprise, at the time when the whole of central Asia was in arms against him, would have abstained from all remark on so singular a conduct, had he been cognisant of the real state of things?

Further conclusive proof of his ignorance is supplied by his ensuing description³ of the Babylonian revolt as an altogether insulated act of insurrection, occurring simultaneously with the Samian conquest; and of the capture of Babylon as again permanently restoring internal peace to the empire; whereas in the Inscription the revolt of Babylon was immediately subsequent to that of Susiana, and was itself as immediately followed by that of numerous other powerful provinces.

¹ III. 129. 133. sqq.

² III. 139.

³ III. 150.

13. But the portion of the historian's work devoted to Egypt is that which places the nature and value of his foreign research in the clearest light, owing to our more accurate knowledge of the data by which he was guided. The discoveries of the last half century, while they have shown the written registers of Egypt to contain contemporaneous notices of national history extending back to a very remote age, have also proved that the historical facts embodied in those registers were, as interpreted by native authorities to the Greeks, subjected to the same falsifications and perversions as in the parallel case of the oriental archives. In the original Egyptian documents we find recorded, with more or less appearance of authenticity, the names of numerous kings, whose reigns extend probably over a period of not less than from 2000 to 3000 years prior to the Christian era; and these royal names are frequently accompanied on the monuments by sculptured representations, indicating their proprietors to have been mighty warriors and conquerors. In the tradition received by Herodotus¹ from the local interpreters we find, that while the numbers of those years and reigns are multiplied to an excessive degree, the names and acts of the earlier kings are concentrated, much as in the case of the Assyrian dynasties, on a comparatively small number of peculiarly prominent and in part to all appearance fabulous personages. The remainder, also as in the case of Assyria, are dismissed² as royal drones, or "rois fainéants," who neither attempted nor performed any act worth recording. The entire series of Egyptian monarchs, from the foundation of the first human dynasty to

Egyptian history.

¹ II. 99. sqq.² II. 101.

the Persian conquest, amounts in the same tradition to three hundred and sixty¹; a conventional number, adjusted probably to that of the primitive solar year. These three hundred and sixty reigns occupy, according to the historian's no less conventional reckoning by generations, a period of towards 11,500 years.² We have a Menes, as we had a Ninus, founder of the empire. We have a Sesostris, as we had a Semiramis, conqueror of the civilised world. We have an illustrious Egyptian as we had an illustrious Assyrian female called Nitocris. The other ten sovereigns specified by name as belonging to the earlier, more mythical part of the series, are chiefly mentioned, either in connexion with remarkable works, pyramids, and others, constructed by, or attributed to them, or are themselves the heroes of fabulous and in great part absurd or trivial anecdotes.

Some of these Herodotean names can be recognised among those of the original Egyptian records; where however they commonly appear with accompaniments, and in a chronological order, different from what they offer in the page of the Greek historian. The "Sesostris" whose splendid career forms the culminating point of the whole series, whatever element of fact his genuine Egyptian biography may contain, is in the Greek tradition an essentially fabulous personage, the mythical type or genius of Egyptian heroic enterprise. No ingenuity of modern criticism has yet succeeded in identifying

The number from Menes to Sethos is rated in II. 142. at 341.; in II. 143. at 345. The 17 subsequent kings, added to the 341., give 358.; added to the 345 they give 362. The mean number 360 is doubtless that authorised by the priests.

² II 142.

this name with the person or performances of any single king. The exploits of its owner appear to be a concentrated exaggeration of those actually performed by a number of warlike monarchs, belonging chiefly to the eighteenth or Ramesseid dynasty; just as the whole mass of Assyrian martial achievement has been concentrated, in the parallel Assyrian legend, upon Ninus and Semiramis. But the genius of Sesostris is equally paramount in the more important branches of internal economy. He not only conquers all the foreign countries, but he digs all the Egyptian canals, divides the land among the people, apportioned the land tax, and is thus, in the estimation at least of Herodotus, the inventor of geometry, and by consequence of all more advanced science both to Egyptians and Greeks.¹

The fabulousness of the cycle of 360 kings in the tradition of the priests, is well maintained by the physical impossibility of the details of its arrangement. The period occupied by the first 341 comprised, we are told², an exactly equal number of priests of Vulcan; the last king of the royal series and the last priest of the sacerdotal series being moreover the same person; and each series of 341 tallying with an exactly equal number of generations of men. Herodotus does not distinctly assert that the kings succeeded each other in a regular line of generation from father to son; but he does make this assertion regarding the 341 priests. This is also no doubt the natural construction of his statement relative to the kings; the thing stated being in each case obviously incredible and absurd.

Another example of the systematic deceit practised

¹ II. 108. sq.

² II. 142. sq.

by these reverend impostors on Herodotus, is their omission of all mention of the conquest of Egypt by those Asiatic invaders, who under the name of pastor or shepherd kings act so important a part in the more authentic annals of the country, as afterwards compiled in the Alexandrian age by Manetho and Eratosthenes. The wilfulness of the deceit is here apparent through the figurative veil under which the truth has been disguised. After describing (always after his native instructors) two of the largest pyramids as having been built by the forced labour of the population under a dynasty of oppressive monarchs, in whose time also the temples were shut, and the country in other ways sorely afflicted, Herodotus adds: that so great was the hatred of the Egyptians for these kings, that they would not so much as pronounce their names; and that hence the monuments erected by them were commonly called after a certain shepherd named Philitis¹, who about that time pastured his flocks on the surrounding plain.

Sudden
transition

14. But the most remarkable and valuable peculiarity of the Græco-Egyptian cycle of tradition, and

¹ II. 128. This shepherd is plainly a mythical personification of the oppressive dynasty of foreign pastor sovereigns. His name Philitis appears to be an equally obvious variety of that of Philistim or Philistine, originally borrowed by the pastor race from Pheles or Pelusium (the Goshen of Scripture, the part of Egypt in which they first settled), and afterwards carried by them, when expelled from that country, into Philistia or Palestine. That their expulsion took place not long before the settlement of the Hebrews in Egypt, appears from a passage of Chronicles (VII. 21.), where two sons of Ephraim, Ezer and Elead, then dwelling in Egypt, are described as having been slain by "the men of Gath (Philistines), who were born in that land;" the land namely then occupied by the Israelites, from which the Philistines then settled in Gath had lately been ejected, and into which they naturally continued to make predatory inroads.

which distinguishes it from the parallel legends of the Asiatic nations, is the suddenness with which it emerges, about a century and a half prior to its close, from the mists of mythology, and assumes the character of authentic history. The account given by Herodotus of the circumstances which led to this transition is as distinct as it is important. Before the time of Psammetichus, (fourth king of Manetho's xxvith dynasty 670 B. C.,) foreigners seem to have been denied free access to, or residence in Egypt. This monarch, having been indebted to a body of Greek adventurers for valuable services against rival pretenders to the throne, took them permanently into his pay, and settled them in the country. From this epoch bands of Hellenic mercenaries formed, like the Swiss in the monarchies of modern Europe, the most loyal portion of the Egyptian army. Psammetichus also caused young Egyptians to be instructed by the colonists in the Hellenic language¹; and from those so qualified sprang the interpreters who attended Greek travellers in the country. Hence it is, the historian adds, that since the epoch of Psammetichus the Greeks possess an accurate knowledge of the affairs of Egypt. Accordingly, from the accession of this sovereign, the Egyptian tradition of Herodotus, instead of being as before a confused tissue of fables, offers a continuous record of events which, as tested by the contemporaneous native monuments and by the parallel light of sacred history, may advance as good a claim to historical accuracy as the annals of Greece during the Persian war. It were indeed under any circumstances to have been

from mythical to real in the Egyptian annals.

¹ II. 154.: conf. Diod. Sic. I. 67.

expected, that the tradition of this latter period, from 670 B. C. downwards, as more recent, should have a better chance of being true than that relating to the thousands of years which preceded ; but it was not natural that, without some special cause, the transition from fable to fact should be as sudden as in the present case. Here then we have an example of the superior value which the oral records of one period may possess over those of another, owing to incidental causes. Those causes were here the existence of Greek colonies in Egypt, and the consequent check which the collateral and more impartial course of alien tradition placed on the license of native authorities. For the Egyptian history of Herodotus, whether derived from indigenous or from Hellenic sources, still remains tradition ; there being no reason to believe that his countrymen settled in Egypt, kept more regular written records of the affairs of their adopted country than their kinsmen at home of those of the parent states. The argument may be further illustrated by the parallel cases of Media and Lydia. The Median empire is founded, in the chronology of Herodotus, not long before the accession of Psammetichus ; but the Greek accounts of that foundation, of the founder, of the dynasty which he established, and of the events in which it terminated, are as fabulous as they are contradictory. Had Greek colonies been settled in Media at the same time as in Egypt, our notices of the former country during the subsequent period might have been as distinct as those of Egypt since Psammetichus. The case of Lydia, on the other hand, resembles that of Egypt. The numerous Greek colonies settled in and around the Lydian territory, secured to the tradition of the

Mermnadæ, in substance at least, an authenticity similar to that which the later Egyptian dynasties owed to a similar cause.

The establishment of these colonies by Psammetichus, with the measures adopted for spreading a knowledge of the Greek tongue in Egypt, also explains a peculiarity which, in the page of Herodotus, distinguishes the theological element of Egyptian fable from that of oriental fable: the greater extent to which the former is mixed up with the native Greek mythology. The Greek colonists have here evidently lent their aid to the work of fiction, as effectually as to the cause of truth in secular affairs. A great part of the mythical anecdotes introduced by Herodotus to season the dryness of Egyptian history, are pure Greek legends, incorporated by the Egyptian archæologists, very clumsily in most cases, with their own genuine tradition, for the purpose of indulging and encouraging the popular notion of the Greeks, as to the connexion of their own system of mythology with that of Egypt. A few examples are subjoined:

Blending
of Egyptian
and
Greek mythology.

At Chemmis, a city of upper Egypt, Herodotus¹ was shown a temple, with a grove of palm trees, dedicated, as the local antiquaries assured him, to Perseus son of Danaë, adorned with the hero's statue, and where gymnastic games were held in his honour. The account given by the same authorities of the origin of this sanctuary was, "That Perseus was himself a citizen of Chemmis in right of his grandfather Danaus, who was a native of the town; that the hero, by instructions from his mother, had, when on his expedition to Libya to fetch the Gorgon's

¹ II. 91.

head, visited Chemmis, and claimed acquaintance with his kinsfolk ; who at his own request had decreed him a temple and divine honours ; and that he had since been in the habit of repeating his visits to the place." They added that on one of these visits he had left a sandal behind him ; the finding of which caused great plenty throughout Egypt. What may have been the real name or character of this deity we shall not here inquire. This much must be apparent to every one at all conversant with the true spirit of Egyptian theology, that the account given to Herodotus is a fiction, concocted by the priests on the basis of foreign legends supplied by the Hellenic colonists, for the purpose of deluding confiding Greek travellers ; and with good success apparently, in the case of Herodotus. Equally absurd is the story of the king Proteus, into whom the same ingenious mythographers converted the sea-god of the *Odyssey* ; and their version of Homer's legend of the adventures of Menelaus and Helen in Egypt, on which the historian has an elaborate commentary.¹ In some other instances we find the Egyptians themselves resisting the attempts to palm European fables on their legendarium, when the proposed innovations appeared less creditable to their national dignity. The story, for example, of the Greek Hercules having, on his passage through Egypt, been led out as a sacrifice to Jupiter, and having, on his approach to the altar, burst his bands and slain the whole multitude assembled to witness his immolation, though quite as good a one in itself as the Chemmite account of his ancestor Perseus, is dismissed as an idle Greek

¹ II. 112. sqq. : conf. *infra*, Ch. vi. § 13., for additional proof of the repugnance of these stories to the genuine Egyptian mythology.

fiction.¹ The mode in which this spurious species of mythology was gradually worked up, is further illustrated by the attempt which seems to have been making in the time of Herodotus, to appropriate to the Helleno-Thracian courtesan Rhodopis, who lived but a few generations before himself, the honour of having erected one of the larger pyramids; an absurdity which Herodotus does not consider unworthy of a diligent confutation.²

In regard to the greater part of the historian's geographical information, we possess an important source of strictly authentic evidence which fails in the purely historical part of his narrative; his own testimony as a contemporary and eye-witness; as a traveller in, and observer of, the countries described. Wherever he speaks in this capacity, his personal credit is a sufficient voucher for the truth of what he states. The case is different where, as a geographer also, he is dependent on the statements of others. The temptations to fraud, with the facilities for its exercise on the part of second-hand authorities, were even greater in matters of geographical than of historical inquiry; such temptations being limited in the latter case chiefly to the past, and to events preceding the age of the inquirer; but in the former case extending also frequently to the present. Even the boldest vender of fictions would hardly venture to state to a younger contemporary a broad falsehood regarding events of his own early days, where it would be so easy, from honester sources, to evict the fraud. But the native of a remote country, or a traveller returned from exploring it, would have less scruple in diverting himself, if so inclined, at the ex-

Geographical
research
of Herodotus.

¹ II. 45.

² II. 134. sq.

pense of those who were not likely to obtain similar means of testing his veracity. Hence, while the greater part of the geographical information given by Herodotus as the result of his own experience, is ascertained to be true, and the remainder, where no such proof of his good faith can be produced, is either probable or credible, there is no portion of his work, as will be seen in the sequel, where impossibilities and improbabilities are more profusely accumulated, than in his accounts at second hand of regions not visited by himself.

CHAP. VI.

HERODOTUS: HIS TREATMENT OF HIS MATERIALS.

1. MERITS AND DEFECTS OF HERODOTUS AS A HISTORICAL AUTHORITY. TO BE ESTIMATED IN THE SPIRIT OF HIS AGE.—2. HIS RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION.—3. INFLUENCE OF HIS SUPERSTITION ON HIS JUDGMENT. ORACLES. OMENS AND PRODIGIES. DREAMS.—4. HIS THEORIES OF INTERPRETATION. DIRECT INTERPOSITION OF THE GODS. HIS RESERVE CONCERNING THE "MYSTERIES."—5. HIS THEORY OF SPECIAL NEMESIS. CROESUS. CAMBYSES. CLEOMENES.—6. MURDER OF THE PERSIAN ENVOYS. XERXES AND ARTABANUS.—7. HIS LOVE OF THE MARVELLOUS. PERSIAN SKULL. BALD MEN AND GOAT-FOOTED MEN. HIS THEORY OF THE MARVELLOUS.—8. EXTREMITIES OF THE EARTH. GOLD REGIONS. MARVELS OF INDIA. ETHIOPIA. HYPERBOREANS. ARABIA. LIBYA. ECCENTRIC CUSTOMS.—9. IMPOSITIONS PRACTISED ON HERODOTUS.—10. HIS EXCURSIVE ANECDOTES AND HISTORICAL GOSSIP. CORINTHIAN HISTORY AND COURT SCANDAL.—11. SOLON. SPARTO-MESSENIAN WARS. CYRENE. AFFAIRS OF SAMOS.—12. HIS SPIRIT OF HYPERBOLE. EXPEDITION OF XERXES.—13. HIS SELF-CONTRADICTIONS. THE BATTLE OF MARATHON. IGNORANCE OF THE GREEK MARINERS. PERSIAN IGNORANCE OF GREECE. EGYPTIAN ECCENTRICITY.—14. CLAIMS OF HERODOTUS TO RANK AS A CRITICAL HISTORIAN. SCYTHIAN EXPEDITION OF DARIUS. ESTIMATE OF DISTANCE BY DAYS' JOURNEYS.—15. ESTIMATE OF TIME BY GENERATIONS, AND BY REIGNS OF KINGS. WANT OF A STANDARD CHRONOLOGICAL ERA. OTHER NUMERICAL ANOMALIES. BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.—16. INVASION OF EGYPT BY CAMBYSES. WALLS OF BABYLON.—17. PERSIAN LOVE OF DEMOCRACY.—18. HISTORIAN'S GEOGRAPHICAL CRITICISM. CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA. CASPIAN SEA. CHANGES OF SEASONS. RISE OF THE NILE.—19. HIS PHILOLOGICAL CRITICISM. HIS MYTHOLOGICAL CRITICISM.—20. HIS IMPARTIALITY. CHARACTER OF THE PERSIANS.—21. HIS IMPUTED FAVOUR TO THE ATHENIANS, AND INJUSTICE TO THE CORINTHIANS.—22. HIS JUDGEMENT ON THE THESSALIANS, ARGIVES, THEBANS, MINOR GREEK STATES.—23. ANTAGONISM OF THEBES AND ATHENS. "MALIGNITY" OF HERODOTUS. HIS POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

1. HITHERTO we have considered the research of Herodotus rather with reference to the data by which it was guided, than to the mode in which he has availed himself of those data. A certain share

Merits and defects of Herodotus as a historical authority.

of consideration has, it is true, been given also to the latter subject, the two being in some measure inseparable. It will now be proper to direct attention more particularly to the historical merits of the work as dependent on those of the author; to the degree of sound judgement or good faith displayed by him in the treatment of those materials, which the zeal and diligence of his investigation had placed at his disposal.

There can be no doubt that Herodotus was, according to the standard of his age and country, a highly intelligent man, as well as a writer of power and genius, and that he possessed an extensive knowledge of human life and character. Still less can it reasonably be questioned that he was an essentially honest and veracious historian. Such he has been admitted to be by the more impartial judges of his own and every subsequent period of antient literature, and by the all but unanimous verdict of the modern public. Rigid as has been the scrutiny to which his text has been subjected, no distinct case of wilful misstatement or perversion of fact has been substantiated against him. On the contrary, the severity of the ordeal has often been the means of eliciting evidence of his truth in cases where, with the greatest temptation to falsehood, there was the least apparent risk of detection. Every part indeed of his work is pervaded by an air of candour and honest intention, which the discerning critic must recognise as reflecting corresponding qualities in the author. We may therefore rest satisfied that the properly historical portions of his narrative, even where not positively authenticated, are at least digested in what appeared to him the most accurate

manner, according to what he believed to be the most trustworthy authorities.

But while thus doing full justice both to his intellectual and moral attributes, we cannot overlook the fact, that there were secondary causes inherent in his own genius and that of his age, tending to counteract, often in a very serious degree, the beneficial exercise of his talents, and to render him at times, unconsciously perhaps and with the best intentions, a partial and superficial as well as an erroneous reporter of facts and events. We shall here briefly enumerate the more prominent of these causes, and endeavour in the sequel by examples to illustrate their effects.

First, the influence which the popular superstition of his age exercised on his judgement.

Secondly, his love of the marvellous, as observed or imagined by him in the ordinary phenomena of nature, apart from divine or preternatural agency.

Thirdly, his desire to impart variety and effect to his narrative, by interesting or entertaining anecdotes, striking historical combinations, and other similar expedients.

The first two of the above three causes might be classed conjointly under the head of Credulity. The charge of credulity which we have ventured to prefer against Herodotus, is one the abstract validity of which even his most ardent admirers have rarely, if ever, ventured to deny. It is one however which they have very generally exerted themselves to evade, by palliating, explaining away, or even justifying the defect imputed, in such a manner as to render the charge itself ineffective or nugatory. The more comprehensive ground of apology has been, that

To be estimated in

the spirit
of his age.

Herodotus was credulous only in so far as he belonged to an age of universal credulity, and only in matters a belief in which, according to the then existing standard of science and civilisation, was not considered incompatible with good sense and sound judgement in the general affairs of life; while the few who affected to be raised above such vulgar impressions were viewed, and often with justice, rather as presumptuous sceptics, than as men of liberal minds. The tendency of this apology, even if valid, would be, more perhaps than that of the imputation which it repudiates, to depreciate the character it professes to vindicate. If Herodotus is to be ranked among the ordinary men of his age, he may then fairly be judged by the standard of ordinary men. But if he is to be ranked, as it has here been proposed to rank him, among the master minds of his age, he must be judged by the standard of those master minds. There can be no doubt that many of the other great intellects of his time stood, in regard to enlightened scepticism, on a very different ground from that which he himself occupies. Herodotus was contemporaneous with Pericles and Anaxagoras, with Thucydides¹ and Aristophanes. Of the two former he was a greatly younger contemporary. He was yet a boy when Pericles had begun to direct the destinies of Athens. His own age and habits of thought therefore, might have been identified with the more advanced state of enlightenment which Pericles had bequeathed. The

¹ We have here been taxed by Mr. Rawlinson, (Herod. vol. i. p. 90.,) with "unfairness" towards Herodotus, in making him contemporary with Thucydides, and hence judging his state of mental enlightenment "by the standard of an age considerably later, and of a country far more advanced than his own." Our censor forgets that he has elsewhere

comparative freedom of these four remarkable men, from the petty superstitions and prejudices which exercised so powerful a sway on the mind of Herodotus, abundantly shows that the term "spirit of the age," as here employed by his apologists, must be restricted to the vulgar or popular spirit, as distinct from that of the historian's more advanced contemporaries.

To palliate this defect on the ground here proposed would be doing Herodotus injustice in two ways; first by degrading him, as a subject of critical biography, to a lower level than that on which he deserves to stand; secondly, by blinding ourselves to a prominent characteristic of his genius. The anomalies of such a genius, even when constituting blemishes, supply subject of interesting contemplation to the student of human nature; and a striking anomaly in the genius of Herodotus is precisely this combination of sound judgement, and even at times critical scepticism in the real affairs of life, with an almost puerile deficiency of the same faculties as brought to bear on the concerns of the world unknown, real or imaginary. Nor is this peculiarity of human character, if such it be, one of rare occurrence; but might be exemplified in the case of remarkable men of every age, not ex-

himself stigmatised Herodotus as lagging behind the spirit of his age to an extent greater than we have ever imagined. We refer him to his own p. 15., where he remarks that: "No political motive caused the historian's retirement from Halicarnassus, but that he fled from the ridicule drawn down by the over-credulous tone of his history, which would little suit the rising generation of shrewd and practical freethinkers." If such was the opinion entertained of him by the "shrewd freethinkers" of the semibarbarous, half Dorian, half Persian community of Halicarnassus, in what light must he have appeared, on his settlement at Athens, to Pericles, Anaxagoras, and their literary circle!

cepting that in which we live, boasting, as it justly may, a degree of enlightenment far exceeding that of the most enlightened period of Greek civilisation.

Restricting therefore, as here proposed, the term Spirit of the age to its vulgar or popular spirit, it may truly be said that the historian was, both in this and in almost every other prominent trait of his character, the ennobled type of the vulgar or popular genius of Hellenism ; and that too of an earlier stage of Hellenism than the one in which he himself flourished. Every reader who has studied the progress of Greek social life during the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., must have felt, in perusing the history of Herodotus, that its author was a man of primitive habits and ideas, whose feelings were associated with what is familiarly called "the good old time," rather than with the age in which he lived. We continually forget, when identified with the spirit of his narrative, though frequently reminded by the letter of his text, that he wrote during the stirring vicissitudes, social and political, of the Peloponnesian war ; and figure him to ourselves rather as a contemporary of the Solon, the Cræsus, or the Miltiades, whom he celebrates, than of the orators, sophists, and philosophers among whom he lived.

It is only by a right appreciation of these peculiarities of his genius that we can do justice either to himself or his work. Such however, it is to be feared, is not the mode in which he has been usually judged by modern commentators. Their treatises are for the most part little more than eulogies, qualified by a few gentle strictures insufficient to maintain even the semblance of critical impartiality. Dazzled by the rich profusion of his historical facts, by the gran-

deur of his historical combinations, by the charm of his style, by the truthfulness of intention and amiability of temper which beam in every page, and by the entertainment derived even from the defective parts of his narrative, they are led to place his work and himself, in regard to the higher qualifications of a historian, on the same level with that occupied by Thucydides ; and then, with a natural anxiety to maintain him at that level, are in the habit of dismissing with a few apologetic remarks those other less creditable characteristics, a due consideration of which is indispensable to a right estimate of his genius.

2. As introductory to any remarks on the "credulity of Herodotus," in its more immediate connexion with the prevailing superstition of his age, it will be proper to take a concise general view of his religious opinions. Every part of his work exhibits a mind impressed with a strong sense of the fundamental truths of natural religion ; of the all-pervading power and influence of the Deity ; of the unerring course of his retributive justice ; of the weakness and vanity of his human creatures, and of their obligation to implicit reliance on his providence and pious submission to his decrees. Thus far the primary elements of the historian's religious faith rest on a solid basis of reason and philosophy, and are frequently inculcated with a moral dignity of sentiment and expression, which strangely contrasts with the respect elsewhere shown by him for the variety of modes in which those essential truths were corrupted or perverted in the popular paganism of his day.

His religion and superstition.

The foundation of his own creed was the dogma of Fatality or Predestination ; a dogma common to him,

not only with the standard theologians of primitive Greece, but with those of purer systems of religion. It is one as undeniable in theory, as it is difficult to reconcile in practice with those other essential truths which, whether in pagan or in Christian countries, render the influence of religion actively beneficial in the affairs of life. Herodotus seems to have been aware of this difficulty ; for the despotic supremacy of Fate over the thoughts and actions of men, while fully recognised in his system, and productive at times of strange anomalies, is seldom put forward in a prominent form, or pointedly enforced in practice. Men are everywhere assumed to be in so far free agents as to be responsible to the gods ; on whose favour they establish a claim by their virtues and great actions, while their crimes and follies are visited sooner or later with divine vengeance. The gods, while subject in theory to the same primary law of Fate, and acting but as ministers of her decrees, are also represented, in the exercise of their functions, as independent powers, controlling and directing the affairs of men, chiefly by means of oracles, prodigies, omens, dreams, or even, though more rarely, by immediate personal interposition.

It is remarkable that the expression God, in the historian's ordinary allusions to the controlling power of Providence, is almost invariably used in the singular number. This would seem to imply his recognition of a certain unity in the Deity, distinct from, and prior to, his material personification in the divinities of the Greek pantheon. Not that there is any trace of scepticism on the part of Herodotus, as to the real personality of those divinities. On the contrary, there is no antient author who displays a

more orthodox belief in their corporeal existence. He also speculates, at some detail, on their origin and attributes, and on their relation to the gods of other nations. On this latter point he has his theory; according to which the principal gods of all countries were fundamentally the same; different developments, that is, of the same fundamental ideas. Each god of each nation is a personification of some quality or power; which quality or power may be embodied in a different form and under a different denomination, according to the variety of local circumstances, in the person of some corresponding deity of another nation. The Jupiter of the Greeks was the same being essentially as the Ammon of the Egyptians or the Belus of the Assyrians; the Minerva of the Greeks the same as the Neit of the Egyptians and the Tritonis of the Libyans. Some nations had more, some fewer of these deities; but the few of the one seldom failed to find their counterpart among the many of the others. The gods of some countries were more antient than those of others; according to the relative antiquity of their population or civilisation. In such cases, the common elementary idea personified by each deity was understood to be imparted by the older to the younger nation. The gods of Greece were chiefly imported from Egypt, partly by the primeval Pelasgic race of Hellas, partly by their descendants the Hellenes; and the cruder forms under which they were first adopted and worshipped, were matured into the popular system by Homer and Hesiod.¹ The historian is at great pains to investigate the chronological points involved in this part of his theory. The question as to the relative antiquity of the Greek, the Egyptian, and

¹ II. 53.

* A A 6

the Phœnician Hercules, costs him several voyages, from Egypt to Tyre, from Tyre to Thasos¹, and as many chapters of subtle disquisition. All the gods of all nations being thus in one mode or other representatives or agents of the divine power, are all worthy of pious veneration; however absurd or monstrous the form in which they are worshipped by one people may appear to another. Herodotus accordingly adduces the contempt and ridicule, with which Cambyses treated, as it was natural a Persian fire-worshipper should treat, the more grotesque monstrosities of the Egyptian Pantheon, as proof that the outrages committed by him in his latter days, were the result of madness, not merely of natural fierceness of temper; "none but a madman being capable of such impiety."²

None of these articles of the historian's religious faith, if judged in the spirit of his age, need necessarily expose him to any serious charge of superstitious weakness. It is however by the mode in which they are brought into practical operation in his narrative, that our estimate of them must here be guided. The same rules formerly laid down in the parallel case of Homer, apply also to the case of Herodotus. We then took occasion to remark, that the belief in a special providence, or direct interposition of the Deity in human affairs, is a principle of natural religion common to the most enlightened with the most barbarous states of society; and one which in every age is viewed with respect, even by those who may be least susceptible of its influence. But we also drew attention to the anomalous though reasonable distinction, that such impressions are so viewed, or deserve to be so viewed, by intelligent men,

¹ II. 44.² III. 30. sqq. 37. 64.

only in so far as produced by the more momentous vicissitudes of human destiny; that when brought to bear on the ordinary transactions of life they are apt to excite contempt rather than respect; and that hence, what in one stage of the same train of moral sentiment is esteemed the philosophy of religion, degenerates in another into bigotry and superstition.

3. The impartial critic can have no hesitation in deciding to which of these two categories the theory of divine interposition inculcated by Herodotus is to be assigned; and will pronounce the childish simplicity with which he recognises such petty exercise of preternatural influence on the events which he describes, to be as prejudicial to his historical research as discreditable to his judgement. A man morbidly intent on bringing all the affairs of life into connexion with some special display of divine authority, could hardly fail to be influenced in his choice or treatment of the various traditions current relative to past events, by a pious consideration of the degree in which effect was given by one or other of them to his favourite theory. Accordingly, every part of the historian's work bears testimony, in the greater or less accumulation of oracles, prodigies, dreams, and the like, to the mode in which his researches must have been affected by this weakness of his character.

Influence
of his su-
perstition
on his
judgement.

A copious illustration of what has here been said has already¹ been derived from the biography of Croesus; and the argument might be extended over the remainder of the first book of the historian's work. The events there described hinge on a mythological mechanism comprising twelve prodigies or

¹ Supra, Ch. v. p. 325. sq.

omens, upwards of twenty oracles, and four prophetic dreams. These trivialities are, upon the whole, most plentiful in the portion of the text which treats of remoter times and countries. But they abound also in the narrative of strictly historical events, wherever the subject becomes more than usually interesting. The sixth book, containing the account of the battle of Marathon, has nine prodigies, three dreams, and eleven oracles. The eighth, containing the battle of Salamis, has fourteen prodigies and twelve oracles. With regard to the previous question: how far this peculiarity of Herodotus is to be considered as reflecting the "spirit of his age," it may be remarked that Thucydides, in all essential respects a contemporaneous historian, records neither prodigy nor dream; and the few oracles mentioned are noticed merely as historical facts, without any appearance on the author's part of confidence in their efficacy. The importance attached by Herodotus to this class of divine agency appears the more strange, coupled as it is with his own repeated exposures of the frauds practised by the Delphic priestess on her devotees, under the influence of a bribery and corruption, which seem to have been as habitual at Delphi as in any English parliamentary borough. It was by bribes of money, he tells us¹, that the Alcmaeonidæ, when driven from Athens by the Pisistratidæ, induced the Pythoness to coerce the Spartans to aid the Athenians in their efforts to expel the usurpers. It was by like means² that Cleomenes king of Sparta secured the assistance of the oracle in his plot against his colleague Demaratus, who by the same pseudo-

Oracles.

¹ v. 63.

² vl. 66.

divine agency is deposed, and Leotychides the fellow-conspirator of Cleomenes reigns in his stead. The destinies of Greece are thus acknowledged by the devoutly confiding Herodotus, to depend on the caprice of a single dishonest and mercenary woman. It may also not be superfluous to remark, with reference to that doctrine of speculative theology, which assumes a reality of prophetic inspiration to have been for some wise purpose conceded by the true God to the Delphic Apollo, that the few oracles mentioned by Herodotus as delivered but not yet fulfilled in his time, remain unfulfilled to the present day.¹

The frivolity of some of the miraculous manifestations recorded by him is very remarkable. He seems often to have been at pains to wring them from the very dregs of the popular superstition. Such is his account of the long beard which sprouted on the chin of the Pedasian priestess on the approach of some calamitous event²; a phenomenon which he not only

Omens and
prodigia.

¹ VIII. 141., IX. 42. sq.; conf. IV. 178. sq. Mr. Rawlinson in vindicating (Herodot. vol. I. p. 92.) the orthodoxy of this doctrine, asserts that no argument has here been produced against it, except a single oracle; and that our reference to Herodotus, IX. 42, is mistaken. Whether the alleged mistake is on our side or that of our critic the reader may judge for himself, from the original passages here subjoined.

Mardonius the Persian general, in an address to his officers, informs them, that "there was an oracle ordaining that the Persians, on their invasion of Greece should sack the temple of Delphi, and should afterwards themselves be utterly destroyed." On this Herodotus remarks that "he knew the oracle referred to by Mardonius; but that it related to the Illyrians and Encheleans, not to the Persians." It is we believe certain that neither the Persians, nor the Illyrians and Encheleans, ever sacked the temple of Delphi. We apprehend therefore that we have here at least one, and probably two oracles, belonging to the category above stated; one, if Herodotus is right in supposing that he and Mardonius refer to the same oracle; two, if they refer to different oracles.

² I. 175. He does not tell us what became of the beard after the event portended had taken place; whether it dropped off or was shaved, for one or other must be presumed, in order to make way for the next divine manifestation of the same kind.

states as a fact, but as one of repeated occurrence. Such are the stories of the snakes swarming in the streets of Sardis, and the horses flocking in from the neighbouring pastures to eat them up¹; of the tooth dropped in a fit of coughing by the superannuated tyrant Hippias on the shore of Marathon, portending the failure of that enterprise²; of the mare which gave birth to a hare, as the host of Xerxes commenced its march on the European side of the Hellespont³; of the cloud of dust that appeared to Demaratus⁴ on the plain of Eleusis; of the resuscitation of the salt-fish roasting on the fire at Sestus.⁵ Herodotus, with less taste than Homer in the selection, shows, like that poet, a certain partiality in his mythological mechanism for particular animals. The capture of the mighty Babylon is foreshadowed⁶ by the foaling of a mule. The passage of Xerxes with his millions of men from Asia to Europe is inaugurated, through a slight improvement of the same prodigy, by a mule bringing forth a foal possessing the attributes of both sexes.⁷ Of this, and of the other great portent, as he describes the birth of the hare, Xerxes, says the historian, evidently surprised and offended at his scepticism, took no account whatever. Among the immediate causes of the downfall of the Lydian empire, was the slowness of Cræsus or his soothsayers

¹ I. 78.

² VI. 107. Who can doubt, had the enterprise succeeded, that the dropping of the tooth on Attic soil would have been recognised as an omen that Hippias was to be restored to his native land, and his bones to rest tranquilly in its bosom? The old tyrant's interpretation of his previous dream, *ἰδόμεν τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι* (loc. cit.), though in conformity with the critical rules of divination in such cases, was falsified by the event.

³ VII. 57.

⁴ VIII. 65.

⁵ IX. 120.

⁶ III. 153.

⁷ II. 57.

to perceive, when the Pythoness pronounced¹ that a mule should reign over the Medes, that the mule in question was Cyrus, so designated in right of his birth from a Persian father and a Median mother. Some of these legends afford, in their own tenor, a clue to their origin in the popular proverbs or local gossip of the places where the omens were manifested. In the prodigy of the mare giving birth to a hare, the moral is similar to that conveyed in another very antient, and to the English reader more familiar proverb, of the mountain giving birth to a mouse. The horse is the animal typical in all ages of ostentatious martial spirit, the hare of timidity and flight. It might naturally occur to some humorist of the Hellespontine district, after the humiliating discomfiture of Xerxes, to contrast the splendour of his outset with his disgraceful flight homewards by this figurative adage ; and the transition from a proverb illustrating the vicissitudes of the mighty monarch to a prodigy portending them was easy and natural.²

The most powerfully efficacious of these supernatural warnings appears, in the estimation of Herodotus, to have been the dream ; and many of the

Dreams.

¹ I. 55.: conf. 91.

² The narrative of Herodotus supplies other examples of the mode in which such popular sayings may change their scope and character. The antient name of Lampsacus was Pityusa, or the City of pine trees. Hence Croesus, when displeased with its inhabitants, threatens to "root them out like a pine tree." Herodotus, unconscious of the true import of the menace, which to an intelligent local interpreter would have been obvious, understands it (VI. 37.) as figuring the utter destruction of the offending community; "the pine being the only tree which when cut over sends forth no saplings." The origin of such miracles as the resuscitation of the salt-fish, also receives light from the elegant fable placed in the mouth of Cyrus during his early dealings with the Hellenic states. (I. 141.)

more important events recorded by him are regulated by this agency. On the dreams of the last Median monarch Astyages¹, hinges the whole series of fatalities which caused the transfer of the empire of Asia from the Medes to the Persians. It is by a dream that Cambyzes is instigated² to murder his brother Smerdis; which act of atrocity produced the temporary reign of the Magi, and the permanent alteration of the line of succession to the Persian throne; and, not to mention other minor instances, the invasion of Greece by Xerxes is brought about³ by a continued and systematic intervention on the part of the same wily race of dæmons.

His theories of interpretation.

4. Some of the rules laid down by Herodotus for the right interpretation of such portentous warnings, throw a curious light on the extent of his own hallucination in these matters. When describing the capture of the isle of Chios by Histæus, he observes⁴, that the gods are accustomed to foreshadow the approach of any great calamity by a previous infliction of minor calamities; and mentions certain disasters which had lately befallen the Chians, as a foretaste of the greater disasters which now overtook them. But in the case of Polycrates of Samos an opposite rule is laid down.⁵ We are there told that great reverses of destiny are portended by an uninterrupted course of previous good fortune; and this doctrine is exemplified in a long narrative of the effort made by Polycrates, but in vain, to infuse into his hitherto unalloyed prosperity a small ingredient of self-inflicted misfortune, as a means of averting more fatal calamities.

¹ I. 107. sqq.

² III. 30.

³ VII. 12. sq.

⁴ VI. 27.

⁵ III. 40. sq.

The direct personal interference of the Deity, though more rare in the mythology of Herodotus than in that of Homer, is not excluded. Helen appears¹ in her temple at Therapna to the future wife of Ariston king of Sparta, and confers on her the gift of transcendent beauty. The same Spartan queen afterwards describes to her son Demaratus² how, a few nights after her marriage, the household god of the family had, by the popular Amphitryonic stratagem, assumed her husband's place in her bed. Phidippides, the Athenian herald sent to demand succour from Sparta on the invasion of Attica by Datis and Artaphernes, is accosted³ on his way across mount Parthenium by the god Pan, who expresses his friendly feelings towards the Athenians, and instructs Phidippides, on his return to Athens, to demand for him the religious worship with which he had not hitherto been honoured in that city. The Persians in their attempt on Delphi are assaulted⁴ by two local deities of the sanctuary, Phylacus and Autonoius; and at the commencement of the battle of Salamis, when a portion of the Greek fleet showed but little ardour for the attack, a female figure, Minerva it may be presumed, appeared⁵, and reproached them with their backwardness. These phantom warriors are of frequent occurrence in the more recent Greek mythology. Another who fought on the side of the Persians at the battle of Marathon, is reported by Herodotus to have struck blind an Athenian combatant named Epizelus, and slain his neighbour in the ranks.⁶ A phantom bark was also described

Direct interposition of the gods.

¹ VI. 61.

² VI. 69.

³ VI. 105.

⁴ VIII. 39.

⁵ VIII. 84.

⁶ VI. 117. This story may be collated with another introduced in our

in the Athenian tradition, as having appeared during the battle of Salamis¹, and rallied the fugitive Corinthian squadron. Considering the gravity with which Herodotus narrates these and other similar stories, and the positive faith which to all appearance he placed in several of them, he is hardly entitled to stigmatise, as he does in very contemptuous terms², the simplicity of the Athenian populace, in so readily believing a tall handsome woman whom Pisistratus dressed in armour and seated by his side in his chariot, to be Minerva; and in allowing him to drive, under the auspices of this sham goddess, into the city, and reestablish the tyranny of which they had lately dispossessed him.

His pious reserve concerning the "mysteries."

The pains which Herodotus has taken to collect mythical anecdotes of this entertaining class, and the satisfaction with which he relates them, are curiously contrasted with his silence in regard to every point of religious belief or ceremonial, partaking of the character of what was called a mystery in the Greek theology. The examples of this pious reserve occur chiefly in his description of Egypt. They illustrate in a striking manner the profound veneration which the whole tenor of his Egyptian narrative shows him to have felt for the faith and worship of that country; a veneration which, judging from the specimens of doctrine and rite most prominently noticed by him, would seem to have been much in the ratio of their frivolity. The passages of his second book³, in which he intimates

biography of Stesichorus; where the blindness of that poet is not caused, but cured, through the indirect agency of another martial phantom, who fought on the side of the Locrians in an engagement with the Crotoniates.

¹ VIII. 94.

² I. 60.

³ 3. 47. 51. 61, 62. 65. 81. 171., &c.

his sense of this obligation to mysterious silence, are so numerous, as to amount to a sort of epic commonplace in his Egyptian narrative. The obligation itself extends not only to rites and doctrines, but to divine names or epithets, described by him¹ as too ineffably sacred to be uttered by uninitiated lips or conveyed to unsanctified ears.

5. Even where the historian's religious feeling displays itself, as it often does, in forms more creditable to his taste or judgement, in a deep sense of the pervading influence of Divine providence, and of the unerring course of retributive justice, it may yet be a question how far the mode in which his devotional feelings are brought to bear on his historical research, can be considered as more conducive to its accuracy than in the cases already examined. Every act of signal folly or injustice, especially where committed in the face of some celestial warning, is represented as the object of a special Nemesis; and as visited, sooner or later, on the guilty person himself or his descendants, with its proper meed of retributive vengeance. In the application of this common law of Nemesis to the course of human vicissitude described in his narrative, the historian is guided as in other similar cases by a favourite theory of his own. The main cause of crime and calamity in the world is, according to this theory, the pride and presumption of powerful or ambitious men. These defects of human character are represented as the chief objects of the anger, or as Herodotus defines it², the Envy, or Jealousy of the Deity, against what he regards as impious attempts of his

His theory
of Neme-
sis.

¹ 86. 132. 170.

² L. 32. 34., III. 40., VII. 46. 203., VIII. 109.

creatures to arrogate the glory or grandeur which justly belongs to himself alone. Even the bare possession of great power or wealth, apart from any pernicious use of them, is represented¹ as rendering men objects of this jealousy, and exposing them, as such, to special risk of calamitous reverses; unless the hostile influence be propitiated by an humble and grateful sense of the divine bounty from which such worldly advantages proceed. This idea is one of those uppermost in the historian's mind in the composition of his work, recurring from time to time, as the pivot around which revolve his reflexions on human destiny and his illustrations of human vicissitude. It offers nothing in itself derogatory to his moral or religious character. But the mode in which it is developed in detail, is perhaps even more prejudicial to the authenticity of his narrative than his pettier vein of popular superstition. Wherever, in the current accounts, the latter days of a personage of note were marked by any of those reverses of fortune, which in the theory of Herodotus were the result of the divine jealousy and its attendant Nemesis; or where, on the other hand, the life of some such personage had been sullied by crimes provocative of that Nemesis, it was natural that the desire to bring, in either case, the course of such a man's destiny into that providential relation of cause and effect on which the theory was founded, should influence the historian's choice of the several versions of the story which in most cases were open to his adoption. He has accordingly been at great pains to establish instances of such retributive dispensation, often at the expense

¹ I. 34., III. 40., VII. 203.

of some subtle disquisition ; especially where, as occasionally happens, he is under the necessity of deciding among the several crimes and follies of remarkably wicked or foolish men, on the particular crime or folly against which a particular Nemesis was directed. A few examples are subjoined :

In treating of the life of Solon in a former chapter CROESUS. it was observed, that the legend of his visit to Croesus king of Lydia is one of the most apocryphal parts of the biography of each of these celebrated personages. It was one consequently, in dealing with which critical caution was the more necessary. It will further appear in the sequel, that the main facts of the historian's version of that legend are inconsistent with the parallel course of contemporaneous history as narrated in his own pages. The mode on the other hand in which the story is worked up, and the moral lessons it is made to inculcate, are but a continued application of his own favourite Nemesiatic theory. The whole beautiful dialogue between the philosopher and the king, turns on the vainglorious self-confidence displayed by the latter in the magnitude and permanence of his existing prosperity ; while his subsequent misfortunes are recognised by the unfortunate monarch himself on the pile¹, in his emphatic invocation of "Solon," as a divine retribution on his past impiety. The internal evidence therefore of the episode, betrays the source of the chronological error which it involves.

Cambyzes is described by Herodotus as having CAMBYSES. slain the divine Egyptian bull Apis by smiting him with his sword on the thigh.² To this outrage on their favourite god the Egyptians, apparently with

¹ I. 34. 86.

² III. 29. 64.

the historian's concurrence, attributed the phrensy with which its author was soon after visited. Cambyes is described in the sequel as dying of a wound accidentally inflicted by himself in mounting his horse, with the same weapon and on the same part of the body on which he had wounded Apis. The historian adds that this event, as had been foretold by an oracle of the Egyptian goddess Buto, took place at Agbatana; not the Median metropolis, to which Cambyes, who knew this oracle, had naturally supposed it to refer, but a Syrian town of the same name on the route from Egypt to Susa. This is evidently the Egyptian account of the matter. The variety of the tradition transmitted by Ctesias was that Cambyes died of an accidental hurt on the thigh, but under different circumstances; the wound having been given with a knife, while the king was amusing himself with some kind of carpenter-work, in his own residence at Babylon.¹ The only fact common to the two accounts is, that Cambyes died of a hurt accidentally inflicted by himself on the thigh. In the Behistun inscription, his successor Darius describes him as having died of distress, caused by the troubled state of his kingdom²; implying perhaps, by a royal euphemism, that he committed suicide, intentionally, not accidentally as stated by Herodotus and

¹ *Fragm. Ctes. Didot*, p. 48.

² *Journal of Asiatic Soc.* vol. x. p. 202. Herodotus by Rawlinson, vol. II. p. 593. Mr. Rawlinson (vol. I. p. 96.), in combating some of the views here expressed, remarks that "the narrative of Herodotus [regarding the death of Cambyes] is proved by the Behistun inscription to be correct, except in representing the wound which Cambyes gave himself to be accidental." All that the Behistun inscription says on the subject is: "Afterwards Cambyes, unable to endure, died." How any proof of the correctness of Herodotus can be extracted out of these six words we are at a loss to understand.

Ctesias. The Egyptian part of the story may safely be left to the invention of the priests of Apis and Buto; and the motive for the historian's preference of their version is sufficiently obvious. But is it not a remarkable proof of the influence of these petty superstitions on the mind of Herodotus, that among the enormities of such a monster as Cambyses, who had murdered in cold blood many of his own friends as well as enemies, inclusive of an amiable and innocent brother and sister, the crime to be prominently put forward as the special cause of divine Nemesis should be a blow given by the royal maniac to an Egyptian ox?

Somewhat similar is the case of another blood-thirsty monster, Cleomenes king of Sparta, whose doings are described by Herodotus in some detail, inclusive of the ferocious suicide by which they are brought to a close. The historian informs us that the Nemesis by which this act of phrensy was occasioned, had been attributed by the popular opinion of the Greeks to four different causes¹: by the Argives, to his having destroyed six thousand of their fellow-citizens; by the Athenians, to his having ravaged their sacred territory of Eleusis; by the Spartans, to the habits of drinking acquired by him from the Scythian envoys who had lately visited Lacedæmon; and by the other Greeks, to his having suborned the Pythoness to assist him in his attempts to dethrone, on the ground of illegitimate birth, his colleague Demaratus with whom he had a quarrel. The Spartan view of the case was certainly the most rational of the four, and probably the true one. But were it necessary to bring the death of such a man into a relation of Nemesiatic cause and effect with

Cleomenes.

¹ VI. 75. sq.

any one of the offences above stated, it might have been supposed that a devotee of so amiable a character as Herodotus, would not have hesitated to prefer the wholesale act of atrocity complained of by the Argives. He decides however in favour of the dethronement of Demaratus ; not so much evidently on account of any peculiar iniquity of Cleomenes in his dealings with that sovereign ; for Demaratus had been as bitter an enemy of Cleomenes as Cleomenes of Demaratus, and had been besides the first aggressor of the two. The act which here presented itself to the superstitious fancy of the historian as a more heinous sin than the murder of some 6000 men, was the tampering with the honesty of the Pythoness ; an impiety, the Nemesis of which ought surely rather to have fallen on that traitress, or on Apollo himself, for allowing his confiding worshippers to be misled by his accredited minister into calamity or crime.

Murder of
the Persian
heralds.

6. We subjoin one more example, among many, of the shifts to which Herodotus resorts to enforce this favourite theory. When Darius sent heralds to demand allegiance by "Earth and water" from the Greek states¹, those who visited Athens and Sparta were put to death in a very contumelious manner. In the one city they were thrown into a well, in the other into a pit, and bid to fetch earth and water for themselves. This is one of the worst outrages of its kind of which we read in the history of the Greek republics ; and one of a class involving impiety to the gods as well as injustice among men ; the persons of heralds, in the execution of their duties, being held by all the more civilised Pagan nations to

¹ VH. 133. sqq.

be invested with peculiar sanctity. Had therefore either Darius or Xerxes conquered Greece with the armaments successively fitted out against her, and had Herodotus written an account of the catastrophe, he might with all propriety have brought the murder and the conquest into the usual relation of Nemesiæ cause and effect; and have pronounced the downfall of Grecian independence a judgement against the two chief states of Hellas for so flagrant an offence against the law of nations. But as the battles of Salamis and Plataea left no room for any such conclusion, some other expedient was required for maintaining the consistency of Nemesis. In regard to the Athenians he admits that he had not been able to discover any case adapted to his purpose; the devastation of their city and country during the Persian war having been forestalled, as he implies, by some other delinquency of that republic, the nature of which he does not specify. But he enters into a long explanation of the penalty inflicted on the Lacedæmonians. From the period of their offence their sacrifices, he tells us, no longer proved auspicious. The gods therefore required to be appeased. Two Spartiates of high rank, named Sperthias and Bulis, offered themselves as expiatory victims, proceeded to Susa, and presented themselves to the Persian monarch, who generously sends them back unscathed to their own country. But the will sufficed for the deed, according to the humour in which Nemesis happened to be at the moment. The sacred rites of Sparta were restored to their wonted efficacy; and here one might have supposed the matter to have ended. Not so however; for then follows what Herodotus pronounces to be the most

miraculous, but which will appear to the reader of the present day the most preposterous part of the story; as it also probably appeared to intelligent persons of the historian's own age who were free from this particular monomania. The divine wrath, he assures us, again broke out fifty years afterwards, during the Peloponnesian war; wreaking itself on the descendants of the same Sperthias and Bulis by whose patriotic devotion the goddess had during half a century been appeased. Nicolas son of Sperthias, and Aneristus son of Bulis, having been sent, together with Aristetas of Corinth, the defender of Potidæa, on a political mission by the Lacedæmonians, were betrayed, he tells us, by the Thracian king Sitalces into the hands of the Athenians, by whom all three were killed. It is not easy to understand, upon what principle of retributive justice the murder of these three persons by the Athenians, could form an expiation of the murder of a Persian herald by the Spartans fifty years before; which latter murder had already been expiated to the satisfaction of the gods of those days, by the fathers of two of the three present sufferers. The crime of Aristetas, which caused him to be involved in the same Nemesis, is not stated. But Thucydides¹ gives a simpler account of the transaction, and of the human Nemesis which was its real motive. He describes the persons slain as six in number; three Lacedæmonians, an Argive, an Arcadian, and a Corinthian. The death of Aristetas he explains as an act of vindictive Athenian policy; that of the others as a retaliation for previous outrages of the same kind committed by the Peloponnesians. It is evident that where there were

¹ II. 67.

two accounts of this affair, one describing Nicolas and Aneristus as two out of six, or but one third of the mission, the other as two out of three, the temptation to prefer the latter number would be as strong as it has proved with the historian, from the broader shadow of plausibility which it gave to his own case of retributive vengeance. That he should not, even in his own version, have overlooked the single Corinthian, greatly as his presence interfered with the moral symmetry of the tale, is also proof, that although he might be influenced by his prejudices in the choice of his data, he was too honest to falsify them.

His theory of divine retribution is also occasionally brought into strange collision with his other two doctrines of predestination and prophetic warning. The grandest illustration which his book affords of his favourite idea of the jealousy of the gods against the attempts of mortals to arrogate their power, is his narrative of the expedition of Xerxes, of its humiliating failure, of the destruction of the despot's countless myriads of warriors, and of his own miserable flight from the scene of his discomfiture. Herodotus is here at no such pains as in the case of Croesus or Cambyses, to define the precise relation of cause and effect between the provocation and the Nemesis. Any such formal commentary on events of so great and fatal celebrity would have tended to weaken rather than enforce the lesson which they supply. That lesson is more effectually inculcated in an indirect manner by the proceedings in the royal council of war, where the king's uncle and faithful adviser Artabanus attempts to dissuade him from his

Xerxes and
Artabanus.

project. The address of Artabanus¹, while little else than a commentary on the subsequent series of disasters, also embodies more eloquently than any other passage of Herodotus his theory as to the origin of such catastrophes. "Observe," says the sage monitor to the vainglorious monarch, "how God chiefly aims his lightning at animals of lofty stature and haughty mien, while for those of humbler size he careth not; and how his bolts fall on the stateliest palaces and the tallest trees; for he loves to cut down whatever exalts itself. And thus a great army may be ignominiously destroyed by one of trifling array, should God in his jealousy either strike them with a panic or with his thunder. For he suffereth none but himself to conceive mighty thoughts." But in the immediate sequel the effect of this sublime admonition is dissipated by a series of supposed supernatural influences brought to bear on the mind of Xerxes; and which form perhaps the most unfortunate example of divine interposition to be found in the historian's page. Not only do they, by their frivolity, place the Persian monarch, his Mentor, and his historian in a very ludicrous light; they also exonerate Xerxes from the charge of presumption in his future undertakings, and throw the whole responsibility of his conduct, and of the human misery which it involves, on the same Deity who had just been represented as discountenancing and avenging such acts in his frail creatures.

His love of
the mar-
vellous.

7. The peculiar feature of the historian's character which we have here ventured to designate his credulity, has hitherto been examined solely in connexion with his religious views; with his impressions,

¹ VII. 10. sqq.

that is, of the miraculous as resulting from special interposition by the Deity. It remains to consider the same feature as exemplified in his descriptions of the marvellous in the existing phenomena of nature. It will here be proper, in the first place to notice another of the popular apologies for this defect of his genius.

Herodotus frequently¹ warns his readers that, while he considers it his duty to record the more important facts or events which have been communicated to him, he must not be understood in every case to vouch for the correctness of his authorities. After this candid declaration we should, it has been urged, be doing him injustice, were we to make him responsible for those portions of his narrative which, as being in their own nature least worthy of credit, we are the more bound to include in the category of those which he neither calls on us to accept as true, nor probably himself believed.

This apology is more specious than valid. For Herodotus, it will be observed, does not introduce these cautionary announcements solely, or even perhaps chiefly, in connexion with the marvellous, and as they appear to us incredible parts of his narrative. He is at pains to inform us that they apply to every portion of it which he has not himself had the means of authenticating, either by personal observation or other conclusive evidence. Their object is evidently but to remind the reader from time to time of the fact, a full consciousness of which he justly considers essential to a right estimate of his labours, that a great part of his information is derived from hearsay or popular tradition; and that in these cases he

¹ II. 123., I. 183., IV. 195., VII. 152., alibi.

must only be held responsible for having, to the best of his judgement, selected from the variety of conflicting accounts such as appeared to him the most probable or the best supported. It were an obvious fallacy therefore, to insist on any peculiar application of those cautionary remarks to portions of his narrative which may appear to us improbable or incredible, but which, in the absence of any special caveat in their individual case, we have no proof appeared so to himself.

Marvellous
Persian
head.

For example: After his account of the battle of Plataea, and his description of the treasures found in the Persian camp, he goes on to say¹, that in the period subsequent to these events, the Plataeans were accustomed to make in the neighbourhood of their city discoveries of gold and other valuables; and that when collecting the bones of the slain Persians into one grave, they found a skeleton seven feet and a half in length, and a head, the skull, jaws, and teeth of which were of a single solid piece of bone.² The whole of this information is given in one continuous passage, unqualified by either remark or comment in favour of or against any portion of it. And assuredly we have as little right to assume that Herodotus dis-

¹ ix. 83.

² In opposition to what is here said, Mr. Rawlinson (Herod. vol. i. p. 99.) maintains that the historian, in the text last referred to, describes not one, but two marvels; the one a skull of a single piece of bone; the other, "two jaws, an upper and an under, with teeth," &c., similarly composed. This interpretation would, in so far as regards the skull, reduce the marvel to no marvel at all; every skull of a full grown man or woman consisting, to all ordinary human apprehension, of a single piece of bone. The marvel, according both to the spirit and the letter of the passage was, as above stated, that of a head (*κεφαλή*), not a skull only, comprising consequently jaws and teeth, all of one piece. Herodotus it is true, elsewhere uses *κεφαλή* in the sense of skull, but in a case where no ambiguity could arise; and we are not entitled to set aside the literal

believed the fact of the finding of the marvellous head and skeleton, as the facts of the collection of the bones, the discoveries of treasure, or even the battle of Plataea itself, of which all the other occurrences were a consequence.

But apart from this, the proposed mode of interpretation affects the historian's credit in a degree even more serious than the charge of credulity from which it would exonerate him. It could only relieve him from that charge at the expense of his honesty, or of his common sense, or of both. It would assume that he had knowingly accumulated fictions in his text without any intimation that they were fictions, either with a deliberate intention of deceiving his readers, or with a knowledge that the fictions were in themselves so palpable that there was no chance of any intelligent person mistaking them for truths.

Consistently therefore with all due latitude in the interpretation of those cautionary passages, the reader is entitled, or even bound in justice to his author to assume, whenever a statement is made, and no doubt expressed of its accuracy, that he at least considered it the best-accredited account of the matter; and in so far that he both believed it himself and intended it to be believed by others. That meaning of the word, where that meaning is essential to the spirit of a passage.

Our critic's anatomy is here at fault, in his supposition that a pair of jaws could be found in the mode he imagines, lying together, separate from the head to which they originally belonged. A man's under jaw is no doubt a distinct limb or member from his skull; just as the hand is from the arm, or the foot from the leg; and might therefore in a heap of bones be found detached from the head. But the upper jaw forms part, or rather is a prolongation of the frontal bone of the skull; and could hardly, unless violently hacked off from the rest of that bone, form one of a detached pair of jaws as imagined by Mr. Rawlinson.

this rule is applicable to the marvellous as well as the probable portions of his narrative is further evident from the circumstance, that in the one as in the other case he frequently, after a series of statements delivered without comment, interposes in regard to some other statement his assurance, that although he thinks it right to repeat it he does not himself believe it. On the logical principle that the exception implies the rule, the natural conclusion must here be that the remainder of the story to which no objection had been taken is offered to us as true.

Bald men
and goat-
footed men.

For example: Herodotus tells us¹ that in the extreme north of Europe was a race of men bald by nature from their birth, both male and female. He adds that it was reported by these bald men, that in their neighbourhood was another people with goats' feet; but that this he did not believe.² There can be no doubt that the historian's knowledge both of the bald men and the goat-footed men was derived from hearsay; and we have à priori no right, in the face of his cautionary announcements above noticed, to consider him as vouching for the real existence of either the one or the other race. But the specific assertion that he did not believe in the existence of the goat-footed men, is a strong point of internal evidence, among others³, that he did believe in the existence of the bald men.⁴

His theory
of the mar-
vellous.

In regard to the marvellous, as in regard to the supernatural, Herodotus has his own theory. Greece

¹ IV. 23.

² IV. 25.

³ In the previous § 16. he describes the information of which this notice forms part, as the most trustworthy he had been able to collect concerning these northern regions.

⁴ Conf. II. 73. 121.(5), v. 86.

as might be expected is the region, the physical features of which form the standard of the ordinary course of nature. Beyond the limits of that country wonders become more or less common; and increase in magnitude, if not perhaps in number, in other parts of the world, much in proportion to the remoteness of each from the Hellenic zero or minimum point of singularity. Lydia for example¹, a country in the neighbourhood of Greece and peopled in part by Greeks, is said to contain few wonders. Egypt contains more than any other country.² The wonders however of both these regions, the few of Lydia and the many of Egypt, scarcely belong to the same category as those to which our notice is here particularly directed; being for the most part either natural phenomena, or works of art remarkable for size or splendour. Both countries being habitually accessible to the Greeks, and having been fully examined by Herodotus himself, could supply comparatively few additions to his stock of purely fictitious marvels. His own observation enabled him, in most cases, to detect the falsehood of those which the native authorities endeavoured to impose on him; and his sterling good faith was a guarantee against any attempt on his own part to impose upon others.

8. It is in treating of the distant or unexplored parts of the world, that this propensity to believe and report the incredible or impossible chiefly displays itself. The countries which supply the most copious materials for its indulgence are India, Arabia, the Hyperborean regions beyond Scythia, Ethiopia, and Libya. The first four of these regions are among

Extremities of the earth.

¹ I. 93.

² II. 35. sqq.

those characterised by Herodotus¹ as “*Eschatiaë*,” or Extremities of the earth; which extremities are distinguished, not only for the most wonderful phenomena, but for the noblest productions of nature. Among those productions gold is that on which he especially dwells. The gold of India is described² as guarded by a race of ants larger than foxes and swifter than camels. He relates at some detail, evidently as a fact which he believed, the mode in which the Indian gold-merchants procure their supplies, and evade the fierceness and swiftness of the ants. The greatest summer heat in this Indian Extremity³ is for some hours after sunrise; and during that part of the day the people are said to live in the water. About noon the air begins to cool, and at sunset becomes extremely cold. In the Ethiopian Extremity⁴ gold is the commonest metal, and employed for the same base purposes, such as fetters for convicts, to which iron and brass are applied in other countries. The inhabitants of this Extremity are also the tallest, the handsomest, and the longest-lived race of men, their ordinary age being 120 years. But the most copious supplies of gold are procured in the Hyperborean Extremity, in what mode the historian had not ascertained. The treasure was commonly reported to be guarded⁵ by griffins, from whom it was plundered by the Arimaspians, a race of one-eyed men. In the reality of this race, or at least of their Cyclopiian peculiarity, the historian asserts his disbelief. The bald men and the goat-footed men have already been noticed. The Neuri, another neighbouring tribe, had

Gold regions.
Indian
marvels.

Ethiopia.

Hyperbo-
reans.

¹ III. 106 sq. 114. 116.

² III. 102.

³ III. 104.

⁴ III. 20. sqq.

⁵ III. 116., IV. 13. 27.

lately been driven out of their own territory by an invasion of serpents. Both the Scythians, and the Hellenic colonists on their coast, solemnly asserted to Herodotus upon oath¹ that each man of this tribe once a year became a wolf for two or three days; but here again he interposes his declaration of incredulity.

In Scythia proper the only marvel of any importance, and which Herodotus describes² as very worthy of admiration, was a footmark of Hercules imprinted on a rock, and two cubits in length. This appears to have been the historian's standard measure of heroic feet; the sandal of Perseus preserved at Chemmis in Egypt being also described as two cubits long.

The rare productions of the Arabian Extremity Arabia. were chiefly its world-renowned spices. Ladanum³ grew on the beards of goats; an example, as the historian observes, of the most stinking soil producing the sweetest crop. The trees on which frankincense grew were defended by flights of winged serpents. These animals once a year invaded Egypt⁴; on the frontier of which country they were met and defeated by an opposing army of Egyptian storks, at a certain mountain defile where they endeavoured to force a passage. Herodotus had seen the bones of the slain serpents lying in heaps on the scene of action, but does not appear to have seen the animal alive. In order to prevent an undue increase of this pernicious race nature had made the following provision.⁵ At the pairing time every female, after her conception, destroyed the male; and she herself died of the effects

¹ IV. 105.² IV. 82.³ III. 112.⁴ II. 75.⁵ III. 109.

of her first parturition. This fact the historian further illustrates by the similar provision made to check the propagation of other destructive animals, such as the lion. The female of that species produced, he tells us¹, but one cub during her life-time, her organs of conception being destroyed by this single birth. Herodotus does not perceive that in this way the race of lions must have become extinct within a few years after its creation ; since for every lion that was born two must have died in the ordinary course of nature, without allowance for casualties. Casia grew in a lake, and was defended by winged animals like bats ; of equal ferocity with the guardians of the incense, and screaming terribly. Against these enemies the men protected themselves by wrapping their heads and bodies in leather hides, and so wading into the lake gathered the casia.² Cinnamon was procured from the nests of certain large birds, built on inaccessible cliffs with stalks of the cinnamon tree, brought by the birds from some remote country unknown. The stratagem by which the cinnamon-merchants spoiled the birds of this treasure³, was similar to that which another company of merchants, described by Sinbad the sailor, afterwards employed to obtain the treasures of the Valley of diamonds, from the same or a kindred race of birds called Rocs. They scattered in the neighbourhood raw limbs of cattle. These were carried by the birds up to their nests, which unable to bear the weight rolled over on the plain, and the precious fragments were picked up by the men below. Arabia also produced two singular breeds of sheep, one with tails a foot and a half broad ; the other with tails four feet and a half long.

¹ III. 108.² III. 110.³ III. 111.

The tail of each animal of the latter breed, to prevent injury by dragging on the ground, was provided by the shepherds with a wheeled go-cart, on which the sheep drew it behind him in safety from place to place.¹

Of the Libyan marvels, the most remarkable were a race of men without names²; a race of asses that never drank³; and a race of oxen with horns projecting forward in such a manner, that their owners were obliged to feed walking backwards.⁴ Herodotus was also informed⁵ that in this region were men with the heads of dogs, and men without heads and with eyes in their breasts; but in the existence of these races he expresses his disbelief.

Little less surprising than these natural phenomena, are the eccentricities of custom attributed to remote or barbarous tribes. In Pæonia, a country situated to the west of Thrace, is described⁶ a race of men living with their families, horses, and cattle, in huts

¹ III. 113. This description is founded on fact, in regard at least to the broad-tailed sheep, which are common in parts both of Asia and Africa. See Rawlinson, Herodot. Note ad loc.

² IV. 184.

³ IV. 192.

⁴ IV. 183.

⁵ IV. 191.

⁶ V. 16. Mr. Rawlinson, (Herodot. vol. I. p. 99.), is surprised at our disbelieving "the fact of a race dwelling on scaffoldings in the middle of the lake Prasias and living upon fish." We have expressed no special disbelief in either of the facts to which our critic has here thought fit to limit the historian's description. We know that there are races which live on fish; and we think we may even have seen, on some of the Swiss or Italian lakes, dwellings constructed like those of the Prasiates. Our scepticism attaches rather to the further statements of Herodotus; that "the horses and other beasts of burthen" fed on fish, as other horses do on grass (*χόρην*); and that the fish were so plentiful that each householder, when in want of this finny provender, had but to let down a basket into the water, and after a short interval "draw it up full." If Mr. Rawlinson believes that the Prasiate horses pastured on fish, he surely does Herodotus injustice, in elsewhere (p. 91.) rejecting his account of the Lydian horses feeding on snakes. Herodotus, we must add, does not say that the Prasiates themselves lived on fish. See the additional note to this page at the end of the volume.

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* c c 4

raised upon scaffoldings in the middle of a lake, and approached by a single narrow bridge. The horses and cattle were fed on fish, which were so numerous in the lake that each householder, when in want of fodder, had but to let down a basket into the water, through a hole in the floor of the hut made for the purpose, and draw up an abundant supply. Some wonderful customs are found prevalent in widely separate regions, under the same or slightly modified forms; and the accounts of them, recurring from time to time, are so similar both in substance and expression, as to amount to a sort of common-place in the author's narrative. The Massagetæ¹, a tribe to the north of the Caspian sea, sacrifice and eat their old people. Certain Indian tribes² treat their sick in the same manner. The Issedonians, a Tartar race³, also eat their parents, allowing them however first to die a natural death, when the whole kindred assemble in festive rite, and banquet on their flesh. Among the Massagetæ each man marries a wife, but all cohabit freely with the wives of each other. So also among the Nasamones, a Libyan tribe.⁴ Still more strange are the sexual relations described as common to the inhabitants of parts of India, of Mount Caucasus⁵, and of Libya.⁶

Imposi-
tions prac-
tised on
Herodotus.

9. It could hardly fail to happen that a man who believed such stories, or thought them worth noting in his tablets as materials for a great historical work, would become the butt of humorous or malicious

¹ I. 216.

² III. 99.

³ IV. 26.

⁴ I. 216., IV. 172.

⁵ III. 101., I. 203., *μῆξις ἐμφανής, κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.*

⁶ Especially among the Machlyes (IV. 180.), whose name according to its Greek etymology (*μάχλος*, lascivus, mæchus) denotes the freedom of manners here in question. Conf. IV. 176. I. 93. V. 6.

persons to whom he might apply for intelligence in the course of his travels. That such was the case with Herodotus he himself assures us. The only information which he had been able to procure from any native Egyptian topographer relative to the source of the Nile was, he tells us, derived from the sacred scribe of Minerva at Saïs ; and he adds¹ that his informant, although he positively asserted the correctness of his statement, appeared to him to be joking. According to this reverend trifler, there were situated between Syene and Elephantine two peaked mountains, the one called Crophî, the other Mophî. From a bottomless abyss at their base issued the stream ; one half of which ran north through Egypt, the other south into Ethiopia. There is an obvious analogy between these names Crophî and Mophî, and those of Gog and Magog, which in our own nursery mythology denote twin mountains as well as twin heroes. Although Herodotus perceived, as he himself informs us, that the priest was joking, and although he had also clear proof of the falsehood of the story, having himself explored the Nile as far as Elephantine, yet he does not hesitate to follow up the subject, by a speculation on what might have been the real nature of the phenomenon narrated, supposing the story of the sacred scribe to have been true.

On another occasion Herodotus was shown a row of colossal female statues without hands. These figures, he was assured by the same priests of Saïs, represented the concubines of king Mycerinus, and were said to have been fashioned without hands, because the queen of Mycerinus had caused the hands

¹ II. 28.

of the women when alive to be cut off, as a punishment for abetting her husband in an outrage upon his own daughter. Here again Herodotus possessed the means of detecting the trick ; having observed, as he tells us¹, that the figures were originally executed with hands, which had fallen off from the effects of time and dilapidation ; the fragments of them being still visible at the base of the statues.

The translation, supplied to Herodotus, of the inscription on one of the larger pyramids, represented it² as recording the quantity of onions, radishes, and garlick, consumed by the labourers employed in the structure of the monument. Were a foreigner, ignorant of the English tongue, to ask the meaning of the inscription on the London monument of some humorist of Fish-street hill, the answer might possibly be, that it recorded the number of quarts of porter and pipes of tobacco consumed by the builders of the column ; but it is not likely that he would put faith in the statement. Herodotus however seems, in the parallel case, to have believed his informants implicitly ; having no such tangible proof of their mendacity as in their previous accounts of Crophî and Mophi, and the mutilated statues ; for he makes their statement the basis of his calculation of the entire cost of the pyramid.

The truth is, that if we except what Herodotus himself saw, or may have learnt from his fellow Greeks settled in the country, there is scarcely in his work a single piece of information concerning Egypt, its past history or actual condition, that can be relied on. Every more detailed notice of events prior to the Greek settlement, specified as obtained by him

¹ II. 130.

² II. 125.

from native sources, is to all appearance either pure fable; or if it can from other evidence be presumed to be founded on fact, is so disfigured by fabulous matter, as effectually to prove the systematic course of deception which the native organs of tradition were in the habit of practising on strangers.

With these well-ascertained examples in the case of Egypt, we are justified in assuming, that in some other instances previously cited, the marvellous anecdotes collected by Herodotus in different regions, were invented by his local informants for the purpose of imposing on credulous visitors. The Hellenes for example of the Scythian coast, who were ready to make oath that every man of the tribe of Neuri annually became a wolf, were not probably better convinced of the truth of their story than Herodotus describes himself to have been. Similar no doubt was the case of the Persian gossips, who with more persuasive effect assured him, that several of the colossal ants of the Indian gold country were preserved in the royal menagery at Susa.¹

10. It remains to consider the third peculiarity of the historian to which attention has above been directed as prejudicial to the credit of his narrative: his desire to enhance its effect by entertaining anecdotes, striking historical combinations, and other similar expedients.

His ex-
cursive
anecdotes
and histo-
rical gossip.

Herodotus has been charged by ingenious but unduly severe critics, with having written his work rather for the purpose of amusing his readers than with the higher objects of the historian. This charge

¹ III. 102.

appears to be an exaggeration of the defect here in question. His primary object assuredly was to instruct his countrymen in the more important historical vicissitudes of their own nation and of the civilised world. There can however be little doubt that, whether with a view of more effectually securing attention to his lessons, or with the less disinterested object of extending his field of popularity, or from some inherent tendency of his mind to indulge in anecdotal details, his efforts to combine entertainment with instruction have in many instances produced results, more consistent with the character of a writer of romance than a writer of history.

Without anticipating those illustrations of the general scheme of the historian's work which belong to a future chapter on its composition and style, it will here be proper to remark, that its principal subject, as defined by himself, is the origin and course of the wars waged between the Hellenes and the great oriental powers. As these wars, according to his own theory, were caused by a long course of aggression on the part of the same oriental powers, especially of the Persian monarchs, which reached its climax in the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, he naturally selected as his main line of narrative the rise and aggrandisement of the Medo-Persian dynasty. With this main subject were to be interwoven historical notices of the Greek or foreign states whose affairs were more intimately connected with those of Persia. A detailed history of any one of those states formed no part of the author's plan. But his public, or at least the more intelligent portion of it, had a right to expect, that such episodal notices of them as he introduced,

should be bestowed on the more important facts of their history, not on mere local traditions and gossiping stories. Certain it is however, that a large portion of the episodic matter of Herodotus is of this latter description. Even in his principal narrative, the gossiping details often usurp the place of the main facts of history ; and in frequent instances we owe our knowledge of those main facts but to incidental allusions, occurring in the course of some comparatively unimportant digression.¹

One of the most notable chapters in the early history of Greece is, or rather would be did we possess it entire, that descriptive of the Corinthian state under the Cypselidæ; and more particularly under Periander, the second tyrant of that family. We know that Corinth during the reign of this prince was more powerful than she ever was afterwards, or probably had ever been before. We know that she ruled over extensive colonial territories, of her possession of which there is no trace after the death of Periander. We know that her colonial dominions were situated chiefly on the coasts and islands of Epirus; and especially that Periander was lord of the great and flourishing island of Corcyra. We know that Corinth in those days maintained the largest maritime force among the Greek states, and

Corinthian
history and
court
scandal.

¹ Mr. Rawlinson, in his remarks on this part of our text, and in other portions of his commentary, may be compared to a lover, who will allow no one but himself to observe blemishes in the object of his affection. He objects (vol. i. p. 105. sq.) to our criticisms on those passages of the historian, where "anecdotal details, gossiping stories, and local traditions, usurp the place of the main facts of history." But in pp. 112, 113. he himself imputes it, almost in our own words, "as a great defect," to Herodotus: "that little personal tales and anecdotes take the place of those investigations, on which critical writers of history are wont to lay the chief stress." The apology which in the sequel he offers for the alleged defect, has also been anticipated in our Ch. VII. § 3.

carried on an extensive commerce, which both enriched her citizens and supplied a copious revenue to the state. These facts we know on competent testimony. We know them however but as bare facts, and solely or chiefly from incidental notices by writers treating of other subjects or of other periods of Corinthian history.¹ Of the mode in which the republic acquired, or in which she lost, this great power and influence, we know nothing. The value of this missing chapter of Greek history is the more manifest from the details given in the first book of Thucydides.² The quarrels there described between Corinth and her colony Corcyra, the latter being then an independent and powerful republic, which quarrels were the immediate cause of the great Peloponnesian war, originated evidently in the previous relations between the two states; which, chiefly it would appear established by Periander, partly perhaps by his predecessor, subsisted during his reign and ceased at his death.

These remoter events of Corcyro-Corinthian history formed no part of the proper subject of Thucydides. His object was but to show how the recent disputes between the two republics had led to the Peloponnesian war. Nor could blame have attached to Herodotus had he too merely overlooked this earlier portion of their history; neither state being among those whose position had brought them into immediate connexion with his main subject of Helleno-Persian politics; a fact which may be urged among other proofs of the decline of Corinth since the death of Periander. For the

¹ Thucyd. i. 13. 24. sq.; Tim. frg. 49. 53. Didot; Strab. viii. pp. 378. sqq.; Herodot. *passim*; *conf. supra*, Vol. III. p. 387.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.* vol. iii. p. 56. sqq.

² *Loc. cit.*

influence of that monarch was great even in Asia minor prior to the Persian supremacy.¹ If however Herodotus did think fit to devote any large share of attention to the affairs of Corinth, we had a right to expect that he would give a preference to those possessing real historical importance. But instead of this, while a liberal allowance of his text has been bestowed on Corinth, it has been allotted all but exclusively to popular and in great part scandalous or fabulous anecdotes.² We are told how Periander supplied his ally Thrasybulus of Miletus with the interpretation of an oracle; how through the allegory of the corn-stalks he was instructed by the same ally in the best mode of coercing his Corinthian subjects; and how he was appointed arbiter to settle the dispute between Mitylene and Athens for the possession of Sigeum; how he entertained the poet Arion at his court, with that poet's marvellous maritime adventure; how he murdered his wife Melissa, and outraged her body after death; how he afterwards consulted her shade by the necromantic rite of the Molossian Acheron, was informed by her that her corpse felt cold; and how he collected the Corinthian ladies in the temple of Juno, stripped them of their holiday attire, and burnt their precious garments and jewels as a holocaust to warm and appease the shivering ghost of his murdered queen. We are further told, that like his contemporary Cræsus he had two sons, one of whom named Lycophron alone gave promise of proving a worthy successor to his father, the other being weak of intellect; that Lycophron, a youth of

¹ I. 20., v. 92. (6) 95.: Tim. frag. 49. Didot.

² I. 20. 23., v. 92. 95., III. 48. sqq.

generous but morbid temperament, so resented the ill-treatment, real or imputed, of his mother, as to refuse all intercourse with his father. A copious account ensues of the severe, though affectionate, but vain efforts of the father to effect a reconciliation, and of the refuge sought by the son, first with his grandfather Procles at Epidaurus, and, on the occupation by Periander of that city, at Corcyra. In the end Periander, in order to secure during his own lifetime the succession of his empire in his family, offers to cede to the youth the sovereignty of the city and state of Corinth, and content himself during his latter days with the government of Corcyra. The offer is accepted; but the Corcyræans, alarmed at the prospect of the tyrant's residence among them, frustrate the arrangement by killing Lycophron; and Periander in revenge sends three hundred noble Corcyræan youths as a present to Alyattes king of Lydia, to be converted by him into eunuchs for the service of his harem.

The only facts entitled to rank as history, which can be extracted from this copious mass of entertaining and well-told Corinthian court scandal, are: that Periander was lord of Corcyra and Epidaurus as well as Corinth; that he took Epidaurus from his father-in-law Procles; and that he was on friendly terms with several states of Asia minor. But concerning the rise and fall of the maritime power of Corinth, or the acquisition and loss of her colonial dependencies of Corcyra, Epidamnus, Leucadia, Ambracia, Anactorium, and Apollonia¹, we are left altogether in the dark.

¹ We are favoured, however, with a long chapter of the mythological gossip of this city in book ix. § 93. sq.

11. Another instance of this sacrifice of the substance to the shadow of history offers itself in the visit of Solon to Cræsus. If there was any subject of local Greek politics which had a strong claim on a Greek historian's attention, from its influence on the future destinies of his own country and the civilised world, it was the legislation of Solon with its causes and results. But this important subject is scarcely noticed, while many pages have been devoted to a fabulous legend of the legislator's life. The omission here connects itself with a peculiarity common to the historical art of Herodotus with that of Thucydides and other leading Greek historians, — the all but exclusive limitation of his narrative, or at least of that portion of it which treats of his native annals, to the foreign politics of the different states ; to their quarrels, alliances, military enterprises ; or in so far as their internal affairs are noticed, to the parallel transactions between rival parties. The origin and growth of their laws and civil institutions, with the distinctive features of their forms of government, matters which from every critical modern historian claim a large share of attention, are either overlooked, or afford occasion for but here and there a few incidental remarks. The study of Hume's history imparts about as competent a general knowledge of the growth and theory of the British constitution, as a well-educated English gentleman is under any obligation to possess. But no such insight into the Spartan or Athenian constitution can be derived from any Greek historian of the best period. * This branch of knowledge seems to have been considered the special province of the professional writers on

Solon.

civil government, who began to appear in Greece in the latter days of Herodotus.

Sparto-
Messenian
wars.

Some little more attention has been bestowed by him¹ on the legislation of Lycurgus than on that of Solon. But the history of Sparta supplies perhaps the most pointed illustration of the anomalous mode in which he apportions his text among his heads of subject. By far the most remarkable events in the early annals of the Sparto-Dorian state are her long and obstinate wars against the rival republic of Messenia, terminating in the conquest of the latter and its annexation to the dominions of the victor. By this conquest was established that ascendancy of Lacedæmon in the Dorian section of the confederacy, which exercised so great an influence on the political destinies of Greece. But throughout the work of Herodotus, no distinct mention is made either of the Messenian conquest or the events which led to it; and the few allusions that occur to Messenia about the time of the Persian war, are such as almost imply that country to have been still an independent commonwealth rather than a Spartan province.² With this indifference to the more important events of Lacedæmonian history, may be contrasted the undue share of the text bestowed on another series of transactions, also connected with Sparta, but of very little moment in their bearings on the destinies of that state or of any other part of the civilised world. Among the Greek colonies, there are few which act a less distinguished part in the national annals than the Spartan settlements of Cyrene and Barca. Maintaining scarcely any connexion with the

Cyrene.

¹ I. 65. sqq., vi. 56. sq.

² v. 49., ix. 35, 64.: but conf. i. 68., iii. 47.

mother country, they make no very creditable figure in the African political system, and on the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses offered themselves as willing vassals of the Persian empire. Yet to the history of these states Herodotus devotes a larger share of separate attention¹ than to that of any native Greek republic; probably because their legends, as abounding in marvellous incident, presented an unusually large amount of scope for his favourite vein of anecdotal enlargement.²

He gives us indeed to understand, by precept as well as example, that his motive for dwelling on the concerns of any particular country was often not so much their historical importance, as the interest which, from peculiar causes, he happened himself to take in them. The condition of Samos under Polykrates, shortly before the Græco-Persian wars, presented much analogy to that of Corinth under Periander; each commonwealth being subject to an able

Affairs of
Samos.

¹ iv. 145. sq. There is a peculiarity in the real history of those states which renders, in their case, the historian's preference of the entertaining to the substantial the more to be regretted. The rapid advance of their sovereigns in wealth and power seems to have been greatly owing to the commerce carried on with the Silphium, a medicinal plant of indigenous and abundant growth in that part of Africa; and the sale of which appears to have been a royal monopoly. On a curious vase published by the Roman Archeol. Inst., *Annali*, tom. v. p. 56., king Arcesilaus is himself represented weighing out this drug to his customers. Herodotus (iv. 169. 192.) several times mentions the plant, but without any notice of the trade. The drawing also contains in its details curious proof of the direct influence of the Egyptian mythology on that of these Libyan Greeks.

² Nor is it easy to understand why Herodotus, in omitting all account of the great and momentous Messenian wars, should have dwelt in such detail on those of more recent date but inferior importance, between Sparta and Tegea (i. 66. sqq.), unless it be that the legends of supernatural incident connected with the latter, those especially regarding the bones of Orestes, possessed a peculiar hold on the historian's imagination.

and enlightened usurper, under whose rule it had attained a high degree of power and prosperity. There was however this difference in the two cases, that while the affairs of Corinth stood in no immediate connexion with the historian's main line of narrative, those of Samos stood in the very closest. The island lay on the high road of Persian conquest, and was constantly, and fatally, mixed up with the vicissitudes of Græco-oriental politics; with all propriety therefore a liberal share of the historian's text has been devoted to its separate history. The more remarkable must it appear, that this should be the only case in which he has thought it necessary to apologise for what he seems to have considered an undue digression, but which to the modern reader will appear less in that light than a large proportion of his remaining narrative. The apology itself is highly characteristic of his own sense of the intrinsic value of different parts of his subject: "I have dwelt," says he¹, "the longer on the affairs of the Samians, because those islanders possess the three greatest works ever executed by Hellenic artists. The first is a tunnel of seven stadia in length and eight feet in height and width, excavated through a mountain nine hundred feet high, along which tunnel runs another excavation three feet wide, and twenty cubits deep, conveying water in pipes to the city. The second is the breakwater of their port, more than two stadia long and about twenty fathoms deep; the third is the largest of all temples known to me. On these grounds it is that I have enlarged the more on the affairs of Samos."

His spirit
of hyper-
bole.

12. Another mode in which this anxiety to impart

¹ III. 60.

effect to his narrative at the expense of its historical substance displays itself, might perhaps without undue severity be defined as a spirit of exaggeration. We shall here prefer describing it by a more indulgent phrase as a spirit of hyperbole. The influence of this spirit is observable chiefly in the more exciting parts of his subject; in the accounts of mighty enterprises, brilliant exploits, or striking occurrences. Here, again, it would be harsh to impute to Herodotus any intention of deceiving by wilful falsification of the data on which his descriptions are founded. All probably that can with justice be laid to his charge is his having preferred, among the varieties of tradition which in almost every such case were current, those best adapted to the purpose which, unconsciously perhaps, he had in view.

As a splendid exemplification of this tendency may be cited his account of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Even the more enthusiastic admirers of Herodotus have not hesitated to admit his estimate of the Persian forces to be extravagant. What he describes is not so much an invading army as a migration of races. The number of men whom Xerxes is made to transport, by land or by sea, into the heart of Hellas, is 5,283,220.¹ Of these about one half were effective troops, soldiers or sailors; the rest were camp followers, or persons connected with the naval and military commissariat. To these however, he tells us, were to be added, an incalculable number of eunuchs, female bakers, and concubines; besides horses, camels, and other beasts of burthen. The fleet, between war galleys and

Expedition
of Xerxes.

¹ VII. 186. sq.: conf. 184.

provision ships, consisted of 4327 vessels.¹ This entire armament marched or sailed to the straits and coasts of Thermopylæ in safety. Of the land-force, amounting in all to above four millions, about 3,500,000 crossed from Asia, the rest being levied in Europe. The passage of these 3,500,000 across the Hellespont, by a bridge of boats, occupied seven days and seven nights of unremitting march. What may have been the exact time required by the combined host with its encumbrances, for traversing each of the precipitous mountain passes between the Hellespont and Thermopylæ, we are not informed. The whole legend is one evidently adapted to the region of central Asia rather than of Greece or Europe. There is no reason to doubt that the great oriental despots may occasionally have moved against each other, on the wide expanse of plain over which their dominions extended, and with the vast resources which those wealthy countries supplied, military bodies on a scale in some degree similar, never certainly equal, to that here described. But the practicability of transporting without loss, over the rugged mountain regions of Thrace, Macedonia, and Hellas, a section of the male population of Asia superior in number to that of the country which it proposed to conquer, might safely be questioned, even were authorities agreed on the subject. They disagree however widely, and in such a manner as to prove the estimate of Herodotus to be but a selection of one of the most exaggerated from among other equally arbitrary data. One of the stelæ set up by the Amphictyons on the battle field of Thermopylæ, celebrated the small band of Greek warriors who fell

¹ VII. 184. sqq.

in that combat as having fought against three millions of enemies. The number of fighting men at which Herodotus rates the whole Persian land force was something more than two millions. The Amphictyons therefore, taking their inscription by the letter, adopted a computation greatly in excess of that of Herodotus. If on the other hand we assume their "three millions" to have denoted the whole land armament inclusive of camp followers, Herodotus would be about a million in excess of the Amphictyons. That a million or two more or less was a matter of little moment in the gross reckoning, appears further from the estimate of Ctesias, who may here be understood to give the Persian account, and who differs widely both from the Amphictyons and from Herodotus. According to him¹ the force with which Xerxes invaded Greece amounted to 800,000 men, and 1000 ships of war. Assuming these 800,000 to be the fighting men alone, the whole land armament would, adopting the Herodotean rate of camp followers, be about 1,600,000. The army under the command of Mardonius at Plataea was, according to the same authority, 120,000 men, instead of 300,000 as in Herodotus. In the battle of Salamis on the other hand, the ships of the Greek fleet were 700, instead of the 380 of Herodotus. Taking these numbers as the Persian computation, there is yet no ground for charging Ctesias with favour to his Persian patrons. For he makes the Greek force by which Mardonius was defeated at Plataea still smaller in proportion to the enemy than does Herodotus; and describes the battle of Thermopylae much ac-

¹ Frg. 29. p. 50. Didot.

according to the popular Greek account. Isocrates nearly agrees with Ctesias, limiting, as he does in two different passages, the fighting men of the Persian army to 700,000.¹

But apart from specific facts and numbers, the whole tenor of this portion of the historian's narrative is in such a continued strain of hyperbole, as clearly shows how greatly the imagination was in the ascendant of the judgement in its composition. Darius is said, at the epoch of his death, to have been already engaged three years in making preparations for this enterprise²; and Xerxes took other four years to complete the interrupted measures of his predecessor.³ A principal object of the historian's solicitude is to note the names of the rivers that were drunk dry by the troops on their march.⁴ One Thracian lake of nearly four miles in circumference⁵ is stated to have been drunk up by the beasts of burthen alone. The numbers of the force are taken, not by ordinary computation, but by measurement. An enclosure is marked off sufficient to contain ten thousand men, is surrounded by a stone wall, and is then repeatedly filled and emptied, each successive replenishment being rated at the same round number as the first, without the necessity of further arithmetical process.

His self-contradictions.

13. The indulgence in this spirit of hyperbole is productive at times of curious anomalies; the assertions hazarded in one place for the purpose of giving effect to particular descriptions, being con-

¹ Archid. p. 136. D. Panathen. p. 242. D. He also (Paneg. p. 59. A.) describes the Athenian fleet at Artemisium as comprising but 60 galleys; less than half of what they are rated at by Herodotus.

² VII. 1.

³ VII. 20.

⁴ VII. 43 58. 196. alibi.

⁵ VII. 109.

tradicted by statements made in other passages where the author was writing under a different kind of influence. Of the battle of Marathon it is said¹, that "the Athenians were the first Hellenic warriors who had ever yet dared to meet an adversary wearing the dress of a Mede; for until this time the very name of a Mede was a terror to the Greeks." The historian's object is here to place the valour of those by whom this brilliant victory was achieved in the most striking point of view; and in his anxiety to attain his object, he asserts what is falsified by some four or five other previous passages of his narrative. In Book I. §. 165. he tells us that the Phocæans, when forced by the irresistible tide of Persian invasion under Harpagus to abandon their city, take to their ships, and seek for new settlements on the western shores of the Mediterranean, had, before finally setting out on their voyage, relanded in their port, and attacked and slain the Persian garrison left in occupation of the city. In the sequel we are informed² that the great body of the Ionians fought gallantly against the overwhelming force of the same Harpagus. During the revolt of Aristagoras against Darius, the Milesians are described³ as bearing the brunt of a severe battle fought in conjunction with the Carians against the Persians; and in the ensuing account of the quelling of that revolt by the defeat of Histiaëus, it is said⁴ that the Hellenes made head against the enemy during a long action, until overpowered by a fresh body of cavalry brought up to reinforce their

Battle of
Marathon.

¹ VI. 112.

² I. 169.

³ V. 120.; compare also § 49., where Aristagoras is made to describe the Persians as inferior, both in valour and in the art of war, to the Hellenes.

⁴ VI. 29.

opponents. In the face of these previous descriptions, the historian now tells us that the Athenians at Marathon were the first Greeks who ventured to look a Persian warrior in the face! What, it must be hoped, he here meant to say was, that the Athenians were the first Greeks who in pitched battle had ever fairly beaten an army of Medes. But the value of his eulogy is lost under the load of hyperbolical glorification with which he has smothered it.

Greek nautical ignorance.

After the battle of Salamis, a deputation from the Asiatic colonies solicited the aid of the victorious Greek fleet then stationed at Ægina, in their proposed attempt to emancipate themselves from the Persian yoke. For the present the commanders of the fleet are described as declining to proceed further than Delos; pleading among other reasons their ignorance of the maritime region to the east of that island; the isle of Samos in particular, where their services were first required, "appearing to them as distant as the Pillars of Hercules."¹ This is one of the strangest statements of its kind to be found in the work of Herodotus; and is negatived by the whole tenor and spirit of the history of Greek navigation as written by himself. The Ægæan sea, of which Samos was one of the principal ports, was not only a narrow sea, studded with islands and abounding in excellent

¹ VIII. 132. Οὔτε τῶν χώρων τοῦσι ἱμπεύουσι τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστάτο δόξυ καὶ Ἡρακλίας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. Mr. Grote has here endeavoured to save the credit of Herodotus, by assuming him to mean that the Greeks were prevented from proceeding further, solely by an apprehension that a superior force might have been collected by the Persians on the coast of Asia for the defence of their own maritime frontier. The historian alludes no doubt in the previous context to this apprehension as an element of the disinclination of his countrymen to sail further eastwards. But the reasonableness of the one motive can neither supersede nor justify the absurdity of the other.

harbours, but was in all respects a Greek sea, its shores occupied almost exclusively by Greek maritime communities, and is described by Herodotus himself as having been navigated freely for centuries by the ships and fleets of both mother country and colonies.¹ His object is here, by an imaginary effect of contrast, to place in a more striking light the rapid increase, during his own time, of nautical power and enterprise among his European fellow-countrymen, of which increase the victories he had just celebrated were a principal cause. And in his zeal to produce this illusive effect he would have us believe, that prior to the epoch of those victories the great central port of Samos, which was probably even in those days little less familiar to Hellenic merchants and seamen than the port of Piræus, was viewed by the Greek commanders stationed at Delos, almost within sight of this very Samos, much in the light of some *terra incognita* or *ultima Thule* of the eastern waters.

When the Spartan envoy announced to Cyrus, after his conquest of Asia minor, that the Lacedæmonians would resent any act of aggression against the states of continental Greece, the historian makes the Persian monarch reply by turning to one of his Hellenic attendants and asking "who the Lacedæmonians were."² And, on being informed, he told the envoy that "he cared little for people who had open places in the middle of their towns, where they were in the habit of meeting and lying to each other upon oath." This anecdote may very possibly be true; and whether true or false is highly effective. It illustrates in a very happy manner the character of the semi-barbarous conqueror, and the insignificance at this

Persian
ignorance
of Greece.

¹ I. 69, 70. 145. sqq., III. 39. 44. 48. 54. v 94. alibi.

² I. 153.

juncture, in his estimation, of those diminutive states, destined not many generations afterwards to subvert the proud fabric of empire which he was so busily engaged in erecting. But the repeated introduction in the sequel, of the same figure of speech under other and inappropriate circumstances, not only destroys its value, but warrants a suspicion that all the anecdotes in which it occurs, are mere rhetorical fictions of the historian himself or the popular authorities from whom he borrowed.

When Atossa the sultana of Darius, in furtherance of her scheme for restoring her favourite Greek physician Democedes to his native country, urges her husband to undertake the conquest of Greece, she expresses her strong desire to provide her household "with Laconian, Argive, Athenian, and Corinthian waiting-maids."¹ Darius receives her proposal with complacency, and on her suggestion appoints a naval commission, under the guidance of Democedes, to visit the coasts of Hellas and report as to the present state of that country. It might surely be inferred, from the reasons here assigned by Atossa for her interest in the proposed scheme of conquest, that the Persian court had by this time a tolerably clear notion of "who both the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians were;" and even had it been otherwise, the result of the commission could hardly have failed to supply the information required. Yet some time after the return of the commission, we find Artaphernes satrap of Lydia, brother of Darius and one of the leading Persian statesmen of the day, on the introduction of the Attic envoys sent to treat of an alliance with Persia, asking, by an improvement of the question of

¹ III. 134.

Cyrus, "who the Athenians were, and what country they inhabited."¹ And again, at a still later period, Darius himself, when informed that the same Athenians had attacked and burnt to the ground his Lydian capital Sardis, is also made to inquire, with equally unconscious simplicity, "who the Athenians were!"²

A favourite subject of enlargement in the historian's description of Egypt, is the marked difference between its manners and customs and those of the other civilised regions with which he was acquainted, especially of Greece. Here again, the zeal with which he has exerted himself to impart interest to his picture of this singular country, has led him into broad general statements afterwards as broadly contradicted. The Egyptians, he tells us³, among their eccentricities of religious custom, consecrate no women to the service of any deity either male or female; the ministers of all, both gods and goddesses, being exclusively men. Yet in the sequel he informs us⁴ that the oracles of Ammon in Africa, and of Dodona in Hellas, were founded by two priestesses of the Theban Jove, kidnapped in Egypt by Phœnician adventurers, and sold as slaves, the one in Libya the other in Epirus. In another place he describes a mode of consecrating the female ministers of the same Egyptian God, as similar to that which prevailed in the sanctuary of Belus at Babylon, and in that of the Lycian Apollo at Patara.⁵

In one place he asserts⁶ that hero-worship was unknown among the Egyptians. He afterwards contradicts this statement by informing us⁷: how Perseus son of Danaë had been honoured with a

¹ v. 73.² v. 105.³ II. 35.⁴ II. 54.⁵ I. 182.⁶ II. 50.⁷ II. 91.Egyptian
eccentricities.

temple and religious rites by the inhabitants of Chemmis in upper Egypt, in consideration of his ancestor Danaus, the colonist of Argos, having been a native of their city. He also describes¹ Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, as worshipped at Memphis under the title of the Foreign Venus; and her sanctuary as situated within that of the Egyptian king Proteus, in whose reign she visited the country.²

Claim of
Herodotus
to rank as
a critical
historian.

14. One of the most important questions, in estimating the character of a historical writer, is the degree in which he possessed the critical faculty in dealing with obscure or controverted matters. The foregoing illustrations may seem to have anticipated any separate consideration of this question in the case of Herodotus. An author, whose narrative exhibits errors of statement or of judgement such as those above noted, can hardly, it may seem, possess any strong claim to rank as a critical historian in the stricter sense. The greater part of those errors have, it is true, been cited in more immediate connexion with certain peculiarities of his temper or habits of thought, the effect of which was at times to supersede or deaden his natural powers of discernment, and which have hence above been characterised as the Anomaly of his genius. It might still therefore be supposed, that in those parts of his narrative which gave no similar scope to such influences, there might be room for a better application of his discriminating powers. But with every desire to take the most indulgent view of his qualifications in this respect, we have been able to discover in his mind but a small portion of that faculty which in the higher sense of the term can be called critical. In

¹ II. 112.

² See Appendix J.

the same general way in which he has already been characterised as a man of sense and intelligence, he deserves also to rank as a man of inquiring mind. But he was not a man of a logical head. As with his facts and researches, so with his arguments and inferences. When treating of events and their causes as exhibited on the broad surface of the current of life, his conclusions are, generally speaking, as just and rational as they are honest and impartial. But the case is different with the details of his description and commentary. These, even apart from the secondary influences above referred to, will frequently be found, owing to mere oversight, carelessness, or habitual want of critical method, to be not only distorted from the semblance of historical truth, but at variance with the principal facts to which they are introduced as subsidiary.

There is here, as in so many other respects, a curious analogy between the genius of Herodotus and that of Homer. Both have been led, by zeal for the interest of their narrative, into frequent self-contradictions. But there is this difference in the cases, that while a strict adherence to truth is with the historian a fundamental duty, with the poet it is a subordinate merit. When Homer, for example, after having in the opening scene of the *Iliad* described Apollo and Minerva, on the day of quarrel between the chiefs, as present in the Greek camp and busily engaged in controlling the destinies of the war, assures us in the immediate sequel, that on the day before the quarrel "all the gods" had gone to feast in Ethiopia, and had since been unable to attend to the affairs of the Troad, the blunder, though palpable, is in no essential respect detrimental to the

spirit of the poem. Few readers observe it, and to those who do, the only feeling it suggests is one of amusement at the lively eccentricity of the author. But when Herodotus, after having in numerous earlier passages described the unsuccessful valour with which the Asiatic Greeks had struggled in defence of their liberties against the overwhelming power of the Persians, gravely informs us that the Athenians who fought at Marathon were the first Greeks who had yet ventured so much as to look a Persian foe in the face, the self-contradiction is as repugnant to our taste and reason as it is injurious to the credit of the work in which it occurs.

Our illustrations of this defect have hitherto been limited chiefly to cases where the historian's critical judgement seems to have been obscured by feelings or prejudices peculiar to his own mind; in the examples here subjoined the anomaly seems traceable to mere oversight or confusion of ideas.

Scythian
expedition
of Darius.

One of the most elaborate portions of the narrative is that which records the expedition of Darius into Scythia. The king, on crossing the Ister, leaves the Hellenic division of his army to guard the bridge of boats, with orders to expect him back in sixty days. His return is described accordingly, as having taken place a day or two after the lapse of the appointed period.¹ His operations however on the hostile territory, according to the details afterwards given, must have occupied at least double that time; and upon a more strict estimate of the possibilities of the case, they could hardly have been accomplished within less than the triple or quadruple of it.

¹ iv. 98. 122. sqq. 133. sqq. 136. sqq.

Herodotus describes Scythia as a square country, the length of each side being twenty days' journey.¹ These day's journeys he rates at twenty-five miles each; giving 500 miles for each side of the square. But in another part of this work² he reckons nineteen miles as an ordinary day's journey along the high post-road from Sardis to Susa, through the most civilised part of the Persian empire. It is therefore not easy to understand, how he could have supposed either traveller or soldier capable of accomplishing twenty-five miles a day, among the trackless wastes and broad rivers of Scythia. Were we to assume twenty or even fifteen miles as the full average length competent, for any continuity, including halts and contingencies, to an army of 700,000 men, in an inhospitable region, where every necessary of life required to be carried along with them, it would be a most liberal allowance. Let us however concede the historian's full twenty-five miles a day to the Scythian army of Darius. The south side of the quadrangle, extending twenty days' march, or 500 miles, along the shores of the Black sea and Palus Mæotis to the river Tanaïs, was the part through which the king first directed his route in pursuit of the retiring Scythians. On the other bank of the Tanaïs, which bounded Scythia proper to the eastward, lay the Sauromatæ, whose country he makes³ extend to a breadth of fifteen days' march beyond

Estimate of
distance by
day's jour-
neys.

¹ iv. 101. This however is contradicted elsewhere. The south side, here described as extending twenty days' journey, ten from the Ister to the Borysthenes and ten from the Borysthenes to the Tanaïs, is made in § 18. sqq. some thirty days' journey; the distance from the Borysthenes to the Tanaïs being there separately described as at least twenty days.

² v. 53.

³ iv. 21.

the river. On the other side of the Sauromatæ were the Budini, the extent of whose country is not stated; but as they are called¹ a great and numerous nation, with a city near fifteen miles in circumference, it might safely be assumed that their territory was as spacious as that of the Sauromatæ, who are made the subject of no such remark. Let us however take its breadth at but ten days' march. Beyond the Budini lay an entirely desert region. Darius, having pursued his fugitive foe across the Tanais and through the territories of the Sauromatæ and Budini, halts on the frontier of the desert², and occupies himself with the construction of eight large forts or castles, at distances of seven miles from each other, forming consequently a line of fortified posts extending in all about fifty miles. Hearing however that the Scythians had made a retrograde movement towards their own country, he breaks up his cantonments, leaving his forts half-finished, and recommences the pursuit. The Scythians, on reentering their own territory, make another wheel to the northward, recross their frontier in that direction, and still pursued by the Persians traverse in succession the countries of four neighbouring northern nations, the Melanchlæni, Androphagi, Neuri, and Agathyrsi.³ They then once more pass into their own country; when Darius, fatigued with his fruitless wandering, retreats, and falling into the same line of march by which he had first advanced from the Ister towards the Tanais, returns to his bridge of boats on the former river.

Let us now see how the account of the number of days occupied by this expedition ought to stand, according to the above details supplied by the histo-

¹ IV. 108.

² IV. 122—124.

³ 125. seqq.

rian himself, as compared with his original sum total of sixty days.

From the Ister to the frontier of the Sauromatæ on the east side of the Tanaïs was a distance of at least¹ twenty days' continuous march at twenty-five miles a day. In the course of this march the army had to cross some five or six rivers, two of them, the Borysthenes and the Tanaïs, scarcely second in magnitude to the Ister, to secure the passage of which the king had sent a fleet from Ionia with materials for constructing a bridge. The impossibility, therefore, of his march of 500 miles in twenty days through this region becomes the more glaringly extravagant. Let us however take it as the historian represents it. Add the fifteen days' march across the territory of the Sauromatæ, and the ten for the country of the Budini, and we have in all forty-five days up to the king's halting-place on the frontier of the desert. We shall reckon the length of time occupied in distributing his army into cantonments extending fifty miles for the construction of his eight forts, with that consumed in the half-completion of the forts and in the remuster for the renewed pursuit of the enemy, at a week only, making (45+7) fifty-two days. Assuming his original march through the Sauromatian and Budinian territories to have been in an oblique rather than a direct line beyond the Tanaïs, and his return consequently to have occupied about half the time required for his advance, it would have taken thirteen days to bring him back to the Scythian frontier, which he would have reached (52+13) on the sixty-fifth day. His subsequent route in search of

¹ See note to p. 417.

the fugitive host through the country of the four northern nations, Melanchlæni, Androphagi, Neuri, and Agathyrsi, assuming each of those countries to have been but five days' journey in breadth, would have lasted twenty days; and this without any allowance for the time occupied in crossing the north of Scythia to reach their frontier. We should thus have at least $(65+20)$ eighty-five days. His course is further described¹ as obstructed during some days, say five at least, in the country of the latter people $(85+5)$; making ninety days. Finally, according to the historian's original computation, which made the breadth of Scythia from north to south, as from east to west, twenty days' journey, the army would have required that number of days to return by the most direct course from the northern frontier to the bridge of the Ister; making in all $(90+20)$ a hundred and ten days. But to this reckoning a good many more days must be added for time occupied in fighting, foraging, and negotiating with the enemy.² Darius, it is also said, did not return direct from north to south, but fell designedly by an oblique movement into the old line of march by which he had originally advanced to the Tanais.³ The details, therefore, of the historian's own narrative give a number nearly double that of his original sum total of sixty days; and it must be apparent to every intelligent reader, that the actual possibilities of the case would have required the triple at least of that sum total.⁴

¹ IV. 126.² 126. sqq.³ 140.

⁴ Rennel, Niebuhr, Grote, and other commentators, dwell with good reason on the difficulty of reconciling these details with the real geography of Scythia. Our own remarks have been chiefly directed to the more important point, as affecting the historical credit of Herodotus, the impossibility of reconciling him with himself.

15. We have seen how vague is the historian's estimate of distances by day's journeys; that on the great imperial road from Sardis to Susa he rates a day's march at 150 stadia, or less than 19 miles; while on the inhospitable deserts of Scythia he rates it at 200 stadia, or 25 miles. Similarly vague is his estimate of time by generations. In his Egyptian history he gives $33\frac{1}{3}$ years to a generation¹; assigning to 341 generations of kings there described about 11,350 years. But in his account of the Heraclid kings of Lydia, he makes² the twenty-two generations from Agron to Candaules equal to but 505 years; or about 23 years to a generation. The generations of Spartan kings from Hercules to Leotychides, who flourished 230 years later than Candaules, are described³ as but twenty in number; they extend therefore over 735 years, giving about 37 years to a generation, and making a generation of Spartans nearly two fifths longer than a generation of Lydians. All this Herodotus does without explanatory comment; either as to the principle on which his calculations are based, or the peculiarities of circumstance by which they may in different cases have been modified.

Allusion has already been made to his method of identifying, in his chronology of royal dynasties, reigns of kings with generations of men. In his Egyptian history he makes 341 reigns correspond to exactly as many successions from father to son, and to exactly as many pontificates of priests. In his Lydian history twenty-two generations reign in the same uninterrupted order. The impossibility of any such correspondence ought the more readily to have struck Herodotus, considering that in the details of

Estimate
of time by
genera-
tions,

and by
reigns of
kings.

¹ II. 142.

² I. 7.

³ VIII. 131.

the Egyptian series he represents the order of descent as disturbed, according to the common law of nature, by collateral successions, usurpations, and other contingencies. But these anomalies are not confined to his computation of mythical genealogies; they extend also to his notices of recent historical events. His account of Solon's visit to Cræsus is one of a series of chronological errors extending over about a century. Pittacus who died in 569 B.C. is made¹ contemporaneous with the reign of Cræsus which began in 560 B.C. Pisistratus who also began to reign in 560, and died in 527, is represented as conquering Sigeum in the early part of the life of Alcæus who flourished in 610 B.C., and as at that time old enough to have a son arrived at years of manhood.² Hence, by implication, Alcæus, Solon, Pittacus, Pisistratus, and Cræsus are all made coeval with each other; and that not as junior and elder contemporaries, but in their mature age and active life. Chilon, who was Ephor at Sparta in 556 B.C., is described in i. 59, as having prophesied the birth of Pisistratus to his father Hippocrates. This, by reference to v. 94, he could not have done much later than 650 B.C., or upwards of ninety years before his own accession to office. Herodotus here appears as the organ of that tendency observable in popular annalists, to bring the great men of a given period into personal contact.

Want of a
standard
chronological era.

These chronological anomalies are more or less a consequence of what constitutes in itself a fundamental defect of the historian's work, the want of any standard era for the computation of dates. This is a defect for which it may seem perhaps that the author's age rather than himself is responsible; and

¹ i. 27.

² v. 94. sq.

which was first effectually remedied some generations after his time, by the adoption of the Olympic era of 776 B. C. as a basis of national chronology. Herodotus appears however to have been here behind the spirit of his age, even as compared with previous or contemporaneous historians. Two of the more celebrated works of Hellanicus, his *Carneonicæ* and his *Argive Priestesses*, were chronological compilations; and the epochs of the Priestesses were made the framework on which a course of national history was adjusted. Similar steps in the same direction seem to have been made by Charon in his annals of Lacedæmonian magistrates, and by Hippias in his attempt, abortive though it proved, to arrange the chronology of the *Olympionicæ*.

This habitual inaccuracy is as observable in the other numerical details of the historian's text as in his reckoning of time or distance. The Greek warriors described as sacrificing their lives at Thermopylæ are rated, in the first instance, at 300 Spartans and 700 Thespians, making a total of 1000 men. But in the sequel we find the dead bodies of these warriors stated as 4000 in number; first in the inscription copied by Herodotus from the stela of the Amphictyons;¹ and afterwards in a passage of his own narrative. On the stela the whole 4000 are also described as Peloponnesians; although in his own previous enumeration, where they are limited to 1000, 700 or more than two thirds were called Bœotians of Thespia, and but 300 or less than one third Peloponnesians of Sparta. In the subsequent passage², where they are swelled to 4000, he alludes

Other numerical anomalies.
Battle of Thermopylæ.

¹ VII. 228.

² VIII. 25. The 4000 are here pointedly defined as "all Lacedæmonians and Thespians." In VII. 228., the number of the Amphictyons is

incidentally to a portion of the number as consisting of Helots ; of whom not a word is said in any other place. Are we to suppose that at Thermopylæ, as at Platæa, each Spartiate was attended by seven light-armed soldiers of this inferior rank, who were also detained by Leonidas to form part of his great human sacrifice ? If so, why were these poor men denied their share of notice for their share in the glory of the exploit ? Even the additional 2100 Helots would, however, make up a sum total of only 3100. But in truth the whole account of this celebrated combat, while evidently in great part, like that of the battle of Thyrea¹, pure fable, is involved in a confusion and self-contradiction which no subtlety of criticism or conjecture can clear up or reconcile.²

Invasion of
Egypt by
Cambyses.

16. The invasion of Egypt by Cambyses was an enterprise so naturally involved in the onward course of Persian aggression, that the most diligent investigator of historical causes need hardly have been at pains to trace it to any other motive than the ambition of that sovereign. An event however of this nature seldom failed to receive from Herodotus some more romantic colouring than it derived from the realities of international politics. Accordingly he tells us³ that Cambyses was instigated to his attack on Egypt by resentment at the insult offered him by king Amasis, whose daughter he had asked in marriage. The Egyptian monarch, to whom the alliance was not agreeable, but who was unwilling to irritate his formidable neighbour, sends, in the assumed character of the princess, a daughter of the late sovereign Apries whom he had deposed. The fictitious princess, made to include the few Greeks slain before the rest of the army was sent away by Leonidas.

¹ Supra, Ch. v. p. 329.

² See Appendix K.

³ III. 1. sq.

by name Nitetis, described as in the bloom of youth and beauty, is at no pains to conceal from Cambyzes, whose affections she had secured by her personal charms, the trick that had been played on him, and which he determines to revenge by the conquest of Egypt.

According to the historian's Egyptian chronology, which is here sufficiently precise, this fair young girl, as he calls her, would have been between forty and fifty years of age; Amasis, who died almost simultaneously with the invasion of his kingdom, being described as having reigned forty-four years; and Apries deposed by Amasis as having been put to death shortly after his deposition.¹ So that, even assuming Nitetis to have been born to Apries during the short interval between his deposition and his death, she could hardly have been under forty-three.²

This is one of the few instances where Herodotus has entered on a critical exposition of the reasons which induced him to select, among the several versions of a current legend, the one which he has preferred; but his argument is as much at fault as his chronology. The Egyptians, it seems, asserted that it was not to Cambyzes but to his father Cyrus that Nitetis was sent by Amasis; nor does their account imply that the deceit had been discovered; and they even went the length of maintaining that Cambyzes was her son by Cyrus. This version of the story Herodotus dismisses, on the ground that Cambyzes was notoriously the son of another sultana of his father. Although this argument,

¹ III. 10. : conf. II. 169. 172. The latter passage implies that Herodotus dated the accession of Amasis from the death of Apries.

² Other minor discrepancies of number, arising partly from inadvertency, partly perhaps from corruption of the text, have been pointed out by Rawlinson, Herodot. vol. I. p. 109. sqq.

admitting the fact on which it is based to be correct, is not worth much, it is probable that the particulars of the Egyptian account are as fabulous as those of the one preferred by the historian. But the substance of the Egyptian version, in so far as describing Cyrus rather than Cambyses as the person on whom the fraud was practised, is more plausible. For while we should thus escape the chronological error of Herodotus, it was in itself more likely that Amasis would attempt such a fraud on the semi-barbarous chief of a new monarchy, at an early period of his career, than after the mighty empire which he had created had been established under a permanent dynasty. The story was probably invented by the Egyptians, in their anxiety to save the national honour by investing Cambyses with the character of a native Egyptian, sprung from one of their own legitimate monarchs; just as the Median tradition of the birth of Cyrus, preferred by Herodotus, made that conqueror grandson of Astyages instead of an independent foreign usurper.

Walls of
Babylon.

With these errors or paradoxes in the historian's reckoning of time, may be compared other similar extravagances in his measurement of bulk or space. Such are the 60 miles of circumference, 337 feet of height, and 80 feet of breadth, assigned to the walls of Babylon¹; walls moreover consisting of two

¹ I. 178. sq. The conventional number for the height of the walls in the Babylonian tradition, which is here adopted by both Herodotus and Ctesias, seems to have been 200 cubits. But the royal Persian cubit, Herodot. loc. cit., was longer than the common cubit. Herodotus adopts the former, which gives 337 English feet; Ctesias the latter, which gives but 300. The discrepancies in the accounts of the circuit of the walls are much greater than in those of the height; the excess being still largely on the side of Herodotus. Ctesias has 360 stadia (45 miles); Quintus Curtius, 368 stadia; Strabo, 385; Herodotus, 480. See Rennel, Geogr. of Herodot. p. 340.; Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. iii. p. 396. sqq.

circuits of masonry, each, according to the tenor of the description, of nearly equal dimensions. The degree of faith which different readers may place in these accounts will depend very much on their own individual capacities of belief in such cases. But we find it difficult even to conceive the existence of such a line of 60, or rather 120 miles, of what a modern historian very appropriately designates "artificial mountains."¹ As Herodotus tells us² that these fortifications had been destroyed by the Persians before his visit to the city, a disbelief in the accuracy of his statement involves no impeachment of his personal veracity.

17. We learn from the historian³ that the more critical portion of his own public repudiated, and with good reason, the strange story which he himself believed and vindicated, of the deliberation held by the seven Persian chiefs after the death of the Magi concerning the best form of government, and of the orations pronounced by three of the chiefs, as advocates respectively of the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic forms. In the sequel he describes how the Persian viceroy Mardonius, after the suppression of the Ionian revolt, abolished the tyrannies of the tributary Greek states, and established democracies in their stead⁴; and he remarks ironically, that this fact will appear wonderful in the eyes of those who disbelieve his previous statement, that a proposal for converting the Persian empire into a democracy had been entertained by the Seven conspirators. Here the historian shows his want of the critical faculty in

Persian
love of de-
mocracy.

¹ See Appendix L.

² III. 159.

³ III. 80.

⁴ VI. 43. This measure seems to be the same as that said by Diodorus, Excerpt. Vat. ed. Maj. p. 38., to have been suggested (not to Mardonius but to Artaphernes) by the historian Hecataeus. See *supra*, Ch. iii. § 2.

two ways ; first in the implicit belief which he reposes in so palpable a fable as the account of that same Persian display of political rhetoric ; secondly, in his blindness to the real spirit of a measure which places in a clear light the sagacious policy of Darius towards his Hellenic dependents. That monarch had just succeeded, with some difficulty and much bloodshed, in quelling a most determined insurrection of the Greek states, which also spread to the non-Hellenic provinces of Caria and Cyprus. The revolt had been conducted secretly by Histæus tyrant of Miletus, openly by his kinsman Aristagoras who, in the absence of Histæus, detained at Susa as confidential companion of Darius, acted as viceroy of Miletus. It had been the early policy of the Persian sovereigns, to maintain in their usurped rights the tyrants who held sway in the Greek commonwealths of Asia ; under a natural impression that it would be the personal interest of those petty chiefs to support the imperial government, and thus secure, under its supremacy, each his individual allotment of royal power. And to a certain extent this policy had been successful. It had however now become obvious, that restless ambition, and the innate spirit of Hellenic liberty, were stronger in the breasts of these often enlightened and high-minded men, than mere desire to enjoy their despotic power under the humiliating tenure by which they held it. Histæus, himself a personal favourite of Darius, had been formerly suspected of a scheme to erect into an independent principality a territory bestowed on him by the king in one of the European provinces ; and it was with a view to keep a better watch over his conduct that Darius had since retained him about his

court. But this precaution had not prevented him from setting on foot a formidable insurrection against the royal authority. With this experience of the little confidence to be reposed in his Hellenic vassal princes, what more natural than that such a sagacious politician as Darius should argue: "Will it not be wiser to try another system, and indulge these Ionians in their darling republican institutions; the restoration of which was one of the chief inducements to revolt held out to them by Aristagoras?"¹ Shall we not, while conferring on them a gratifying boon, find it easier to deal with headless democracies than with cunning political chiefs?" Such, and such alone, assuredly were the grounds of this change of policy, in which Herodotus was simple enough to discover a real partiality, in the mind of so uncompromising a despot as Darius, for those democratic forms, which he introduces Otanes expounding in the council of Seven with all the subtlety of an accomplished Attic rhetor.

18. As in his main capacity of historian, so in his subsidiary one of geographer, the merit of Herodotus is to be sought rather in his practical knowledge and guileless integrity than in his speculative opinions. He adopts the popular division of the earth into three principal parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa; but his notions of the relative size and position of those parts are but crudely digested.² Europe is made equal in extent to both the others, comprising the whole northern region of modern Asia. He nowhere gives us distinctly to understand what he believes to be the form of the earth; but he ridicules those who figured it as a circular plane with the river Ocean running

Geographical criticism of Herodotus.

¹ v. 37.

² iv. 42. sqq.

Circumna-
vigation of
Africa.

Caspian
sea.

round it.¹ He knew or believed Africa to be a peninsula, surrounded, to the south and west, by the same waters which bounded it to the east and north in the form of the Arabian gulf and the Mediterranean sea. He also believed this peninsula to have been circumnavigated by Phœnician mariners in the service of Pharaoh Neco. Several of the points of hearsay information which to himself, as well as to later geographers of higher pretensions, appeared fabulous, have since been proved to be true. He tells us for example that those Phœnician navigators asserted, that during their voyage they saw the meridian sun to the right instead of the left, or in other words to the north instead of the south, of their course, but that he did not believe their report.² His incredulity is here the more curious, that in his own theory as to the rise of the Nile, to be noticed below, he describes³ the sun as vertical in Libya at the winter solstice, and as occupying during the summer a position in the heavens far to the north of its southern solstitial point; in which case a man who sailed from the Red Sea round the south extremity of Libya must necessarily, on the historian's own showing, have seen the luminary where the Phœnician voyagers saw it. He also describes the Caspian sea as surrounded by land.⁴ Strabo⁵ on the other hand believed the Caspian to be but a large gulf of the eastern ocean; a proof, among others, that in the time of Herodotus, during the united supremacy of the civilised Persian government, some points of distant Asiatic geography were better understood than in the Roman period, when the sway of those countries was di-

¹ IV. 8. 36., II. 23.

⁴ I. 203.

² IV. 42.

³ II. 24. sqq.

⁵ VII. p. 294. XI. p. 507.

vided, as now, among a number of semibarbarous potentates.

Herodotus attributes the principal variations of climate to the winds, which he considered as independent atmospheric agencies, controlling the motions of the sun itself.¹ Winter was caused by the cold gales blowing down at that season from the north, and driving the sun southward out of its natural course, which it resumes in summer on the cessation of the counteracting influence.² The rise of the Nile ought, according to the historian's theory, rather to be called the fall of the Nile. The normal state of the stream was with him its state of inundation; the diminution of its waters being attributed to their absorption in winter by the rays of the sun, when vertical over the sources of the river in Ethiopia.

Changes
of seasons.

Rise of the
Nile.

Herodotus describes the countries visited by himself faithfully and often carefully. When dependent on the information of others his statements can the less be trusted, that while the honest simplicity of his own character disinclined him from assuming others to be false, his superstition and love of the marvellous led him easily to credit the popular fables regarding little-explored regions. He shows great diligence in collecting statistical facts concerning the revenues and internal condition of the Persian empire³; as also regarding the manners and military array of the nations who followed the banners of Xerxes⁴; his account of which⁵ is yet probably

¹ II. 24. sqq. ² Loc. cit. ³ III. 89., v. 49. sqq., viii. 98. ⁴ vii. 61. sqq.

⁵ Supposed by Niebuhr (Lect. on Ant. History, vol. i. lect. xxxvi. p. 321.) to have been borrowed from the poem of Chœrilus. This opinion its author supports by an appeal to Næke's commentary on that poem and on the life of its author. Næke however (p. 24. sqq.) makes Chœrilus junior to Herodotus. There can be no doubt that each gave a

in great part fabulous. Any closer analysis of the "Geography of Herodotus" belongs rather to the history of geographical science than to that of Greek literature. Attention has here been directed to the few points in which he seems to have been either in advance of, or behind, the spirit of his age, or where his views are marked by originality or eccentricity. His errors of detail¹, whether as regards place or distance, unless when involving self-contradictions or exaggerations, are more justly chargeable on his times than himself, nor consequently do they here require to be specially noticed in illustration of his genius.

His philo-
logical cri-
ticism.

19. We have already seen that the philological attainments of Herodotus were limited to his own tongue; and he was not a man to affect a display of knowledge which he did not possess. He from time to time however gives explanations of foreign, especially Egyptian words, as communicated, it may be supposed, by native authorities or by Greek professional interpreters.² We have means of ascertaining the value of but few of these explanations; as however in those few the historian is frequently at fault, there is the less room for confidence in the remainder. In the following case the misapprehension is curious in itself, and supplies another example of his habitual want of critical precision.

In describing a series of Egyptian statues representing a line of hereditary priesthood, Herodotus tells us³, that according to his native guides each of

catalogue of the force of Xerxes. But no proof has been adduced that the one copied from the other. Conf. Smith, Biogr. Dict. i. p. 697.; and Dahlmann, Herodot. § 34. p. 175.

¹ See Dahlmann, Herodot. § 12. p. 61. alibi.

² I. 110. 131., II. 2. 30. 46. 69. 77. 81. 94. 143., III. 8., IV. 27. 59. 110. 155. 192., VI. 98. 119., VIII. 85. 98., IX. 110.

³ II. 143.

the persons represented was a Piromi, son of a Piromi; and that Piromi in Egyptian signified noble and excellent. The real signification of this term, as every Egyptian scholar knows, is, and was in the antient Egyptian tongue, simply "man;" and in the monumental inscriptions it was customary to append the hieroglyphic which expressed it, as a determinative sign, to the names of human personages of the male sex, the better to distinguish them from those of females or of deities. It is indeed evident from the historian's own context that this was the sense in which the priests themselves employed the word. Their statement was made in reference to the ostentatious vanity of Hecatæus, who, when visiting the temple of Ammon at Thebes, traced his own pedigree, through a line of ancestors figured in the monuments of that sanctuary, up to an Egyptian deity. Upon this Herodotus remarks, that the priests with whom he conversed in the same sanctuary, repudiated, if not the Egyptian origin of the Milesian traveller, his notion at least of the descent of human beings from deities under any circumstances; and in illustration of their own opposite doctrine, they showed Herodotus the row of sacerdotal images in question, in number 345; and not one of the persons there portrayed was, they asserted, a god of either greater or less rank; but every one of them was a man (Piromi) and son of a man. It is difficult to comprehend how Herodotus, in thus accurately recapitulating so distinct a statement, made too in corroboration of his own opinion, should have so completely misunderstood the import of one of its principal terms, as to render it both unmeaning in itself and pointless in its bearings on his own argument.

Less excusable is the positive manner in which he interprets the inscriptions on the supposed "stelæ of Sesostris"; of the meaning of which he evidently knew nothing but from hearsay or guesswork. One of these stelæ, seen by him on the coast of Ionia, was discovered some years ago, and is admitted not to be an Egyptian work.¹

The experiment by which Psammetichus is described² as having attempted to discover the most antient language, and with the success of which Herodotus seems to have been well satisfied, is puerile in the extreme. In one part of his work the historian describes the Pelasgian dialect as a barbarous or foreign tongue compared with the Hellenic; in others he represents it as identical with the same Hellenic.³ His assertion⁴ that the Persian proper names all terminated in the letter S, is supported no doubt by his Greek transcripts of them; but not by the genuine remains of the antient Persian tongue. The care, and it may be presumed the ingenuity, with which so many foreign names have been moulded, whether by himself or preceding authorities, into popular Greek forms, is very remarkable. In numerous cases they are completely hellenised, both in sound and etymology. Such are Harpagus, Zopyrus, Hyperanthes, Prexaspes, Astyages, Megabates, Tritantæchmes, &c.

His mythological criticism.

Full credit has above been given to Herodotus for the judicious manner in which he has limited his main

¹ See Rawlinson, Note to Herodot. ii. 106.

² ii. 2.

³ i. 57.: conf. ii. 56. sqq. See Vol. I. p. 51. sqq. Little reliance can therefore be placed on his other notices of identity or similarity in foreign languages. i. 172., ii. 105., iv. 117.

⁴ i. 139.

narrative to more strictly historical ages. Yet when he does incidentally touch on points of speculative mythology, he shows no great advance beyond Acusilaus or Hecataeus in the art of mythological criticism. He makes Perseus, son of Danaë, the eponyme patriarch of the Persians; Medea of the Medes.¹ The Lycians were called after Lycus, son of Pandion king of Attica.² The Assyrian and Lydian empires are both founded by descendants of the Greek Hercules; the Assyrian by Belus, son of Alcæus, son of Hercules; the Lydian by Agron, grandson of Belus.³ These and other etymo-mythological chimæras of the same kind, are propounded, incidentally it is true, but with all due gravity as matters of fact.

20. The best ground on which Herodotus can claim to rank as a critical writer is his impartiality. This is a quality the possession of which by a historian implies not merely honesty of intention, but, especially where so many influences concurred to beguile the feelings or warp the understanding, clearness of head and calmness of judgement. The impartiality of Herodotus is therefore substantial evidence of his possession of the critical faculty, in regard at least to his estimate of the conduct and character of his warriors and statesmen. Among other proofs of his conscientious fulfilment of this important part of a historian's duty, appeal may be made to the attacks to which he has been subjected on account of his imputed breaches of it. For, paradoxical as it may seem, the most impartial writers have often been those most exposed to the charge of partisanship. Where equal justice is dealt to all in

His impartiality.

¹ VII. 61, 62. 150.

² I. 173., VII. 92.

³ I. 7.

a narrative of events, it rarely happens that all are satisfied with the share allotted to them; and those who, in such cases, benefit least by the distribution, have more temptation to complain of favouritism than where the narrator avowedly takes a side.

The charges of partiality against Herodotus have been of two kinds: national partiality towards his own countrymen in their relation to foreigners, and partiality towards individual members of the Hellenic body in their relation to their fellow Greeks. His exaggerated estimate of the army of Xerxes has been imputed to a desire to magnify the prowess of his countrymen by whom that mighty host was annihilated. His assertion that the Athenians who fought at Marathon were the first Greeks who had ever ventured to stand up in pitched battle against a Persian foe, an assertion made in the face of his own previous accounts of gallant actions fought against the same enemy by the Hellenes of Asia minor, has been urged as proof of his anxiety to glorify the Athenians at the expense of their fellow Greeks. Neither passage seems to afford valid ground for any such charge; and both have already been cited in illustration of certain other defects of his historical method, which sufficiently account for similar exaggerations, irrespective of any undue favour towards those whose honour they may indirectly tend to promote.

Character
of the
Persians.

It would however be unreasonable to expect that a man of warm patriotic feeling, in a history of a long series of wars between his own nation and a rival race, should never have been led, even unconsciously, to express sentiments more favourable to his fellow-citizens than to their adversaries. And un-

doubtedly the general tone of the historian's narrative is one of admiration for the deeds, and favour to the cause, of his countrymen. But there is no appearance of his having been led by these feelings wilfully to depreciate the character or conduct of the Persians. In forming our judgement in any such case, much must depend on a previous comparative estimate of the real merits of those whose conduct a historian is called upon to judge. It cannot be disputed that the Greeks were a people greatly superior, both socially and intellectually, to the Persians; superior in their system of civil government, in their art of war, in their science and civilisation at large; and the effects of this superiority could not fail to be strikingly exemplified in a contest where the energies of each nation were strained to the uttermost. Accordingly the narrative of Herodotus, in so far as favourable to the one side or unfavourable to the other, appears to be so but as a narrative of facts; where the Greeks are neither represented as more superior to the Persians, nor the Persians as more inferior to the Greeks, than the reality justified.

As the historian's accounts of the dealings between the two nations relate chiefly to their wars, the inferiority of the Persians appears in the most prominent light in their military character; and is precisely of the same kind that has, in all ages, been observable in the oriental as compared with the European races. Herodotus himself assures us¹ that the defeat of Plataea was owing, not to any want of courage in the Persians, but to the inferiority of their arms and military discipline; and all justice is done to the heroic deeds of the two principal commanders, Mar-

¹ IX. 62. sq.

donius and Masistius, who both fell gallantly fighting. At Thermopylæ the valour of the Persian nobles, as contrasted with the defects of their military art, appears in a still stronger light. On that occasion the destruction of the little army of Leonidas was certain; no display of courage was required on the side of the victors. The archers and slingers of the overwhelming force by which it was surrounded, might, from a distance and at their ease, have completed the work of massacre. But the historian describes the catastrophe as brought about by a murderous engagement, in which the flower of the Persian chivalry fought hand to hand with those terrible adversaries, and two brothers of Xerxes were slain. At the battle of Mycale, the Persians proper are equally remarkable for the obstinate valour with which, after the flight of the rest of their army, they disputed, inch by inch, the victorious advance of the entire Greek host.¹ There can indeed be no better proof of the historian's anxiety to do justice to their merits, than the care with which on several occasions he impresses on us, that the weakness of the imperial armies lay mainly in the pusillanimity of the provincial troops, while the native Medes and Persians fought gallantly.² Even the defects imputed to them, their presumptuous self-confidence and vain-glorious contempt for their Grecian foes, combined as they were with impetuous bravery, are generous defects, enhancing rather than detracting from the aggregate value of the Persian military character. In other instances³, as in the adventures of which Bogen, the Magi and their castigators are the heroes, the historian shows an evident satisfaction in dwelling

¹ IX. 102.² VIII. 68.³ VII. 107., III. 76. sqq.

on the martial prowess by which this people was distinguished.

But while the valour of the individual Persian is represented as not inferior to that of the individual Greek, the collective valour of the Greeks is represented as greatly superior to that of the Persians; not more so however than is justified by historical probability and analogy. The defeat of 300,000 Persian troops by 80,000 Greeks at Plataea, was as natural a consequence of the superiority of the Greek art of war, as the defeats, occurring from time to time, of similarly numerous armies of Seikhs or Mahrattas by similarly small forces of the Anglo-Indian government, are a natural consequence of the superiority of modern European to oriental tactics. The individual Seikh or Mahratta is probably as brave as the individual Englishman, but collectively the prowess of the European soldier is as two or three to one of that of the Asiatic warrior. So it has always been, and will continue to be under like circumstances, and so it is represented to be with great fidelity and spirit by Herodotus. Besides the defects common to the military system of the oriental nations, a special drawback in the case of the Persians in their Greek wars, was the want of military genius or judgement in their rulers, and the blind confidence placed by those rulers in the numbers rather than the courage and discipline of their followers. The less weight consequently can attach to any charge of partiality against Herodotus founded on his exaggerated estimate of the host of Xerxes. It could hardly escape his attention, or that of any other sensible man, that such a system of encumbering the real soldiers of an army with those swarms of half-armed savages who

figure in his "Catalogue of the Persian host," was accumulating weakness in a degree as great as that in which its author conceived it to be adding strength.

Perhaps the best vindication of the historian's fairness, in so far as regards the Persians, is the fact, that while the most authentic account of that people which we possess, and on which we are chiefly accustomed to form our judgement of their character, is that transmitted by Herodotus, there is no nation among those who in antient or modern times have figured on the wide field of oriental politics, which for patriotism, valour, talent, and generosity, occupies or deserves to occupy so high a place in our estimation. The historian on whose testimony such an estimate has been formed, could hardly be an unfair or invidious witness. But he not only does justice to their good qualities, he evidently loves to dwell on them.¹ He praises their love of truth, and the hardy simplicity of their antient manners, the decline of which, with advancing wealth and luxury, was simultaneous with the decline of their political fortunes. He enlarges on the purity of their religious worship, and the wisdom of their fundamental laws, so wantonly violated by their arbitrary rulers. He illustrates by interesting examples their devoted loyalty to those rulers, constituting as they did the only visible rallying points of the national honour, and of that warm patriotism which seems to have united Persians of all ranks by a common bond of family, rather than mere national union. A discontented chief may at times revolt, seldom without justifiable grounds; but of deliberate betrayal of the national interest to a foreign enemy no instance is recorded by

¹ l. 131. sqq., ix. 122.

Herodotus. We hear of no Persian Hippias, Demaratus, or Pausanias. It would almost seem to have been a principle of Persian public law, admitted even by such arbitrary despots as Darius and Xerxes, that every Persian public servant, whether successful or unfortunate in his undertakings, had to the best of his ability done his duty. There is no trace of the bowstring system common in oriental countries, where civil and military officers are made responsible with their lives, not for the zeal but the success of their services. Mardonius, in spite of the disastrous issue of his first Athenian expedition, continued to retain his place in the favour of both monarchs ; nor are Datis and Artaphernes mentioned as having been disgraced for the still more humiliating result of the campaign of Marathon. The historian's graphic picture of the follies or vices of those despots is also relieved by favourable traits. Their outbreaks of wanton cruelty are redeemed by acts of generosity, and by a grateful sense of services rendered. Nor do we hear of their being guilty of any of those unjustifiable breaches of the law of nations, several of which Herodotus records against his own countrymen.

21. In regard to the historian's supposed favour to the Athenians at the expense of their fellow Greeks, it is necessary, as in the case of the Persians, well to weigh the previous question, how far such favour be not rather an impartial expression of well-merited approval than the blind eulogy of a partisan. There can be no doubt of the high admiration of Herodotus for the character of this people, and for their noble sacrifices in support of Hellenic independence. This feeling manifests itself both in the general tone of his narrative, and in the judgement passed by him on

His imputed favour to the Athenians,

their conduct, as compared with that of other leading Greek states. But before a charge of unfair partiality can be founded on any such basis, we must have solid ground of belief that his good opinion was unworthily bestowed. It has been urged that the fact of Herodotus having, when forced to abandon his native country, selected Athens as his place of refuge, and having spent the remainder of his life under Athenian patronage, is itself a primary ground for doubting the impartiality of a narrative so favourable to the Athenians. Might it not with equal reason be argued, that the motive which first induced a Dorian stranger to cast his lot with Athens, was a feeling of respect for those excellences of her character or conduct which he afterwards undertook to describe? But in truth the merits of the Athenians, as exhibited during the Persian war, have not been disputed by any author of credit who treats of this period. Both the genuine Plutarch, Bœotian as he was, in his biographical sketches, and the apocryphal Plutarch in his attack on the historian, represent the part acted by them in substantially the same light as it appears in Herodotus. It is not so much on the ground of favour shown to the Athenians, as of harshness and injustice to the other Greeks, that the Bœotian critic rests his argument of malignity; and he even accuses the historian of having in some cases enviously suppressed or disparaged the honourable deeds of Athens, in the same manner as those of other Greek republics.

And injustice to
the Corinthians.

The Hellenic states which may seem to have the best reason to complain of injustice done them by the historian, are Sparta and Corinth. Any remarks on the case of Sparta will be better reserved for the

sequel. The complaint of the Corinthians affords stronger evidence of their own vain pretensions than of the historian's slowness to appreciate their real merits. A concise abstract of the several passages in which their affairs are referred to in connexion with Athens, while tending to elucidate one or two obscure points of Greek history, will also show that Corinth, if not among the most favoured nations of Herodotus, was not certainly among those which he desired to vilify.

When the Athenians, about the year 519 B.C., were involved in a quarrel with Thebes, by having undertaken to protect Plataea against Theban oppression, the Corinthians were called in as arbiters, and their award was favourable to the Athenians and to the cause of liberty.¹ In the course of the invidious hostilities fomented by Sparta against Athens after the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, a coalition of Dorian and Bæotian states was formed for the invasion of Attica; when the Corinthians, convinced of the injustice of the enterprise, withdrew their forces, which step on their part was a main cause of its abandonment.² Soon after, in a council of Dorian states held to concert measures for checking the growing power of Athens, it was proposed by the Spartans to reestablish Hippias by force of arms in his despotic government. Here again the Corinthian orator interposes³, and expresses in no measured terms his surprise and offence at so base a project. The result as before was an abandonment of the scheme. In all this there is certainly no appearance of disfavour to Corinth on the part of Herodotus, especially in her dealings with Athens. In the sequel the two states

¹ VI. 108.² V. 75.³ V. 92.

appear united by close ties of amity ; and in the war waged by Athens, then deficient in naval resources, against Ægina, she was presented by Corinth with the munificent present of twenty galleys.¹ This friendship however had come completely to an end before the outbreak of the Persian war. During the early operations of the Greek fleet, Adimantus leader of the Corinthian squadron, keenly opposes the naval policy of Themistocles ; but is described as having been induced by a bribe from that commander to acquiesce in his views² ; a transaction not indeed very creditable to Corinthian honour. But as Eurybiades the Spartan admiral in chief accepts a similar bribe from the same Themistocles, and as Themistocles had himself been bribed by the Eubœans to adopt his present policy, by a sum far greater than that paid by him to his fellow-commanders, none of the parties have much reason to complain of favour to their neighbour in the historian's report of the transaction. The altered feeling between the two states further displays itself with marked virulence in the insults offered by Adimantus to Themistocles in the war councils, and afterwards in the injurious reports circulated by the Athenians of the conduct of the Corinthians in the battle of Salamis.³ It is here again to be regretted that Herodotus, instead of his scandalous anecdotes of the court of Periander, should not rather have afforded us some explanation of the transition from friendship to enmity between the two republics during the interval since the war between Athens and Ægina. But the cause of the change which his own indirect notices imply, is the mortification of the Corinthians at seeing their antient naval

¹ VI. 89.² VIII. 4. sq.³ VIII. 59. 61. 94.

superiority pass so completely from their hands into those of the Athenians their former friends. A few years before the battle of Salamis Athens was unable, without the aid of Corinth, to muster a fleet fit to cope with that of Ægina. The ships of Athens at Salamis were 180¹; those of Corinth, 40.² The personal bitterness displayed by Adimantus towards Themistocles tends to confirm this view. For to the policy of Themistocles it was, as Herodotus also informs us³, that Athens was chiefly indebted for her rapid increase of naval power.

The mention by Herodotus⁴ of the probably calumnious report circulated by the Athenians, as to the panic flight of the Corinthians in the battle of Salamis, was the chief ground on which the latter people rested their charge of injustice towards them in his account of the war. But no unprejudiced reader of the passage, especially of its concluding paragraph, will discover in it any such tendency. "This," says the historian, "is the story told by the Athenians; but the Corinthians claim to have fought in the foremost rank, and to this the rest of the Greeks bear witness." Herodotus may perhaps in this passage lie open to the charge of having indirectly stigmatised the Athenians as calumniators, but he can hardly be taxed with having stigmatised the Corinthians as cowards. He has here, as on other occasions, thought fit to notice any popular legend current regarding important events, especially when seasoned, as in the present case, with marvellous or supernatural details; and this one happened not to be entirely complimentary to the Corinthians; but he could hardly have told his tale in a more fair and candid manner. The vanity of Corinth

¹ VIII. 44.² VIII. 1. 43.³ VII. 144.⁴ VIII. 94.

was however as tender as it was great ; and was hurt at being made so much as the subject of any such anecdote.¹

His judgment on the Thes-
salians,

22. A more reasonable charge against Herodotus than that of partiality to individual states, is that of harshness in his judgements of those who, while ostensibly true to the national cause, appeared to him less sincere than others in their efforts to serve it. Against several of these he is even more severe than against those who stood aloof or openly sided with the enemy. His allusions to some of the latter more notorious offenders are indeed marked by a spirit of indulgence. The Thessalians had in the first instance given in their allegiance to the great king. But when it became his declared intention to reduce Greece to the form of a Persian province, they were ready, the historian tells us, to join in opposing his advance. Nor was it until the confederate force retired upon central Greece and left them to their fate, that they made common cause with the invader²; and Herodotus seems to consider it rather to their credit, that having once resolved on this course they showed themselves zealous allies of Xerxes. He also comments in very lenient terms³ on the refusal of the Argives to join the national cause, and seems to admit the validity of the grounds on which that refusal rested. Even the Thebans, who so loudly complained of the

Argives,

Thebans.

¹ The Corinthians are among the states, comprising the whole confederacy except Sparta, Athens, and Tegen, whose troops are described as behaving ill at Platæa. But at Mycale the same Corinthians are represented as redeeming their lost credit by bearing, in conjunction with the Athenians, Sicyonians, and Træzenians, the brunt of the hostile attack ; and by gallantly in the same company striving to win, and succeeding in winning the battle, before the arrival of the Spartans. ix. 102.

² vii. 172—174.

³ vii. 148. sqq.

"malignity of Herodotus," seem to have been as handsomely treated by him as by other Greek analysts. Their zealous support of the Persians was notorious, and Herodotus is certainly far from extenuating their delinquency. But he readily gives them credit for any more generous traits of character or conduct by which their crime may have been relieved. After the battle of Plataea Pausanias, he informs us, summoned them to deliver up the political chiefs under whose guidance they had acted, threatening in case of refusal to assault their city. The citizens rejected this demand on the ground, the historian implies, that as all were guilty it was but fair that all should suffer punishment. After three weeks of siege and its attendant hardships, the chiefs, unwilling to prolong the calamity of their country, voluntarily surrendered themselves. Whatever may have been the previous political offences of either people or magistrates, the conduct imputed to both on this occasion is highly commendable.¹

While thus indulgent towards the greater criminals, Herodotus seems to be at pains to place the conduct of less palpable offenders in an unfavourable light. When Xerxes, before setting out on his expedition, sent a final demand of allegiance from the Greek states, some, says the historian, readily complied, while

Minor
Greek
states.

¹ IX. 86. 88. In a speech placed by Thucydides (III. 62.) in the mouth of the Thebans, they are made to assert that their city was at the period of the Persian invasion subject to an oligarchy, by whom they were coerced into obedience to the invader. This account, in which Plutarch (in Aristid. XVIII.) concurs, is not more favourable to their honour than that of Herodotus; they being here represented as victims, not of the irresistible power of Xerxes, but of a few petty despots within their own city. That Thebes was in any case a willing slave to those despots, is evinced by the fact of her having made no effort to shake off their thralldom, at a moment too when the sympathies of Athens, Sparta, and other leading states, would have ensured her success.

those who refused did so with fear, many of them being well inclined to the Medes.¹ He afterwards tells us that the only reason why the Phocians adhered to the patriotic cause was, that the Thessalians their old and bitter enemies had joined the invader; and that had the Thessalians remained steady the Phocians would have sided with Xerxes.² He represents the Achæans, and some other small states of Peloponnesus, who took no part in the war, as in their hearts partisans of the Medes.³ The Corcyræans are described⁴ as arranging their scheme of intrigue in so ingenious a manner, that while openly taking neither side they might be ready, whichever party succeeded, to claim merit as its supporter. The misconduct of so many Greek states at the battle of Plataea, which a more lenient censor might have attributed to defect of judgement or of discipline, is stigmatised by Herodotus, in the words of Pausanias, as treachery.⁵ He also places their fault in a ludicrous as well as invidious light, by the anecdote, the truth of which he vindicates, of their having attempted to impose on posterity by causing fictitious tombs to be erected on the to them bloodless field of battle, as if in honour of their slain warriors, by the side of the real graves of their victorious countrymen.⁶ His impartiality in working up these parts of his narrative may be inferred from the circumstance that the Æginetes, to whom he awards the palm of valour over his favourite Athenians at Salamis, are here included in the common stigma. His motive for animadverting more severely on the demerits of these republics, than on the more glaring misconduct of some of their neighbours

¹ VII. 138.² VIII. 30.³ VIII. 72. sq.⁴ VII. 168.⁵ IX. 60.⁶ IX. 85.

was, no doubt, that the offence of the former being less notorious, they were accustomed, in this and perhaps other instances, to arrogate to themselves an undue share in the national glory to which they had here so little claim.

There is the less reason to doubt the substantial truth of these details of Greek federal politics, that such conduct in like circumstances is but too much in harmony with the general experience of history. The jealousies apt to spring up within such a political body as republican Greece, are at all times among the most powerful passions by which human nature can be agitated, and often suffice to outweigh the nobler impulses of national patriotism in a crisis like the Persian war. There was at this time no want of such jealousies in the bosom of the Hellenic body; no want of cases in which a desire for the humiliation of a haughty rival or an oppressive neighbour would secure a ready ear to the demands of a foreign invader, whose power seemed to render resistance hopeless, and who was distinguished for mild treatment of willing vassals. The golden rule, that "'tis better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of," is as little regarded in the political as the social relations of life. Had Greece become a province of Persia, the late partisans of the conqueror might have been the first to complain of his oppression and to conspire against him. But the influence of present chagrin was stronger than that of alarm for the future. The case of the Argives supplies a striking proof of the force of such feelings. The fact that the only Dorian state which deserted the national cause, a state hitherto distinguished for free and martial spirit, should have been the one be-

tween whom and Sparta, the dominant Dorian republic, a bitter antagonism had so long subsisted, in the prosecution of which Argos had been worsted, and on a late occasion barbarously outraged, — this fact would, even apart from the historian's testimony, justify the inference, that hatred to Sparta and a lurking desire to see her exposed to the same evils inflicted by her on others, was the ruling motive with the seceding state. The Phocians, we are also told, so hated the Thessalians, that they remained true to the patriotic cause when the Thessalians took the other side; had the Thessalians continued steady, the Phocians would have deserted. Herodotus has been less specific in assigning motives in other cases. But from the analogy of the above two examples we may the more readily defer to the statement of Pausanias¹, that the Achæan states of northern Peloponnesus, described by Herodotus as secretly favouring the Medes, did so from ill-will to the ruling Dorian powers, by whom their ancestors had been ejected from their fairest possessions, and on whom they still continued to look with a jealous if not a hostile eye.

Antagonism of Thebes and Athens.

23. But this argument may be still further extended. What induced Thebes, hitherto one of the most independent-spirited commonwealths in Greece, to espouse from the first so cordially the cause of an alien enemy? No direct answer has been given by Herodotus to this question; but with the notices which he supplies of the previous history of the republic, the critical reader will have little difficulty in answering for himself: hatred of the Athenians. From time immemorial Thebes and Athens had been on a footing of antagonism similar to that between Argos and

¹ VII. vi. 3. vii. 2.: conf. Thucyd. III. 92.

Sparta. The Thebans, like the Argives, had been the losing party, and had lately been subjected to galling defeats and humiliations. The unfriendly relations between the two republics are reflected even in their fabulous traditions. Athens in the old Cadmean wars is the asylum of refugees from the rival state, with whom she is brought into hostile collision by her generous conduct. At a subsequent period she affords refuge and political rights to the Gephyræans, when ejected by the Bœotians from their native seats.¹ From this new tribe of citizens sprang the celebrated vindicators of Attic freedom, Harmodius and Aristogiton; while the Thebans, by an appropriate coincidence, were among the enemies of that freedom, who subscribed most liberally to the fund for reinstating Pisistratus when ejected from his usurped dominion.² Not long after, when the Plataeans, harassed by the oppression of the Thebans, threw up their connexion with the Bœotian league, they were taken under the protection of Athens. The Thebans, enraged at this defection of what they considered a vassal state, attacked the city of Plataea. The Athenians came to the rescue, beat the Thebans, invaded their territory, and exacted an extension of the Plataean frontier at their expense.³ In the sequel the Thebans, with their neighbours the Chalcidians of Eubœa, combine with the Dorian league for the humiliation of Athens. When that ill-devised coalition fell to pieces, both Thebans and Chalcidians, left to fight out their own battle were invaded and successively defeated by the Athenians.⁴ The consequence was the establishment

¹ v. 57.² i. 61.³ vi. 108.⁴ v. 74. 77. sq.

of Athenian ascendancy in Eubœa by the settlement of 4000 Attic colonists on the Chalcidian territory. By this encroachment the honour and interest of Thebes also were severely affected; her hated rival being thus entrenched in threatening attitude along the maritime frontier of Bœotia. A large body of prisoners of rank, both Thebans and Chalcidians, were transported to Athens, and kept in chains till ransomed by their friends; and those chains were still preserved in the acropolis in the historian's time, scorched, like the antient wall on which they hung, by the fire of the Medes. So greatly was the spirit of Thebes broken by these disasters, that, hopeless of retrieving her fortunes by her own resources, she enlists¹ in her defence first the Pythoness and then some of her late Dorian allies, the result of whose cooperation was rather to promote than check the now rapid growth of Athenian power.

The next occasion on which Thebes appears in a prominent capacity, is as leader of the Greek states favourable to the Medes. It could hardly be otherwise; Athens being the leader of those who asserted the national independence. The expedition of Xerxes, it will also be remembered, was specially directed against Athens, as the original aggressor in the quarrel between them. To occupy Attica and burn Athens was the declared object of his armament. Was Thebes, who hated the Athenians with at least as cordial a hatred as did Xerxes himself, and whose policy had been so long guided by thirst of revenge for the injuries sustained at their hands, now to come forward as their protector? The concurrence of circumstances tending to inflame this spirit of ani-

¹ v. 79. sq.

mosity was very remarkable. While the brilliant exploit of Marathon could be to her, at the best, but a source of mortification, the large share in the glory which fell to the lot of her revolted vassal Plataea, must have added gall to the bitterness of that feeling. The triumph of such a pair of confederates was both an evidence and a result of the political ascendancy which Athens, ever since her alliance with Plataea, had been acquiring at the expense of Thebes. The case of these two states might therefore safely have been ranked by Herodotus in the same category as that of Sparta and Argos, or Thesaly and Phocis. Whichever side the Athenians took, the Thebans would have been found in the opposite ranks.

These illustrations, founded on the internal data of the historian's text, will suffice to vindicate, not only his impartiality, but his critical accuracy in the treatment of this important crisis in the annals of his country. It must also however be admitted, that the judgements passed by him on his countrymen, even on those who were not chargeable with defection from the national cause, are seasoned at times by a sarcastic severity, which justifies in some measure the charge of "malignity" brought against him by "Plutarch." At the same time it convincingly proves, that if extensive popularity was a favourite object with him, it was one which he was not disposed to purchase by flattery. He seems indeed to take special pleasure in telling unpalatable truths to those who least expected to hear them. He charges¹ the Athenian, Spartan, and Corinthian commanders at Artemisium, with allowing themselves to

"Malignity" of Herodotus.

¹ VIII. 4. sqq.

be bribed by so many talents each to the support of measures which a sense of public duty had not induced them to sanction. He represents the policy of the Lacedæmonians towards both rivals and allies as a systematic course of Macchiavellian duplicity. He asserts in particular¹, that the advice given by Sparta to the Plateæans on the occasion above noticed, to appeal for protection to Athens against Theban oppression, was dictated not so much by good will to the Plateæans, as by the hope of embroiling the rival power in disputes with her Bœotian neighbours. He is careful to inform us how the solitary act of liberality which he records of the Spartans, their delivery of Athens from the Pisistratidæ, was only wrung from them by the pertinacious injunctions of the Pytho-ness, bribed by the Alcæonidæ to espouse the cause of Attic freedom; and how, on discovering the fraud, they not only repented of their services in that cause, but set on foot measures for reestablishing the tyrannical government.² In the sequel he accuses the same Spartans, in common with their Peloponnesian confederates, of endeavouring by a course of double-dealing to throw the chief burthen and calamity of the Persian war on the states of northern Greece, especially on Athens, and reserve their own resources for the defence of Peloponnesus.³ And in describing one of the most critical turns of the ill-combined manœuvres of the battle of Plataea, he remarks, that the Athenians had the greater difficulty in deciding how to act in concert with their Spartan allies, knowing their habit "of thinking one thing and saying another."⁴

¹ VI. 108.² IX. 6. sqq. : conf. VIII. 56. sqq. 74. sqq. 142. sq.³ V. 63, 90. sq.⁴ IX. 54.

Further evidence of his impartiality, as well as of his good sense and sound judgement, may be drawn from the liberality and moderation of his political opinions. That he had well considered and duly estimated the relative merits and defects of the three fundamental forms of civil government, monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic, appears from the misplaced, but in itself well-argued debate on those three forms, in the council of the Seven Persian chiefs. His own strong attachment to free constitutional government, as opposed to every kind of pure monarchy or despotism, is implied by numerous expressions of opinion, direct or indirect, in different parts of his work. It is also manifest from these passages, that notwithstanding his close personal connexion with Athens, and his general admiration and esteem for the Athenian people and government, he was himself, like most other sound and impartial Greek political thinkers, more friendly to aristocratic than to purely democratic rule. His only distinct expression¹ of favour to the latter is in so far neutralised, that the system there referred to, the old Athenian constitution, while itself but a modified form of democracy, is commended, not perhaps so much on its own account, as in its contrast to the oppressive tyranny of Hippias which it supplanted. On several other occasions he notices, and with some severity² the defects of pure democracy. Of the Spartan constitution on the other hand, he speaks, like Thucydides, with unqualified approbation, characterising it, and in terms closely parallel to

His political principles.

¹ v. 78.

² v. 97.: *conf. iii. 80. sqq.*, where, in the Persian council of Seven, democracy is much more severely handled than oligarchy.

those used by Thucydides, as a model of good government.¹ Similar commendation is bestowed on the still narrower oligarchal constitution of Miletus; to which he attributes the great power and prosperity enjoyed by that republic.²

¹ I. 65. sq.

² v. 28. sq.

CHAP. VII.

HERODOTUS: HIS COMPOSITION AND STYLE.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISTORIAN'S SUBJECT.—2. HIS PRINCIPAL NARRATIVE AND EPISODES.—3. GENERAL HARMONY OF THEIR EPIC COMBINATION.—4. INAPPROPRIATE OR MISPLACED EPISODES.—5. CONCENTRATION OF THE ACTION ON THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE. CLOSE OF THE NARRATIVE. ITS MERITS AND DEFECTS. EXISTING SUBDIVISION OF THE TEXT.—6. THE HISTORIAN'S DELINEATION OF CHARACTER.—7. CYRUS. CAMBYSES. DARIUS. XERXES.—8. CRESUS. COMMON OR CONVENTIONAL TRAITS OF CHARACTER. AMASIS.—9. HELLENIC CHARACTER. THE ATHENIANS. THEIR DISINTERESTED PATRIOTISM. THEIR CANDOUR. THEIR HUMANITY. THEIR LEVITY.—10. THE SPARTANS. THEIR MACCHIAVELLIAN SELFISHNESS. THEIR MILITARY PROWESS. ANTI-ATTIC FEELING OF THE CONFEDERACY.—11. INDIVIDUAL GREEK CHARACTERS. THEMISTOCLES. CLEOMENES. PERIANDER.—12. DRAMATIC ELEMENT OF THE HISTORIAN'S STYLE. SPEECHES.—13. DIALOGUE.—14. HIS DESCRIPTIVE POWERS. BATTLES. MARATHON. PLATEA.—15. HIS LANGUAGE IN STRUCTURE AND DIALECT. PARALLEL OF HOMER.

1. THE duty devolving on the critic of Herodotus has not hitherto been altogether of the most agreeable nature. The historian's merits, as reflected in the characteristics of his genius already examined, being for the most part obvious or generally recognised, called for comparatively little remark. The defects on the other hand to which attention has been called, being chiefly defects of detail, and such as had received from previous commentators a less careful consideration than they deserved in the general estimate of his art of composition, demanded a somewhat closer analysis. In the sequel, though censure may not be excluded, it will be subordinate to the more agreeable task of pointing out the beauties, which so greatly outnumber any blemishes that still remain to be noticed.

Epic characteristics of the historian's subject.

Every narrative composition, as a work of art, in respect, that is, to its power of gratifying the taste by the order and propriety of its arrangement, must be judged by the same fundamental rules formerly noticed in their application to that peculiar class of narrative called the Epic poem. The heroic ballad and the popular fireside tale, the Homeric epopee and the prose history, much as they may differ as to character, bulk, or materials, are all more or less dependent for their power of fixing the attention or enlisting the sympathies of an audience, on the degree in which they possess the attribute of unity of composition. This unity consists in the concentration of the subject around some principal action, supplying a continuous bond of connexion to the parts of the narrative, with each other and with the whole body to which they belong, and thus enabling us clearly to apprehend and follow the vicissitudes of a prolonged and varied series of events.

As different subjects may possess different degrees of intrinsic epic unity, the success of a narrative, apart from any merit of its conduct, may depend greatly on the author's happy selection of his subject, or on his good fortune in finding one combining high epic capabilities with an adaptation to his own talents and to the taste of his public. In this respect the historian of real transactions lies under a disadvantage, as compared with authors in the more imaginative branches of composition. The poet may select his materials from the entire range of real history or popular tradition; he may at discretion amplify, curtail, or otherwise mould them to his purpose; and where neither history nor tradition offers such as suit that purpose, he may freely

tax the resources of his own invention to supply the deficiency. The case of the historian is very different. While the poet ranges at will through every realm of truth or fiction, the historian, by the fundamental law of his art, is restricted to truth alone. Invention is denied him altogether ; and the privilege of varying or modifying his materials, is confined within the limits of a corresponding variety in the authorities from whom they are derived. The whole number of subjects at his disposal being thus limited, those which either spontaneously offer any higher features of epic unity, or which can by a legitimate exercise of ingenuity be invested with them, are proportionally rare. The realities of human life pursue their appointed course, regardless of the difficulties which the uniformity or eccentricity of that course may entail on those who undertake to investigate or describe it ; and a glance at the page of universal history will show, how rarely the actual current of events is favourable to epic unity in historical composition. The only country of modern Europe, the history of which presents a great and united epic subject, is England. From the epoch of the Saxon occupation down to the revolution, every leading event of the British annals, whether as contributing to form, by an admixture of races, that highest modern development of human nature — the British character, or as tending to elicit and mature the noblest result of the action and influence of that character — the British constitution, connects itself with its neighbour, and with the series to which it belongs, by as constant a chain of cause and effect as that which connects the events of the *Iliad* with the Anger of Achilles. To this great subject full justice

has been done by the greatest modern master of the historical art. If we turn to the other contemporary nations of highest rank, the contrast is striking. The history of France, whatever variety of instructive vicissitudes it may present, is yet, as a whole, in an epic as in a political sense, as devoid of definite issue as of definite object. Events appear to succeed each other in a series of unconnected individuality ; or, in so far as grouping themselves into masses, offer not so much a sequel to, as a reversal of, the previous state of things. Nor can the annals of any other leading member of the modern European system, advance much better claim to the highest order of historical unity.

Here, as in so many other respects, the Hellenic nation has been especially favoured in the abundance of her materials, as of her talents, for the cultivation of intellectual art. The history of a single people may comprise more than one great epic subject ; and three such subjects may be recognised in the history of Greece. The first is that chosen by Herodotus. It comprehends the early annals of his own country, in connexion with those of other leading races of the antient world, and is concentrated around that long course of international antagonism, which terminated in the victorious ascendancy of the Hellenes over their Asiatic rivals. The second has its bond of unity in a no less animated course of political and martial rivalry, between the two principal sections of the Hellenic body, ranged under the banners of their respective leaders the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and terminates in the ascendancy of Lacedæmon. The third embraces the rise, progress, and ultimate supremacy of the Macedonian power in Greece, and

the conquest, by the greatest Helleno-Macedonian monarch, of that vast empire, which a few generations before had for a time at least conquered both Macedonia and the greater part of Hellas.

2. The more prominent features of plan and structure in the historian's work, have been incidentally noticed in our remarks on the historical value of its contents. It will now be proper to examine them in connexion with its merits as a literary composition. The epic centre of the narrative is the national rivalry between the Hellenic and Asiatic races. The Persians being the aggressors, and their history offering a more distinctly marked course of progress, as well as a greater intrinsic unity than that of Greece, naturally assume the position of protagonists. The main action consists in the successive reduction by their arms of the older degenerate oriental nations, on whose ruins their own empire was constructed, and in occasional, for the most part abortive attacks on the younger hardier races on their more distant frontiers; their grand attempt on Greece with its humiliating failure forms the catastrophe of the whole. Around this nucleus of principal matter, are ranged episodic sketches of the previous history or present condition of the nations brought on the scene. But the scheme of Herodotus was not limited to historical narrative in the stricter sense. It was also to hold up to his countrymen a picture of all that was most interesting for them to know or to contemplate in the world at large, in connexion with his general subject. Hence a great portion of his text is devoted to geographical description. We had formerly occasion to notice how, in the natural progress of intellectual pursuit, Geography became the mother

Principal
narrative
and epi-
sodes.

of History ; and the same causes contributed, even after the claims of the daughter on general interest had acquired a marked superiority, to maintain her in a certain dependence on the parent science. A knowledge of the scenes on which remarkable events take place, and of the native country and habits of those engaged in them, is always necessary to a right understanding of a historical work. This knowledge, since the more accurate division of literary labour consequent on a general advance of scientific pursuit, has been provided by other branches of composition ; and the historian is only expected to supply it in cases, either where his scene of action extends over countries unexplored or little known, or where more detailed topographical notices may be required for a full understanding of his description of particular occurrences. But the scene of action in the work of Herodotus lay chiefly in countries so little explored, or so imperfectly known to the Greeks, as to render it one of his principal duties, not only to collect fresh information from the best secondary sources within his reach, but to undertake long journeys in order to obtain it from the fountain head. It was further consistent with the scheme of his work, to afford his readers the benefit of his geographical research even where carried beyond the strictly historical exigencies of his narrative. The term geographical must consequently here be understood in the widest sense, as comprising descriptions of manners and customs civil and religious ; of natural productions, works of art, and other remarkable objects. Nor are these descriptions confined to countries the political history of which formed part of his principal subject, but extend at times to regions lying alto-

gether beyond his immediate theatre of action. The only countries on the other hand, to the political affairs of which any great attention has been devoted without a corresponding notice of their geography, are such as were assumed to be familiarly known to the author's own public ; Greece more especially, with the neighbouring coasts and islands occupied by Greek colonies.

The episodes of the class above noticed are such as, if not essentially required in a historical composition, yet possess a more or less historical character. But the work of Herodotus also abounds in another kind of accessary matter which can lay no solid claim to any such character ; in miscellaneous anecdotes of a popular or familiar nature, accounts of marvellous adventures, and strange or supernatural phenomena. These parts of the text are evidently intended to amuse rather than instruct, and to ensure his work a wider popularity with that numerous class of readers, which was more easily attracted by such notices than by the graver realities of political history.

The main action of his great historical epopee satisfies the utmost demands of epic unity. Considering the long period of time and the vast range of interests which it comprehends, it will, if reduced to its primary elements on the principle laid down by Aristotle, be found proportionally as remarkable for simplicity as that of the *Odyssey*, from which the critic's illustration of his principle, quoted in a previous volume¹, has been drawn. The substance of the historian's narrative might be embodied with corresponding conciseness in the following summary.

¹ Vol. I. p. 297.

"Cyrus prince of Persia deposes Astyages king of the Medes, and establishes the Persian rule over western Asia. He is defeated and slain in an expedition against the Tartar races of his northern frontier. His son Cambyses conquers Egypt, but fails in an attempt on Ethiopia. On his death a Median priest usurps the government, but is slain by the Persian nobles, one of whom named Darius ascends the throne. He subdues Thrace; is baffled in an attempt on Scythia; plans the conquest of Greece, and sends an expedition against Attica, which is beaten off by the Athenians. His son and successor Xerxes invades Greece by land and sea, but is defeated and driven back to his own country, and the independence of Greece is permanently secured against Asiatic aggression." "This," to borrow the terms of the Stagirite critic, "forms the main action of the history of Herodotus. The remainder," comprising a large, perhaps the largest, portion of the narrative, "is but episode." Such is the whole second book upon Egypt; such the early history or descriptive geography of Lydia and Media; of Assyria, India, and Arabia; of Libya, Scythia, and other foreign countries, in so far as the notices of them are retrospective, and not immediately connected with the interference of Persia in their concerns; such the whole history of Greece itself down to the attack made on Sardis by the Athenians, an incident of momentous importance, both in the historian's narrative and in the common destinies of Greece and Persia.

General
harmony
of their
combina-
tion.

3. When we consider the large portion of the text occupied by episodes, even taking the term in the familiar and much narrower sense than that in which Aristotle has used it, and the extensive breaches

which they cause in the continuity of the principal narrative, the harmony of the entire combination is calculated to produce surprise as well as admiration. Widely as the tale diverges from its direct course, and numerous as are the by-paths into which it wanders, its thread scarcely ever appears to be seriously interrupted or entangled. This harmony may be chiefly attributed to two causes: the propriety of the occasion and mode in which the episodical matter is introduced, and the distinctness of form and substance which the author has imparted to his principal masses. His longer digressions, descriptive of the countries invaded or subdued by the Persians, are, as a general rule, made immediately to precede the account of such invasion or conquest; forming an introduction to a new subject rather than a supplement to that previously treated, and thus extending, rather than interrupting, the general course of the narrative. This remark may be illustrated by the example of the second book, devoted to Egypt. The previous book had concluded with the death of Cyrus, and with his life the first grand section of the author's history of Asia is also brought to a close; the subjection of that region having been completed by the same Cyrus. The opening chapter of the second book announces the succession of Cambyses and his projected attack on Egypt, which enterprise constitutes the principal feature of that monarch's reign, and the second act of the great drama of Persian conquest. Immediately upon this announcement we enter with obvious propriety on the author's special account of the new scene of action, occupying, in episodical form, upwards of an eighth part of the whole work. But we

turn at its close to Cambyses, whom we left on the frontier of the country preparing his measures, and accompany him on his expedition with as fresh a recollection of previous events as if we had never parted from him. Herodotus in his longer episodes, while enlarging on the geography and statistics of the countries which they describe, has also, with the object no doubt of imparting consistency to these portions of his text, limited his historical notices of the same countries, with rare exception, to their internal politics. In his episode on Assyria he himself informs us, that he reserves the historical account of that empire for a separate work. In his Egyptian episode he bestows a certain attention on the internal history of the country. But of the previous wars and varied political relations between Egypt and the great powers to the eastward, of which we have ample knowledge from other sources, scarcely a notice occurs. The legend of Sesostris may seem to form an exception, but it is one more apparent than real. The exploits of that hero, as recorded by Herodotus, belong to an age long prior to that with which his own main subject opens, and have no connexion with the realities of history. He overruns the world like his Hellenic rivals Dionysus and Hercules, carrying everything before him, but leaving no evidences of Egyptian power or presence behind him. The name of no historical personage, either pagan or scriptural, subdued by him is specified; nor do we hear among the nations asserted to have been annexed to his empire any tradition concerning him. On the contrary, the same Scythians who in the Egyptian episode are described as conquered by Sesostris¹, are in the Scythian episode

¹ II. 103. 110.

pointedly characterised as invincible.¹ Nor, in the notices of the early Lydian dynasties, do we hear of any interruption of their rule by an Egyptian invader, although Lydia is among the countries subdued by the Sesostris of the Egyptian episode. These are inconsistencies of fact which, while forming, with others of a like description noticed in other places, serious drawbacks on the historical credit of Herodotus, afford the better evidence of his anxiety to impart individual integrity to his episodical masses. This tendency is similarly illustrated in his episode on Scythia, the next in length to that on Egypt. His accounts of the foreign expeditions of the Scythian tribes, of their temporary conquests of Lydia and central Asia, with their exaction of tribute from Egypt, are all introduced in the early portion of the main narrative devoted to the great Asiatic empires. In the Scythian episode they are barely alluded to.

In regard to the shorter, more incidental class of digressions which abound in the historian's pages, we have already pointed out the large portion of them devoted to matters of little or no historical importance, or even to mere gossiping anecdote, as a drawback on the intrinsic historical value of the work. These excursions however are less objectionable in a literary point of view; as tending to relieve the main body of the narrative rather than surcharge it, which might have been the effect of a like accumulation of details of graver historical character. The case may be compared to that of a spacious architectural edifice, the effect of which would be damaged by an increase of principal parts, while an equal number of light

¹ IV. 46.

decorative accessories contributes in a proportional degree to its unity and elegance.

Inappropriate or misplaced episodes.

4. Herodotus has not however been always equally successful, either in the selection or the adjustment of his episodes. One of the most defective parts of his work is the digression in the fourth book, on the Cyrenian colonies of northern Africa. This narrative, while possessing in itself comparatively small historical interest, is deficient in that liveliness of detail which often makes amends for the want of more solid advantages. The connexion between the affairs of the countries described and the main subject is also so slight, that it could hardly have justified so long a commentary on them, even had the materials which they supply been of a more attractive nature. The episode forms, it is true, the introduction to a Persian expedition against those countries, not however to a mighty imperial enterprise like those of Cambyses and Darius against Egypt or Scythia, but to one undertaken by a subordinate officer against an inferior enemy, and abortive in its issue. The account of the indigenous Libyan races embodied in the same digression, while in great part fabulous, is more entertaining than that of the revolutions of Cyrene or Barca; but as the Persians never penetrated into those regions, and as their inhabitants are never in any shape brought on the historical stage, so minute a description of them seems out of place. Had the historian availed himself of some incidental link of connexion between the affairs of Carthage and those of the neighbouring African states, to give us in similar detail his version of the origin and early history of that celebrated republic, the

inestimable value of the matter would have more than compensated for any want of aptitude in the manner of its introduction.

The author's summary of Universal geography is also misplaced in his chapter on Scythia where it now stands.¹ Any such general "description of the earth," would have found obviously a more appropriate position, as the basis of his whole subsequent series of geographical notices, in the earlier portion of the text which treats of the great central nations of the world, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Persians, than in connexion with a remote and barbarous extremity. The more interesting facts which it supplies, — the circumnavigation of Libya by the Phœnician officers of Pharaoh Neco, the abortive attempt of Sataspes to perform the same voyage, and the navigation of Scylax from the mouth of the Indus to the Red sea, connect themselves so obviously with the previous descriptions of the Asiatic and African continents, that there is the more cause to wonder at the strange corner of his work into which Herodotus has thrust them.²

¹ iv. 37. sqq.

² See also the anecdote (iii. 117.) of the damming up of the river Aces, by which Darius forced the inhabitants of several provinces to pay a heavy tax for the irrigation of their lands. What this story has to do with the previous long description of the treasures and wonders of the "Extremities" of the earth is not apparent. The notice of Demaratus's letter to the Spartans seems also out of place at the close of book vii. (§ 239.) where it now stands.

In noticing these anomalies, or others of a like nature that might be added, it must be remembered that the modern practice of foot-notes, and appendices, affords to authors facilities for rounding and polishing up their works, which were wanting in the days of Herodotus. The necessity under which the early classical writers lay, of either embodying their subordinate and illustrative details in their principal text, or omitting them altogether, obviously placed them under a disadvantage in their efforts to combine completeness with elegance in their compositions.

Among the episodes of the purely popular order, which offend not so much by the impropriety of their position as by their frivolous character, a first rank belongs to the Egyptian legend of the Treasury of Rhampsinitus.¹ This story, while quite beneath the dignity of historical composition, even taking the term history in the wider sense which Herodotus may have attached to it, occupies a still larger share of his chapter on Egypt than the very liberal one allotted to the national hero Sesostris. That the story is pure fable is evident; but it wants the merit which fables often possess of illustrating national character or manners. Even its Egyptian origin is questionable. It appears to belong to that primeval common fund of low romance, which, originating probably for the most part with nations of livelier imagination than the Egyptians, obtained a wide currency in the civilised antient world at a remote period; the particulars of time, place, and name being varied in each country², to suit the taste of its population. The amusement which the story is no doubt calculated to afford to the most fastidious, in common with the less critical reader, is of a kind which, even in the time of Herodotus, the Greek public would be more likely to seek in the pages of Æsop or Aristophanes than in those of a great national history. It arises solely from the absurdity of the adventures described, and the eccentricity of inventive humour which they exhibit, without a particle of true wit. Nor can it boast of any share of what would be in itself but a doubtful merit, didactic scope or moral application.

¹ II. 121. sqq.

² In Bœotia for example, and in Elis; Pausan. ix. 37.; Charax, ap. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 508.: conf. Rawlinson, Herodotus, vol. II. p. 192.

Another curious example of the shifts to which the historian occasionally resorts, to enliven the graver parts of his narrative, is his account of the march of Xerxes through Thessaly, where the emperor's country guides¹ entertain his majesty on the road, with legends of local superstition, as devoid of intrinsic value as of bearing on the general subject.

5. It is only in the earlier part of the history, that the scheme of episodical enlargement on which it is framed, involves any extensive breaks in its narrative continuity. The bulkier episodes, whether descriptive of the nations successively brought on the scene, or supplying notices of previous events, are comprised in the first half of the work. The fifth book forms the epic "middle," or turning point of the action. From thence downwards it concentrates itself on the international rivalry of the Persians and Greeks; and steadily, though still by a somewhat circuitous path, advances towards the great hostile collision between the two races which forms the catastrophe. In the conduct of this portion of his subject, the excellence of the historian's art more especially displays itself. The main scene of action was now to be changed from Asia to Europe. The part of protagonist was to be transferred from the Persians to the Greeks, or at least to be equally shared between the two nations. Those European Greek states consequently, on whom the duty of sustaining that part was principally to devolve, were now to be drawn forth from the comparative obscurity in which they had hitherto been allowed to remain. Athens in particular, which had as yet lingered in

Concentration of the action on the affairs of Greece.

¹ VII. 197.

the background, partly for the reason which the historian with appropriate solicitude presses on our attention, that her energies had been kept down by the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ, was now to appear as the life of the whole future action. Nothing can be happier than the mode in which this crisis is managed. The first step towards a serious collision between Persia and European Greece, was the removal of that political estrangement which had long prevailed between the latter country and her Asiatic colonies. The more immediate cause of this result was the spirited but abortive attempt of the colonial states to reassert their independence, and the active sympathy which it called forth from the more generous portion of their kinsmen on the western side of the Ægæan. The revolt takes place under the leadership of Miletus, a state bound to Athens by old ties of friendship. Athens herself, by another favourable link in the chain of coincidences, had, shortly before the outbreak, been emancipated from her political thralldom, and had taken up a new position of dignity and influence in the European confederacy.

The Pisistratidæ, when expelled from Athens, had settled in Asia minor, and under the patronage of Artaphernes satrap of Lydia, continued to devise schemes for reestablishing their power at home. The Athenians remonstrate with Artaphernes; but he, not very courteously, declines to interfere. Precisely at this moment of irritation a mission arrives at Athens from the Milesians, soliciting aid to the cause of colonial independence. The request is granted, and an Athenian armament of twenty ships, backed by an Ionian force, attacks and burns

Sardis; an act which, as the historian emphatically remarks¹, "was a beginning of evils to both Greek and Barbarian." It occupies in fact, in his narrative, a place and influence closely parallel to the setting fire to the Greek camp by Hector in the Iliad. Events now succeed each other in a rapid train of cause and effect. The indignation of Darius at such an insult from what he considered so contemptible a quarter, vents itself in two successive expeditions against Attica. The defeat of Marathon fans the flame of Persian irritation to fury; and is followed in the same continuous chain of consequences by the gorgeous armaments of Xerxes and their destruction at Salamis, Platæa, and Mycale.

Nor could the just epic conclusion of the narrative be better marked out than at the point selected by Herodotus. A more appropriate winding-up of the mighty series of vicissitudes could hardly be imagined, than that supplied by the final return home of the victorious Athenian fleet from Sestus. By it the sea had now been swept of hostile galleys. The disasters of the haughty invader had been crowned by the ejection of his routed rearguard from their chief strong hold on the European shore of the Hellespont; and among the trophies carried home by his conquerors, were the fragments of the bridge which had transported to that shore, the millions collected for the subjugation of those who were now forcing him to drain the cup of humiliation to the very dregs.²

Conclusion
of the nar-
rative:
its merits,

Here again however, in the close as in some previous parts of his undertaking, the historian's judgement appears rather in the general conduct of his subject than in the arrangement of its details.

and defects.

¹ v. 97. 105.: conf. vii. 8. 11.

² See Appendix M.

No where perhaps has his habit of anecdotal excursion been attended with worse effects, than at this last stage of his work, where its dignity and propriety so imperatively required to be sustained. The digression on the murders, adulteries, and incests of Xerxes and his family, inserted between the battle of Mycale and the final operations of the Greeks on the Hellespont, is entirely out of place. While destructive of the just effect of the principal narrative, it loses the interest which, if more appositely introduced, it might have possessed as a picture of manners, and becomes simply offensive as a revolting chapter of court scandal. Little less prejudicial in its own way to the just consummation of a great historical work, is the absurd story of the fried fish which follows the taking of Sestus, and closes in fact the narrative in the proper sense. The remaining purely episodical passage, by which, as in the allegory of the snake biting its own tail, the end is so quaintly connected with the beginning, where Cyrus is described as warning his subjects to maintain their primitive simplicity of manners, seems to be intended as a sort of concluding moral commentary on the change in their character and fortunes, since we parted with that monarch in the first book. If so, the moral is too obscurely inculcated to compensate by its matter for the clumsiness of the manner of its introduction.

Existing
subdivision
of the text.

None of the antient authors who quote Herodotus, betray a knowledge of any other technical division of his text but that into nine books as we now possess it.¹ This fact may certainly form an argument in favour

¹ The earliest author who alludes to the division into Muses is Lucian: Herodotus, 1.; and De Conscrib. Histor. 42.

of the belief that the received mode is the original mode, and by consequence the one sanctioned by Herodotus, assuming the work to have been published by himself: for it can hardly be supposed that any author would put forth a book of such bulk, without some species of distribution into sections or chapters. There remains however to be considered the argument from internal evidence, which involves the following inquiries: how far the present distribution is either appropriate in itself or such as was likely to occur to Herodotus; and how far it may or may not be confirmed by the allusions contained in the text itself to the mode of its arrangement?

The existing mode, granting in any case the propriety of so bulky an allotment of parts, cannot on the whole be taxed with want of unity or consistency in those parts; although in some cases perhaps the points of distinction might have been better selected. It seems however very doubtful whether any such system of comprehensive divisions or books, embodying often each several distinct heads of subject, was likely to have suggested itself to Herodotus. The epic historian would probably have preferred a less methodical distribution, corresponding to the rhapsodies or cantos in which the narratives of the old epic bards were recited in his time, and into which they were supposed to have been arranged by their authors; and the term *logos*, used by him in referring to different parts of his narrative, seems in fact to bear, in respect to prose composition, a signification parallel to that of rhapsody in epic poetry. The only example in the author's own text of a specific application of this term, is a passage of the fifth book¹ where he refers

¹ v. 36.

to a statement made in a former place as being in his first logos ; which statement is found in § 92. of the present first book. We have thus his own evidence that some of his divisions of the text were of considerable bulk, for that in question comprises nearly one half of the existing first book. But we have no evidence that any of them exceeded the limits of a natural logos or head of subject ; the passage referred to being within the limits of what we are in the habit of designating his Lydiaca or Lydian history. From another text (VII. 93.), where a passage occurring in a subsequent part of the same first book (I. 171.) is described as "in one of the first logoi," it would also seem that the existing first book comprised more than one. A like inference may be drawn from his appeal in I. 75. to statements made in subsequent logoi, which statements are supplied in I. 107. sqq.¹

Delinea-
tion of
character.

6. We have had occasion to notice the disadvantage under which the historian of real events lies, as compared with the epic poet, in regard to his choice of materials ; that while the poet can select at pleasure from the stores either of fiction or reality, the historian is restricted to truth alone. In respect to delineation of character, the next most important faculty of each class of author, the historian, while under the same restriction, is not subject to the same disadvantage ; for the realities of life in every age furnish as numerous and interesting varieties of human character as the imagination of the most gifted poet can call into existence.

Elaborate portraiture of character, even within the just limits of probability, is however the province of the poet rather than the historian. The selection of

¹ See further on this subject, Vol. V. Append. P. p. 623. sq.

some remarkable personage as the centre of an important train of events, the delineation of his own qualities, and the working up of the events themselves in such a manner as to place those qualities in a prominent light, are among the first attributes of poetical art. The duty of the historian is simply to represent both persons and events in their authentically recorded relation to each other; to allow consequently his characters to exhibit themselves in as far as possible through the transactions in which they are engaged, without either prejudging their conduct or forestalling the judgements of his readers, by detailed commentaries on their virtues, defects, or peculiarities. In order to give to remarkable men that prominence, both personal and historical, which is requisite to form a complete historical picture, he may, in the legitimate exercise of his discretion, give a similar prominence to transactions which tend to throw any vivid light on their characters, even when those transactions may not in themselves be of primary importance. But the practice of introducing elaborate descriptions of celebrated personages, often before their first entry on the scene, before consequently they have had any opportunity of speaking or acting for themselves, while one of the characteristics, is also one of the defects of the historical art of later times, and of the popular taste which sanctions it.

Of the three Greek historians of the best period whose works have survived, Herodotus is the one who has been most successful in this essential part of his office. His mode of portraiture, like that of his great model Homer, is almost exclusively dramatic. Thucydides and Xenophon, while resorting, and per-

haps not always with the best effect, to the descriptive mode, have been less successful than their distinguished predecessor in the art of making their heroes portray themselves.

This faculty in Herodotus, as in Homer, is displayed no less effectively in the case of nations than in that of individuals; in distinguishing the genius of the Asiatic and European races, as in distinguishing the character of individual kings, warriors, and statesmen. To the main features of the Persian character attention has been directed in another place; and but few supplementary remarks will here be required. The picture in its general design differs from that of the Greeks, in offering several distinct phases of the original subject. It may rather be called a succession of portraits, representing the rise, climax, and decline of the same nation. The Persians first appear as a primitive pastoral race, content with a local nationality under the supremacy of a kindred Asiatic people; but avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity to assert, in their turn, that ascendancy over their degenerate lords to which their hardy spirit seemed to entitle them. It is in this capacity of a young and vigorous people, that they are represented as carrying into effect their scheme of conquest over the older members of the oriental body politic. But on obtaining possession of the dominion and wealth, they are rapidly infected with the social diseases of their predecessors; with luxury and pride; with blind confidence in their numbers and resources, and vainglorious contempt for those hardier neighbours by whom they are in their turn defeated and humbled. These stages of their career are finely shadowed forth in the charac-

ters of their four successive rulers, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes ; which offer, on the common foundation of an arbitrary spirit of despotism, well distinguished varieties of oriental royalty.

7. The first three sovereigns of the series were severally characterised by their own subjects, as Herodotus tells us, by the sobriquets of the Father, the Despot, and the Huckster.¹ Persian kings. Cyrus accordingly appears in the historian's dramatic sketch as the model of a semibarbarous founder and conqueror. Cyrus. His energies, from his earliest youth, are devoted to the two main objects, of emancipating his countrymen from a state of vassalage, and extending their sway over foreign nations. Gifted by nature with a large share of political and military talent, and not devoid of literary culture, he displays the joint characteristics of the rude warrior and the paternal sovereign, in his anxiety to preserve his people from the enervating influence to which they are on all sides exposed, in his contempt for the higher civilisation of the conquered races, and in those ebullitions of petulance or caprice, into which his generous but haughty temper occasionally effervesces. While restrained by no overscrupulous notions of equity or humanity in the pursuit of his ambitious projects, he is guilty of no act of wanton cruelty or injustice. Bred himself in the school of adversity, he shows a fellow-feeling for the misfortunes of others. He spares the life of Astyages, who had so diligently plotted his own death ; and whose crimes might have justified a harsher treatment. His intended act of severity against Cræsus is also relieved by his subse-

¹ III. 89.: conf. 117.

quent generous conduct towards that ill-starred monarch.

Cambysea.

In Cambysea the same foundation of vigorous despotism bears a sadly inferior superstructure. Born to unlimited power and all its means of self-gratification, he is brutalised rather than enervated by the evil influences to which he is exposed. Without the refinement of a Nero, he rivals that type of inhuman tyrants in the magnitude and the method of his cruelties. His only redeeming qualities are his martial spirit, and a few sparks of innate generosity which gleam, though rarely, through his habitual course of outrage. He also shows himself, in the early part of his reign, not deficient in his father's political and military talents. But those talents, in the subsequent stages of his career, he is incapacitated from turning to account by a further inheritance of his parent's wayward impetuosity; which, after his conquest of Egypt, increased by habits of intoxication, finds vent in acts of phrensy, betokening, as the historian remarks, mental derangement rather than mere effervescence of temper. Such remnant of intellectual acuteness as he continued to enjoy exhibits itself in a vein of facetiousness, not devoid at times of wit, with which he seasons those sallies of jovial ferocity towards his family and courtiers, that form his favourite diversion.¹ The apology of

¹ When Cræsus, whom he had retained among other heir-looms of Cyrus about his person, ventured to reason with him on the dangers with which his murderous acts might be pregnant to his own person and government, he asks in reply: If it was the wisdom and success with which his Lydian Mentor had conducted the affairs of his own kingdom, that emboldened him to tutor other monarchs as to their proper course of conduct; adding, that he had long wished for an opportunity of ridding himself of so troublesome an attendant. Whilst he was adjusting an arrow in his bow, which he always had by him ready

those who ascribe his more outrageous acts to madness rather than deliberate cruelty, seems to be justified by the ascendancy of better feeling which marks the closing scene of his life, and is so beautifully described by the historian.¹

The life and reign of Darius present a new and more respectable type of Persian royalty. Indebted for his succession to the throne partly to birth-right partly to his own sagacity, he unites the astute politician with the mercenary financier, or "huckster," as he was humorously nicknamed by his own subjects. His reign may be considered as the culminating point of Persian power and prosperity. His general policy was directed rather to the consolidation than the extension of his dominions, which were indebted to him for a system of internal organisation exhibiting statistical talents of a high order.² Although in early life a valiant and practised soldier, he shows no genius as a military commander, and less personal taste for military enterprise than either of his predecessors. His Scythian expedition, the only one described as led by himself, is ill planned, ill conducted, and humiliating in its results; and appears to have been undertaken, less perhaps from a thirst of martial glory, than from a sense of the obligation

for such emergencies, in order, with that unerring aim of which he was justly proud, to execute his threat, Cræsus escaped from the apartment. Cambyzes ordered the guards to seize and kill him. Those officers, knowing their master's humour, and that he would speedily relent and again desire the company of his present object of fury, preserved Cræsus alive in the mean while. It happened as they expected. Cambyzes, on being informed that his friend was still living, expressed his gratification at the intelligence; but observing at the same time, that he could not allow their violation of his orders to pass unpunished, he ordered the guards themselves to be put to death. III. 36.

¹ III. 64. sqq.

² III. 88. sqq.: conf. v. 52.

under which the successor of Cyrus and Cambyses lay, to maintain by some great achievement the lustre of the Persian arms. His acts of cruelty or oppression betray, not like those of Cambyses the wayward caprice of a pampered maniac, but the deliberate policy of a wary despot. He is however a generous friend, and shows a grateful sense of services rendered. His social habits and imperial establishment appear on a dignified footing, of which there is little trace under Cyrus or his son ; and all the forms of higher oriental civilisation and oriental luxury, involving the transition step to social corruption, are now fully developed.

Xerxes.

His son Xerxes, as in the order of time, so in that of character and spirit, occupies the last and lowest grade of the four representatives of Persian royalty who figure in the historian's page. The reckless ebullitions of Cambyses are tempered by a certain vigour and manliness, which prevent our detestation of his crimes from being mingled with contempt. But Xerxes is the essence of a vainglorious, selfish, oriental tyrant, without the wisdom of Darius, the energy of Cyrus, or the courage and talent common to all three of his predecessors. His enterprise against Greece was instigated by no generous excess of national feeling or martial ardour, but was a weak and unwilling concession to the persuasion of ambitious and self-interested courtiers, backed by the influence of superstitious terrors.¹ But for these incitements, the magnitude of his empire and the splendour of his royal state would have sufficed for the demands of his vanity, and the undisturbed indulgence of his licentious pleasures at home was more to his taste than military achievement. When the expedition is

¹ VII. 5. sqq.

once decided on, the extravagance of the scale on which it is undertaken savours more of power-besotted imbecility than imperial ambition. The panic which seizes him on the first serious reverse of fortune, and his hurried flight, regardless of every consideration but his personal safety, stamp him as mean a coward as he had shown himself an incompetent commander. His single triumph at Thermopylæ is appropriately solemnised by his brutal treatment of the body of Leonidas¹, and by the paltry trick with which he vainly attempted to blind his followers to the real circumstances of that battle.² The traits of private life added by the historian at the close of his narrative³, exhibit a heartless cruelty and licentiousness which, combined with duplicity and infirmity of purpose, are more odious than the open enormities of Cambyzes. The incidental touches by which the picture is finished off, are the more effective from having been supplied, to all appearance, by no unfriendly hand. For Herodotus, if not actually indulgent to the vices of Xerxes, shows at least a disposition to enlarge on any little merit to which he could pretend. He praises⁴ the beauty of his person, dwells on the anxiety felt by his subjects for his personal safety, and carefully records his magnanimous treatment of the Greek spies, and of the expiatory Spartan envoys.⁵ But the ostentatious spirit displayed in these solitary acts of generosity prevents their inspiring respect. His vacillation in the councils relative to his Greek expedition; his alternate boldness and timidity; his contumelious treatment of the faithful Artabanus in the morning, his deference to

¹ VII. 238.⁴ VII. 187.² VIII. 24. sqq.³ IX. 108. sqq.⁵ VII. 136. 146.

the sage's advice at night, and his reconversion in his dreams to his previous opinion¹, — are details which, though tending to place his character in a less and less favourable light, were not apparently so designed by Herodotus.

Croesus.

8. The most amiable specimen of an oriental monarch in Herodotus, is Croesus king of Lydia. But his character, though one of the most carefully delineated, is not the most consistent or natural in the historian's page. In his early prosperous days he appears as an able and popular ruler, who had, by prudent policy or force of arms, extended the Lydian power over Asia Minor. This he had effected without any act of wanton cruelty or oppression ; while many traits, both of his public and private conduct, which Herodotus has carefully and beautifully described, bespeak the warm affections of his heart and the generosity of his temper. His only serious defects are an almost puerile elation with his prosperity and wealth, and a presumptuous confidence in those precarious advantages : defects so pointedly and graphically portrayed by Herodotus, as to have established "Croesus of Lydia" as their popular type in later times. The more improbable and less natural is the sudden change which takes place in his character after the conquest of his kingdom. On the funeral pile he is himself at once converted from a Croesus into a Solon ; and comes forth from the fiery ordeal with a ready-made stock of moral maxims and sage reflexions on the duty of moderation, and with a contempt of the world and its vanities, such as would do honour to the profoundest philosopher, trained from his youth in the school of adversity. In these, and other portions of the historian's work,

Common
or conven-
tional traits

¹ VII. 5. sqq.

may be discerned a large ingredient of that didactic effect which popular tradition, especially in the east, loves to impart to its anecdotes and to the characters of its heroes. There may be no reason to doubt the main fact of Cyrus having spared the life of Cræsus, and retained him on a friendly footing about his person. But it was also desirable to provide the Persian court with a professional Mentor and moralist; an appendage which appears, from other examples, to have been considered in the same didactic spirit as necessary to semibarbarous potentates. No more appropriate person for this office seems to have offered himself than Cræsus, whose preparatory discipline in the school of philosophy, if not such as to satisfy the demands of probability, sufficed for those of an oriental imagination. This conventional spirit also appears in the assignment to different persons of the same traits of conduct or sentiment, the better to individualise common traits of character. One example has been noticed¹, in the ignorance successively ascribed to Cyrus, Artaphernes, and Darius, of the name or existence of such people as the Athenians or Lacedæmonians; and in the almost identical terms in which the three rulers are made to ask information on the subject. The acts of atrocity by which Darius and Xerxes manifest their displeasure at any backwardness in their subjects to the duty of military service, are mere varieties of each other.² The chastisement by Cyrus of the river Gyndes may also be compared with that inflicted by Xerxes on the waters of the Hellespont.³

We shall direct attention to one more among the non-Hellenic characters of Herodotus, that of Amasis.

¹ Ch. vi. p. 411. sq.² IV. 84., VII. 39.³ I. 189., VII. 35.

king of Egypt¹, as a spirited variety of the historian's talent in the livelier department of ethic portraiture. There is here the less reason to doubt the genuine originality of the picture, that its main features, being so little in unison with those proper to the Egyptian nation, are the less likely to be fictitious; while the contrast between the eccentric vivacity of the sovereign and the grave formality of temper common to his subjects, has been well brought out in several lively dramatic sketches. The character of this king, the best and greatest of those authentically recorded to have sat on the throne of Egypt, under whom, as Herodotus tells us, the country reached its highest state of prosperity, without the occurrence of a single calamity during his forty-four years of reign², is a combination of those of Henry IV. and Henry V. of England as dramatised by Shakspeare. Born a member of the military caste, but not of its aristocratic order, with good talents and humane disposition, but with little steady principle or sense of personal honour, Amasis appears in early life as a dashing young officer, of humorous temperament, ready wit, and dissolute habits, enjoying repute and popularity among his comrades in arms, with court favour and place in the service of the reigning king Apries. When the Egyptians, offended by the misgovernment of that sovereign, rose against his authority, Amasis was sent to induce the troops that had joined the revolt to return to their allegiance. On arriving at their quarters, he is himself hailed as successor to the delinquent monarch. He shows himself nothing loth to submit to the honours thus forced upon him; and

¹ II. 161. sqq.² II. 177., III 10.

Herodotus gives a graphic account of his burlesque reception of the order sent him by his master to appear and answer for his conduct.¹ After defeating and deposing Apries, he treats him kindly, and retains him on a friendly footing about the court. When, in the sequel, the voice of the nation demanded that the unhappy ex-monarch should be put to death, Amasis, declining personal participation in such an act of severity, delivers him over to the Egyptians to be dealt with as they saw fit. What follows is given in the historian's own words : ²

"At first the Egyptians lightly esteemed Amasis, and treated him with no great respect, as himself sprung from the commonalty, and from a family of no distinction. But he afterwards brought them to a sense of their allegiance, not by harsh usage, but by sage policy. Among many other valuables, he possessed a gold tub, in which he and all his guests were accustomed to wash their feet. This vessel he caused to be melted down, and a statue of a god to be fashioned out of it, and set up in the most suitable part of the city, where it became an object of great veneration to the Egyptians, who flocked to worship it. . . . Upon this Amasis, calling a public meeting, informed the citizens how the image had lately been his foot tub, into which some of the Egyptians who now so greatly revered it, had formerly washed their feet and vomited, or even at times had used it for still viler purposes. 'Now,' he continued, 'my case resembles that of the foot tub. For if I was once a man of low estate, I am now your king, and it behoves you to honour and cherish me.' By such means he conciliated the cheerful obedience of his subjects. His ordinary habit of life was this. From daybreak till toward mid-day, he applied himself diligently to business. But the rest of his time he spent in carousing and jesting with his boon companions, and even in foolish or boyish sports. Some of his friends, vexed by this conduct, expostulated with him as follows : 'Sire, you do yourself wrong by demeaning yourself in this manner. It would better become you, sitting as a lord upon a lordly throne, to devote the day to public affairs. The Egyptians would then feel assured that they were governed

¹ II. 162.² II. 172. sqq.

by a great man, and would hold you in better esteem. But your present courses are not befitting your royal station.' To which he replied : ' Those who possess bows, when engaged in shooting keep them bent, but unstring them when their work is over. For were their weapons kept constantly on the stretch, they would be apt to crack and become unserviceable in time of need. As with a bow, so it is with a man. Were he to keep his faculties constantly in exercise, without a due share of sportive relaxation, he would run risk of mental derangement or bodily paralysis. Convinced of this truth, I divide my time between business and pleasure.' This Amasis, when in a private station, is also said to have been a hard drinker, given to practical jokes, and a man generally of loose habits. And if at any time the funds for carrying on his revelries fell short, he was wont to recruit them by robbery: when those who suspected him of plundering them, would cite him before some neighbouring oracle; and in many cases he was found guilty by the oracles, and in many he was acquitted. After he became king, he showed no respect for those deities by whom he had been judged not to be a thief; neither contributing to the support of their temples nor sacrificing on their altars; as being good-for-nothing gods, and authors of false prophecies. But those who had convicted him he specially honoured, as genuine divinities, and infallible in their judgments.

It was natural that a monarch of such genial temperament and liberal ideas, should seek for amicable intercourse with nations of a character more in unison with his own than was that of his countrymen. Herodotus accordingly describes the encouragement given by Amasis to the settlement of Greeks in Egypt; also his friendly relations with Hellenic states, Cyrene, Lindus, Samos; and his favourite sultana was a Cyrenian princess. His letter to Polycrates of Samos¹, in which he counsels that prince to season his overflowing cup of good fortune with a dash of self-inflicted adversity, lest some great reverse should overtake him, is, whether

¹ III. 40.

genuine or spurious, in good keeping with the writer's character, and an appropriate addition to the other spirited traits with which Herodotus has embellished it.

9. The national genius of the Greeks offers, in the historian's page as in the reality, a marked contrast in almost every prominent feature to that of the Persians. The Hellenic body, while exhibiting in its integrity a vigorous and steadily progressive state of society, presents, in its separate members, a variety of intellectual and political phenomena, as remarkable as the sameness which characterises the social system of the Asiatic races. Any detailed commentary on a topic so familiar as the Greek national character, and which connects itself but incidentally with our proper subject, were here out of place. A few remarks however will be desirable, on the historian's comparative picture of the two leading members of the confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, as being, both in an ethic and a literary point of view, among the best specimens of his descriptive art.

Hellenic
character.

Attention has already been directed, in treating of his imputed partialities, to several points in the character of the Athenians; to their steady patriotism, heroic endurance of calamity, and untarnished military prowess; virtues which induced the historian to award them, above all their countrymen, the proud distinction of saviours of Greece in her greatest emergency.¹ Their patriotic disinterestedness is perhaps the most admirable trait of the whole, and one to which full justice has been done by Herodotus. Throughout the war, those considera-

The Athenians.

Their disinterested patriotism.

¹ VII. 139, VIII. 3.

tions of individual dignity and precedence, to which so great and often fatal importance is apt to be attached by rival members of a confederate body, seem to have been thrown aside by Athens altogether. The claims which she most reasonably advanced to the posts of honour in the council or the field, are cheerfully abandoned, wherever an adherence to them seemed likely to endanger the union essential to the success of the common cause.¹

Their
candour.

Another agreeable trait of this youthful phasis of the Attic character, is the openness and candour of her political dealings, so different from the Machiavellian reserve of Spartan diplomacy. This characteristic was in some degree a consequence of her now firmly established free constitution; but at this early stage of the democracy, it displays itself in a genial simplicity of form very different from the clamorous license of the age of Cleon. It appears also the more remarkable, from its contrast to the opposite qualities of individual Athenian politicians who, when vested with discretional powers, show themselves at least on a par with those of other Greek republics in talents for intrigue and in readiness to turn them to account. Themistocles, in particular, surpasses all contemporary statesmen in the audacity and ingenuity of his manœuvres.

Their hu-
manity.

Herodotus has also well appreciated and graphically depicted that engaging element of the Attic character which we shall designate its Humanity; the term being here used in the widest sense, as in-

¹ VIII. 2. sq., ix. 26, 27. This feature manifests itself not only in the dealings of the republic with rival states, but in those of her own leading citizens with each other. A striking example is the cession by the other strategi of their turns of command to Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. vi. 110.

dicating not only benevolence of temper and manners, but the aggregate of those qualities which in every age constitute the accomplished gentleman and man of the world. His lively ethic sketches and pleasant anecdotes show that in these qualifications the Athenians had already, at this early period, taken that foremost rank which they afterwards maintained in civilised Europe. One of the most characteristic of those anecdotes, and not the less so from the probability that its details may be fabulous, is that describing how the prompt and courteous hospitality shown by the elder Miltiades to a company of unknown travellers, procured him the sovereignty of a fine country. The inhabitants of the Thracian Chersonesus, hard pressed in a war with powerful neighbours, sent certain of their chiefs to ask advice and relief from the Delphic oracle. The Pythoness instructed them to select as the restorer of their fortunes the man who, on their journey after leaving the sanctuary, should first invite them to partake of his hospitality. After traversing Phocis and Bœotia, without obtaining any opportunity of acting on this instruction, they crossed over into Attica, and passing in front of the house of Miltiades, were hailed by the proprietor, invited in, and honourably entertained. In the sequel he accedes to the overtures of his guests, sets out with a body of adventurous fellow-citizens, and on arrival in his new sphere of action is invested with the royal dignity.¹ Whatever element of fact this story may contain, a main object of its details is evidently to exhibit the humanity of the Athenians in favour-

¹ VI. 34. sq.

able contrast to the boorishness of their neighbours beyond Cithæron.

In the competition for the hand of the daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes¹, tyrant of Sicyon, the two most accomplished of the numerous band of suitors, comprising the cream of Hellenic chivalry, who assembled at the court of her father, were Athenians. The genius of the usurper Pisistratus also reflects, still more vividly perhaps than that of more patriotic citizens, this agreeable characteristic of the race whom he kept in subjection. The many fine qualities which he combines with his political failings, and which cause him to stand forth among his fellow-despots, Periander, Thrasybulus, and Polycrates, as the most favourable specimen of his order, may all be comprised under the single designation of his humanity.

Their
levity.

The chief defect of the Attic character, also illustrated by spirited sketches of Herodotus, the same defect for which in every age it remained conspicuous, is its Levity. He ridicules their fickleness, in one day chasing the tyrant from their city, and the next receiving him with open arms and reseating him on his throne; and their facility and credulity in becoming the dupes of the stratagems employed to sway them to his purpose, stratagems that might be called puerile had they not proved successful.² Equally characteristic is his account of the mode in which Hippoclide, in the hall of Cleisthenes, danced away a rich and royal bride; and of his famous retort, pronouncing that even such a prize would be dearly purchased at the cost of half an hour's restraint

¹ VI. 127. sqq.

² I. 59, 60.

on the exuberance of his Attic vivacity.¹ The generous but impolitic readiness of the Athenians to support Aristagoras in his ill-concerted revolt against Darius, as compared with the wary callousness of the Lacedæmonians on the same occasion, is sarcastically adduced as proof how much easier it is to impose on the many than on the few.² The unexplained suddenness with which they afterwards sailed home, leaving the Ionians to their fate, after a desultory exploit which did more to injure than promote the patriotic cause, is also as little creditable to their good sense as to their good faith. It is finely contrasted in the sequel with the remorse of conscience and revulsion of feeling, displayed by the assembled citizens in the theatre, when the sad fate of their antient ally Miletus, for which they must have held themselves partly responsible, was so powerfully and pathetically brought home by the drama of Phrynichus to their sympathies.³ Their inconsiderate folly in placing seventy ships at the uncontrolled disposal of Miltiades, to be employed in an expedition of the nature of which the government was left in ignorance, is both convicted and punished by the disgraceful issue of that enterprise.⁴ An impartial tribunal would have imposed on the citizens themselves, a large share of the severe penalties afterwards exacted by them from the illustrious victim of his own and their misconduct.

One is naturally led to ask how this habitual levity

¹ VI. 129. Mr. Grote, we observe (Hist. of Gr. vol. III. p. 53.), describes the exploit of Hippoclideas as a "drunken freak;" an expression, which seems very inaccurately to characterise this brilliant ebullition of Athenian "étourderie." The phrase *προϊούσης τῆς πόσεως* cannot surely bear the construction put on it by Mr. Grote; the feat being one which no drunken man could possibly have performed.

² V. 97.

³ VI. 21.

⁴ VI. 132. sqq.

and inconsistency should have suddenly given place, on the invasion of Xerxes, to as remarkable a unity and constancy of counsels and action. Such anomalies are however familiar in every age of the world. The same excess of vivacity, which in ordinary times finds vent in trifles or follies, would seem, as concentrated in seasons of great emergency on nobler objects, to be what renders a nation equal to the mightiest efforts. The Athenians among the antients, and the French in our own day, offer parallel illustrations of this phenomenon.

The Spar-
tans.

10. In regard to almost every feature above noticed, the character of the Spartans is represented by Herodotus, and with equal dramatic effect, as the opposite of that of the Athenians. The only qualities possessed in common by the two nations are their patriotism and their valour. But the modes in which these qualities are exhibited in each are so different, as to render even here the distinction more striking than the correspondence. The patriotism of the Lacedæmonians, like their entire policy, is systematically selfish. That of the Athenians is generously and unreflectingly panhellenic. The all-engrossing objects of Sparta are to preserve her own independence and extend her own influence; and Herodotus leaves it very doubtful whether, could those objects have been best secured by an abandonment of the rest of Greece to the Persian invader, she would have made any great effort for its preservation. Her policy was, at the utmost, so to defend Hellas as to weaken those members of the confederacy whom she considered her rivals. Accordingly, the treacherous breach of her engagement with Athens¹ to make the northern Attic

Their
Machiavellian
selfishness.

frontier, as a common line of defence, the basis of their strategic operations, involves at least a temporary annihilation of the rival republic. When there appeared any danger that Athens, in the extremity to which she was reduced by the perfidy of her Dorian ally, might resort to the desperate course of either withdrawing from the contest or siding with the Persians, the Spartans were ever ready, by promises and cajolery, to encourage her to persevere. But no sooner was the immediate emergency provided for, than promises were forgotten and the ally was left to her fate. "I know no reason," says the historian, "why the Lacedæmonians, who had so greatly exerted themselves to prevent Athens from siding with the Persians, at the time when Mardonius sent Alexander to that city, should afterwards have become so indifferent as to how she might act, unless it was, that the fortification of the Isthmus was now finished, and they did not think they had any further need of the Athenians, whereas at the time of Alexander's mission their works were still incomplete."² Even when doing what was right, they seem to have preferred doing it in an underhand manner. Of this gratuitous duplicity the historian gives a curious example in the portion of his text immediately following that just quoted.

This selfish spirit, masked by an outward show of love of liberty, displays itself at every period of Spartan history, and from time to time is keenly and cleverly satirised by Herodotus. In tracing the remoter causes of the quarrel between Greek and Barbarian, he tells us that "Cræsus reduced to

¹ IX. 6. sqq.² IX. 8.

subjection all the previously free Greek states of Asia, but formed a friendly alliance with Lacedæmon.”¹ The antithesis in the first and second clauses of this statement, is a plain sarcasm on the indifference of Sparta to Hellenic liberty when her own interests were safe. His further intimation², that she was partly induced to accept the Lydian conqueror’s offer of alliance, by a present of gold lately sent her as material for a statue of Apollo, is also not without its ethic meaning. No less significant is his account of her prompt refusal to aid the Asiatic Hellenes in asserting their freedom against Cyrus, followed up by the empty bravado addressed to that monarch: “that they would put up with no act of aggression against any state of European Greece.”³ The single act of political liberality for which Herodotus gives them credit, their cooperation with the Attic patriots in expelling the usurper Hippias, is also described as not voluntarily performed, but as forced on them by the Pythoness, bribed by the Alcmaeonidæ to espouse the cause of Athenian liberty.⁴ It was on the discovery of the trick, by which they had been entrapped into a line of policy so contrary to their sense of their own interests, that they proposed⁵ in the Dorian council of war the project of reestablishing the tyrant Hippias in his authority; a project scornfully rejected by that assembly. Other examples of this combined spirit of selfishness and duplicity have been given in the previous chapter.⁶

The boorishness of the Spartan social habits, as contrasted with the genial humanity of Athens, was probably too familiar in the time of Herodotus to

¹ I. 6.⁴ v. 63. sq.² I. 69.⁵ v. 91. sq.³ I. 152.⁶ p. 454.

afford much scope for novelty of description. It forms accordingly the subject of but a few incidental though graphic touches.¹

This severity against the prevailing defects of Sparta, with the warm eulogies bestowed on the opposite virtues of Athens, may naturally raise suspicion of exaggeration in the one case or of undue partiality in the other. But an antidote to any such suspicion is to be found, first in the historian's forwardness, on all occasions, to do justice to individual acts of virtue on the part of Lacedæmonian citizens; secondly, in the unqualified admiration which he everywhere expresses for that feature of the Spartan character which the Spartans themselves regarded as its primary excellence, and which in every age has constituted their chief claim to celebrity, — their martial prowess. Upon all occasions this quality forms the subject of his warmest eulogy. Here indeed the admirers of Athens might find reasonable ground for reversing the charge of favouritism, and for maintaining that Herodotus, influenced by that habitual deference for the pretensions of Sparta to unrivalled military virtue, which then prevailed in the Hellenic body, has been led to underrate the claims of others to equal or surpass her. We have already noticed the unfair prominence given by the historian to Leonidas and his Spartans over the other warriors who fell at Thermopylæ. The chief merit, if merit it be, of the Spartan commander above his fellow-victims, is that of having suggested the common act of self-sacrifice. The devotion of the three hundred Lacedæmonians, men trained, or rather constrained from their child-

Their military
prowess,

¹ I. 152., III. 46., v. 50. sq.

hood, by an inexorable system of military asceticism, and under cruel penalties in case of failure, to such desperate acts, as matters not so much of extraordinary heroism as of ordinary duty, is not worthy to be compared with that of the seven hundred Thespians, who, subject to no such training, and to no terror of opprobrious penalties, undertook the fatal service with equal alacrity. Yet the bare fact of the Thespians having so acted is all that Herodotus says concerning them. All comment or eulogy is reserved for Leonidas and his Spartiates; whose good sayings on the occasion are recorded, whose military toilets and gymnastic exercises are described, with a parade which, instead of further embellishing, rather imparts a tinge of affectation to the brilliancy of the exploit. And how few are there of the millions who have heard or read of the battle of Thermopylæ, in whose minds the achievement is associated with any other idea than that of Spartan heroism; or who are aware that the Spartans were in the proportion of less than one half of the Thespians, and the Spartans and Thespians united, in the same or a less proportion to the poor Helots who fell on that memorable occasion? ¹

¹ In spite of a popular prejudice of some 2300 years, we do not hesitate to assert, that the merits of this celebrated exploit have been greatly overrated. Reason and judgement are as necessary ingredients of true valour as of every other human virtue. So long as the stand made at the Pass was a real defence, it was a glorious military action. When it became no longer a defence, but a wanton sacrifice of Greek citizens whose duty it should have been to keep their services for the common country in the subsequent stages of her great emergency, it became little more than a vainglorious display of Spartan military desperation. The prowess of the Athenians at Marathon is as superior to that of the Sparto-Thespians at Thermopylæ, as the courage of a man who bravely struggles against the evils of life, is to that of him who commits suicide the better to show his contempt for them.

Nor is it apparent by what equitable rule of judgment the palm of military excellence was awarded, with the implied approbation of Herodotus, to the Lacedæmonians rather than the Athenians at the battle of Plataea; for in the historian's own narrative the conduct of the Athenians appears, in all the more important points of military virtue, decidedly superior.¹

It may seem difficult to reconcile the many signal excellences of Athens, as described by Herodotus, with the marked ill-will entertained towards her by the great body of her fellow-states. Among other modes in which this feeling shows itself, is their refusal to concede to the Athenians in form, the privilege which they commonly exercised in fact, of commanding in chief the naval portion of the national armament. To that honour they possessed every claim, in right of their great superiority of naval force, and the greater ability of their admiral. Not only however was a preference given to the claims of Lacedæmon, but the rest refused to serve at all under Athenian command. Herodotus assigns no reason for this anti-Attic prejudice; possibly from a belief that the true reason would occur to his more discerning readers. The confederacy had become habituated to look to Sparta as its leading republic; her ascendancy, especially in military affairs, being now of antient date. Athens had but recently emerged from mediocrity, and her former equals were animated towards her by a natural spirit of jealousy. But apart from this, the greater number of states leagued against Xerxes were Dorians; and Sparta was the recognised chief of the

Anti-Attic
feeling of
the con-
federacy.

¹ See Appendix N.

Dorian as distinct from the Ionian section of the nation. Athens on the other hand, as leader of the Ionian section, had at present no followers; the great body of Ionian republics, in the islands and colonies, being constrained to fight in the ranks of the enemy. On the emancipation of these colonies from the Persian yoke, they speedily transferred the maritime leadership from Sparta to Athens. It is remarkable that Herodotus, in his prospective allusion to this change, seems to have misapprehended its real motive. He ascribes it¹ merely to a change of feeling on the part of the same states that had formerly repudiated Attic influence; the fact being that those states remained as much estranged as ever from Athens. The revolution was brought about, as Thucydides² more clearly saw, solely or chiefly by the republics of Asia and the Ægæan isles.

Individual
Greek characters.

11. The historian's portraiture of individual Greek character offers but a narrow field for critical commentary. The little prominence given to Hellenic affairs in the early part of his work, admitted of proportionally little being assigned to Greek warriors and statesmen; and the lives of those who take a lead in the later vicissitudes of Hellenic history, Pausanias for example and Themistocles, fall but in part within the limits of his own narrative. Themistocles indeed is made the subject of a spirited sketch; but one which remains imperfect; and the more so that the unfinished part would have comprised the less prosperous period of his life. The details given supply appropriate illustrations of the concise summary of his qualities transmitted by Thucydides.³ "He was distinguished," says that historian, "above all other men, for the vigorous exercise

Themistocles.

¹ VIII. 3.

² I. 95.

³ I. 138.

of a powerful intellect ; for the talent of deciding on the spur of the moment, by his native sagacity, and with the least aid from past knowledge or present reflexion, on the course to be taken in any pressing conjuncture ; and for skill in prognosticating and providing against every kind of future contingency. Whatever he took in hand he was qualified to execute. Nor was his judgement ever at fault, even in matters of which he had no previous experience." This description, though graphic and effective in itself, is limited to his intellectual faculties. His moral qualities good or bad ; his combination of warm patriotism with lax public principle ; his indifference to all considerations of personal pride or interest where his country's welfare was seriously at stake, with his readiness at other times to adopt the most nefarious shifts to aggrandise or enrich himself ; his thorough command of the arts of intrigue, and his piracy, where opportunity offered, of the credit due to the ingenious devices of others ; these, constituting as they do, the most curious traits of his strangely compounded character, have, in the sketch above quoted, been overlooked by Thucydides, but supply Herodotus with a fund of lively anecdote.¹

The only Spartan character portrayed at much detail is that of king Cleomenes. It is little more than a counterpart of that of Cambyes ; with this difference, that while it combines falsehood and low cunning with the maniac ferocity for which both worthies are distinguished, it wants even the small ingredient of generosity which relieves, in however slight a degree, the vices of the son of Cyrus.

¹ VIII. 4. sqq. 58. sqq. 75. sqq. 109—112.

Periander.

The historian's notices of Periander of Corinth present, as formerly observed¹, anomalies justifying the belief that it embodies, not so much the result of his own impartial research as the calumnies of the then popular party in the Corinthian state, in whose traditions he has been led, from whatever cause, to repose too implicit a faith. That party appears, whether from personal spleen or from a desire to keep alive the public feeling against tyrannical government, to have done their best to blacken the memory of a ruler, under whom their country had enjoyed a prosperity and power which their own policy had not been able to maintain. No attempt is made to explain how a prince, guilty at home of the monstrous acts of cruelty and iniquity imputed to him by Herodotus, should yet have established so high a reputation abroad for wisdom and justice, as to have been appointed sole arbiter in a dispute between the rival states of Athens and Mitylene, and to have, by his award, brought to a close the series of bitter hostilities in which they had for years been embroiled. No attempt is made to explain how a husband who had wantonly murdered an innocent and affectionate wife, should have shown himself so fondly indulgent a father, or should have manifested so much forbearance towards the insulting caprices of a disobedient son. Nor is it easy to understand how such a character as the Periander of Herodotus could have obtained a place in Aristotle's list of the Seven sages. It would also have been well had the sweeping accusation brought against the "tyrant," of having destroyed or banished the leading citizens of Corinth, been substantiated by the mention of a few

¹ Vol. III. p. 384. sqq. : conf. *supra*, p. 397. sqq.

particulars of name or circumstance. The discrepancy of the modes in which the graver charges against Periander have been shaped by different authorities, and the absurdity of many of their details, also shed an air of both fable and calumny over this whole chapter of scandalous biography.

In passing on to the literary Style of Herodotus in the narrower sense, attention is first called to the dramatic element of his composition, as more immediately connected with the subject illustrated in the preceding pages.

12. The term Dramatic, as applied to the conduct of a historical narrative, signifies, first, the introduction of notable personages speaking as well as acting in their own person rather than that of their historian; and secondly, the art of making them express themselves naturally, and in language adapted to their characters.

Dramatic
element of
the histo-
rian's style.

The verbal intercourse of men engaged in public life may be carried on in every age, and was extensively carried on in the age of Herodotus, in two modes: first, by confidential or familiar dialogue; secondly, by set speeches delivered on formal occasions. As the actual words spoken by persons engaged in such dialogues or debates, could rarely in those times be recorded with precision, it follows that the speeches and conversations reported in the work of Herodotus, or any work of its class, although they may in some cases represent the sentiments of the speakers, are, with few if any exceptions, fictitious in their existing form and details. Their introduction is therefore, strictly speaking, a breach of that close adherence to truth which constitutes the essential characteristic of history as distinct from poetry or fable.

But although this practice may not be consistent with the strict laws of historical art, the violation of them which it involves is one so natural and venial, that unless when carried to unreasonable excess, it seems never to have been noticed as a defect by the antient critics, habituated to it as they were from the infancy of their literature; while the charm which, in skilful hands, it imparts to the uniformity of purely exegetic style, reconciles it even to the fastidiously critical sense of the modern reader.

This much indulgence being conceded to the practice, as at the best a license in historical composition, the conditions under which it may yet be made to conduce to the spirit and effect of a narrative, reduce themselves very much to this fundamental one: that the words placed in the mouth of each person should be so well adapted to his character, and flow in so easy and natural a stream, as to make the reader forget that they are the words of the historian, and promote the illusion that they are those of the speaker. Studied orations consequently, unless where intentionally placed in the mouths of professional orators or sophists, must, as tending to dispel such illusion, have the effect of encumbering rather than enlivening the course of the narrative.

The efforts of Herodotus to impart dramatic effect to the discourse of his actors, if not invariably successful, have been far more generally so than those of any other classical historian. The characters of Thucydides, when allowed to speak for themselves, speak solely in the capacity of orators or dialecticians; and the number, length, and rhetorical subtlety of their harangues form the chief defect of his work, whether in regard to its historical truth or its lite-

rary style. His eight books offer no interchange of what can properly be called dialogue. His action consequently remains devoid of genuine dramatic spirit. The orations of Xenophon are less laboured and artificial. But the dialogues in which he at times indulges, are seldom distinguished for propriety or spirit, and are apt to degenerate into insipid conversational common-place.

The practice of introducing set speeches in historical narrative is probably as old as prose history; but the loss of the integral texts of all historians prior to Herodotus, disables us from judging to what extent it may have existed before his time. It was partly borrowed from the usage of the epic poets, by which in various respects that of the early logographers was guided; and was, besides, suggested by the prevalence of studied oratory in every department of Greek public and political life. Herodotus evidently participated to but a limited degree in the taste of his age for rhetorical display. Set orations are rare in his text. Even on more formal occasions, such passages more frequently assume the character of familiar discussion than of declamatory harangue. At times they embody historical episodes, similar to those of Nestor or Phœnix in the *Iliad*. Such is the speech of the Corinthian Sosicles in the Dorian council at Sparta, narrating the past vicissitudes of his native republic.¹ Orations of a more strictly rhetorical character in the historian's work, are those of the Persian chiefs in the council of Seven², and those spoken in the cabinet of Xerxes, in the discussion of his project of invading Greece.³ The

Speeches.

¹ v. 92. : conf. i. 31., vi. 86.

² iii. 80. sqq.

³ vii. 8. sqq. : conf. i. 32., v. 49., viii. 140., ix. 26. sq.

harangues delivered on the first-mentioned occasion are among the most objectionable passages of the historian's work. Persons are introduced debating, in language and with arguments foreign to all their habits of thought, questions the very existence of which had never probably entered their heads. Herodotus seems to be here suddenly possessed with the spirit of Gorgias or Prodicus; a spirit to the fascinating influence of which he was daily exposed, but has never fortunately except on the present occasion altogether succumbed. The idea of such a discussion originated probably with some sophist of the Siculo-Attic school, to whom the legend of a deliberation having been held by the Seven conspirators as to the disposal of the Persian crown, might supply a basis on which to set forth in dialectic style, the relative merits and defects of the three fundamental forms of civil government.

Dialogue.

13. The dialogue, in the proper sense of the term, is one of the modes in which the historian's taste and powers of composition are most agreeably exhibited. Of the extent to which he has employed this mode of management few readers probably become aware in the ordinary perusal of his work; and this is one proof of the excellence of his method. So easy is the transition from the narrative to the colloquial form, and so natural the manner in which the speakers acquit themselves, that we are scarcely conscious of having passed from the one to the other. A closer analysis however of the text shows that it may with nearly equal justice be said of Herodotus, as was said by Aristotle of Homer, that he seldom undertakes the office of speaking for others where they can with propriety be allowed to speak for themselves; but is

careful, after a brief preamble, to introduce his characters transacting their affairs in their own words. This remark is verified in the opening chapter of his work. The introductory notices of primeval history are given concisely in his own language; but the moment he enters on his main subject, commencing with the adventure of Gyges and Candaules, he transfers to those two personages the duty hitherto performed by himself. The same method is followed in his histories of Cræsus and Cyrus, and on almost every appropriate occasion in the sequel of his work.

This faculty of combining in an effective manner the colloquial with the exegetic appears, in prose as in poetry, to be a privilege of the earlier stages of the art of composition. Herodotus may consequently in this respect, as in others previously noticed, be considered as a man of the "olden time" rather than of that in which he lived; being the only extant Greek historian whose efforts in this department have been really successful. It is a faculty which, like other characteristics of primitive art, maintains its youthful vigour and its popularity in the humbler walks of narrative composition, as for example in the books of the New Testament, long after it becomes extinct in the higher branches of historical literature. A specimen from Herodotus has already been given in illustrating the character of Amasis. Another is here subjoined from the episode of the death of Atys. The analogy between the dramatic style of the classical, and that of the sacred historians, will not escape the critical reader :

"The Mysian envoys, on arriving at the court of Cræsus, addressed him in these words: 'O king, a wild boar of great size

and fierceness has appeared in our province and ravages our lands, and our efforts to destroy him have been in vain. We now therefore entreat thee to send thy son, with dogs, and a chosen band of youths, to aid us in killing or driving him out of our country.' Such was their request. But Cræsus, bearing in mind his dream, answered them as follows: 'Concerning my son take no more thought, for him I cannot send, as he is but newly married, and engaged with other matters. But I will send you all my best Lydian huntsmen, with their dogs, and with orders to aid you to the utmost in ridding your province of this fierce animal.' With this reception the Mysians were well pleased, when the young prince, apprised of the object of their visit, came in; and on learning how their request that he should lead the expedition had been denied, he thus addressed his father: 'Sir, it was formerly our glory and our pride, that I should be foremost as well in the battle as the hunting field. But thou hast now debarred me from both, without having any charge against me either of timidity or apathy. With what face then shall I in future show myself in public among the citizens? or in what light shall I appear in their eyes or in those of my young spouse? and to what manner of man will she consider herself to have been united? I beseech thee therefore, either permit me to join this hunting party, or show some good cause for keeping me at home.' To which Cræsus replied: 'My son, it is not from observing in thee either timidity or any other defect that I am led to take this course, but from having been warned in a dream that thy life will be short, and that thou art doomed to perish by a steel-pointed weapon. It was that vision which caused me to hasten on thy marriage, and now induces me to deny thee a share in this adventure; if by any such precaution I might preserve thee alive during my own lifetime. Since thou art in truth my only son; for thy brother being deprived of hearing, is to me as if he were not.' 'My father,' rejoined the prince, 'it is but reasonable that, having seen such a vision, thou shouldest keep watch over thy son; but I will make bold to point out wherein thou hast failed to apprehend the spirit of thy dream. Thou sayest that by it thou hast been forewarned that I should perish by a steel-pointed weapon. But where are now the hands of a boar, or where the pointed steel of which thou shouldest be afraid? Had it been foretold that I was to meet my death by a wound of a tusk or a tooth, thou mightest then well

resort to this precaution. But since it is against the steel weapon that thou art warned, and that our battle will not be with a human enemy, I pray thee restrain me not.' To which Croesus: 'My son, I admit thy interpretation of my dream to be better than my own. Convinced therefore by thy arguments, I yield to thy wish; and permit thee to go forth to the boar hunt.'"¹

14. The historian's powers of description fall no way short of those displayed in his dramatic scenes. He places each object or event before us in the same effective manner, and with the same freedom from effort, which distinguish his mode of imparting speech to his characters. His scenes of the tragic order are worked up with a combination of simplicity and power rare in Greek literature beyond the page of Homer. Such passages occur chiefly in the earlier part of the narrative, the materials of which have more of the legendary character favourable to poetical treatment. The volume of popular romance contains few more beautifully told tales than that of the death of Atys; of the desperate grief of its involuntary author, the generous treatment experienced by him from the bereaved father, and his own self-inflicted punishment. Other fine descriptions of the same pathetic order are the account of the filial piety and death of Cleobis and Biton², and that of the scene in front of the gate of Memphis after the conquest of Egypt. The latter is here subjoined, as a characteristic and not over long specimen of the historian's tragic style of poetical anecdote:³

The historian's descriptive powers.

"On the tenth day after the taking of Memphis, Cambyses, having directed that king Psammenitus, with other noble Egyptians, should be seated, as objects of insult, before the city gate,

¹ I. 36. sqq.

² I. 31.

³ III. 14. sq.

made trial of his temper in this manner. Causing his daughter to be habited as a slave, he sent her forth, bearing a water pot, to draw water. He also sent, as her companions, other virgins selected from the first Egyptian families, and similarly attired. As the maidens passed along, weeping and lamenting, before their parents, the other fathers, seeing their children thus cruelly degraded, also lifted up their voices and wept: Psammenitus alone, on seeing and recognising his daughter, fixed his eyes silently on the ground. After the damsels came the king's son, with two thousand Egyptian youths of his own age, each with a halter round his neck and a bridle in his mouth, led out to suffer death, as an atonement for the murder of the two hundred men of the Mytilenæan ship at Memphis. . . . Here the other Egyptians who sat by Psammenitus renewed their tears and lamentations, but the king, though knowing that his son was one of those led forth to die, maintained unmoved his previous attitude. When the young men were also gone by, it happened that a former boon companion of Psammenitus, an aged man, who had fallen into so low a state of poverty, as to be obliged to beg for his subsistence, passed before the king and his companions, asking alms of the soldiers. At this sight Psammenitus, calling his friend by name, smote his forehead and wept aloud. Cambyses, apprised of all that happened by his guards, who had orders to report the Egyptian king's demeanour as each procession passed, wondering at his conduct, sent a messenger who thus addressed him. 'My lord Cambyses would know of thee, O Psammenitus, why, on seeing thy daughter degraded, and thy son led out to die, thou hast neither wept nor cried aloud, and yet hast taken so to heart the lot of this mendicant, who, as my lord is informed, is not even of thine own kindred.' To which Psammenitus replied: 'Son of Cyrus, my own domestic calamities are greater than that I should weep for them; but I could not restrain my tears on seeing the friend, whom I once knew wealthy and prosperous, reduced in old age to beg his bread.' With this reply Cambyses was well pleased; and the Egyptians say that Cræsus, who was present, having accompanied the king to Egypt, shed tears, as did also the Persians who stood around; and that even Cambyses was touched with compassion, and immediately sent orders to spare the life of the king's son, and bring him back to the city. But the messengers, on arriving at the place of execution, found that the young prince had been the first to suffer."

As examples of the mixed ethic and tragic style may be cited, the legend of the birth and youth of Cyrus¹; the quarrel between Periander and his son Lycophron²; and Arion's adventure with the dolphin.³ The historian's power of working up the grotesquely sublime is displayed in his account of the funeral rites of the Scythian kings⁴; his conception of the sublime apart from the grotesque, in his description of the death of Prexaspes. When the Median Magus Smerdis, in the assumed character of Smerdis brother of Cambyses, had usurped the Persian throne, he and his accomplice brother Patizithes, endeavoured to gain over to their interests Prexaspes the confidential officer of Cambyses, by whom, in that spirit of implicit obedience to his sovereign's command so characteristic of Persian loyalty, the true Smerdis had long before been slain. Knowing that Prexaspes, who was extremely popular among his countrymen, had been wont to conceal his share in the death of that unfortunate prince, they proposed, that on some solemn occasion he should proclaim aloud to the people his conviction that their present ruler was the true Smerdis son of Cyrus :

"The Magi, having obtained the consent of Prexaspes to their scheme, convoked an assembly of the people beneath the walls of the royal palace, and placing Prexaspes on a tower, called on him to address the multitude. But his discourse was purposely shaped in a mode very different from what they had desired. Beginning with Achæmenes, he traced the royal line of descent down to Cyrus; and after dwelling on the great benefits conferred by that ruler on his countrymen, he laid open the truth concerning the death of Smerdis, which he acknowledged having hitherto dissembled, dreading the effects of a disclosure. 'But in the present emergency he felt himself under an imperious

¹ I. 107. sqq.² III. 50. sq.³ I. 24.⁴ IV. 71, 72.

necessity to declare, that he had, too surely, by command of Cambyses, slain the brother of that monarch, and that the royal power was now in the hands of the Magi.' He then, after uttering many imprecations on his Persian fellow-citizens, should they fail to reassert their sovereign rights and inflict vengeance on the usurpers, threw himself down headlong from the summit of the tower. Thus perished Prexaspes, a man held through life in high and deserved esteem."¹

Among the narratives of a livelier ethic order may be noted the adventures of Aristæas of Proconnesus, and the nuptial hospitalities of Clisthenes of Sicyon. But with all his faculty of apprehending the spirit of events or the varieties of human character, Herodotus seems to have had no very fine sense of the comic properly so called: and several passages of his work, which he himself pointedly recommends as containing good stories or clever sayings, are not only devoid of true wit, but among the most insipid of his gossiping details.²

Battles.

In his descriptions of battles Herodotus is graphic rather than precise. In some instances, as at Marathon and Salamis, he is at no pains to place the topo-

¹ III. 74.

² IV. 144., VII. 120. What is here said has been not altogether correctly quoted by Mr. Rawlinson, (*Herod. vol. i. p. 140.*), to the following effect: "His good stories and clever sayings are thought to be not only devoid of true wit, but among the most insipid," &c. Our remark, as the passages cited bear out, refers, not to the historian's own good stories, &c., but to his commendation of several stories told, or things said by others. We have not however been able to discover, amid some insipidity, much of what can properly be called "true wit," in the budget of Herodotean pleasantry with which Mr. Rawlinson himself presents us. People may differ no doubt as to what constitutes true wit; but to us it appears that the story of Alcæon in the treasury of Cræsus, which our critic seems to adduce as his principal "fact" in confutation of our remark, savours less of true wit than of farcical humour. Perhaps the only really witty repartee, cited as such by Herodotus, (VIII. 125.), is that of Themistocles to Timodemus.

graphy of the scene of action distinctly before his readers : in others, as at Plataea, his notices, though more detailed, hardly convey a clear impression to the minds of those not acquainted with the ground. In the case of Thermopylæ, on the other hand, his description is copious and complete. Here we seem to have evidence how nearly his personal associations were connected with Athens. Writing under Attic auspices, he instinctively assumes on the part of his reader a knowledge of Attic localities, or of those connected with Attica ; a complete knowledge in the case of Marathon and Salamis, essentially Attic regions of high celebrity ; a partial knowledge in the case of the Bœotian frontier line of Cithæron. Thermopylæ, as being to the Athenians, in common with other leading Greek states, a comparatively remote district, is carefully described.

Nor are his commentaries on the field operations of Marathon. contending armies so instructive as might be desired ; and on some occasions leave it doubtful whether he himself rightly understood the manœuvres which he details. In his description of the battle of Marathon, he gives a distinct account of the Athenian order of battle, and the subsequent movements by which the victory was gained ; but his own illustrative remarks imply that he had no clear apprehension of the tactics of Miltiades. The passage is here subjoined :

“The Athenian force at Marathon was drawn up in the following manner. The line, being made equal to that of the Medes, was so weakened in the centre as to be there reduced to but a few files deep ; its main strength being in the wings. On the auspices proving favourable, the Athenians charged the Barbarians at a run, the distance between the two armies

being about a mile. The Persians on seeing them advance made ready to receive them, supposing them to be mad and bent on their own destruction, in rushing on thus impetuously, so few in number, and unsupported by cavalry or archers. Such was the notion of the Barbarians. But when the armies came into collision, the Athenians fought in a manner worthy to be recorded. For they were the first Greeks who to our knowledge had ever yet attacked an enemy at full speed, or who had ever been able to bear the sight of the Median dress, or of the men who wore it; the very name of the Medes having been hitherto a terror to the Greeks. After a long struggle the Persians broke the centre of the Athenian line, and pursued their adversaries into the interior. But the Athenians and Plataeans were victorious on each of the wings; when allowing their defeated opponents to fly unmolested, they closed in upon those who had beaten their own centre, and defeating them also, pursued the routed Barbarians to the sea."¹

Herodotus here characterises the rapid onset of the Athenians, not only as something new, but as a rare and brilliant display of martial prowess. This is a notion inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Greek art of war. Throughout the flourishing age of that art, from the days of Homer down to those of Epaminondas, the mode of attack in pitched battle esteemed both most effective in itself and the truest test of courage and discipline, was the steady advance of the phalanx in ordinary time. The impetuous rush on the enemy was considered rather as a mark of barbarian ferocity, which trusts to rapid motion and turbulent excitement for giving that effect to an onslaught, which the civilised warrior secures by deliberate valour and mutual confidence. The mode of attack preferred by Miltiades requires therefore some better explanation; and the general tenor of the historian's own description sup-

¹ VI. 111. sq.

plies one so satisfactory, as to create surprise that it should have escaped both his own notice and that of other historians or commentators who have treated of the battle. This explanation is to be found in the historian's previous statement, that Miltiades had greatly extended the front of his little army, to prevent its being outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy. Had he after effecting this movement remained inactive, he would have given the Persians time to adopt in their turn what was their equally obvious tactic, a counter-extension of their flanks to restore their advantage. The policy of Miltiades therefore was to charge at once with such rapidity as should leave no time for any such counter-operation ; and avoid at the same time the additional annoyance, to which a more deliberate advance might have exposed him from the hostile cavalry and skirmishers.

The other manœuvre by which he secured the victory, that of weakening his centre to increase the strength of his flanks, is one little in unison with the modern art of war. The mode of attack to which small bodies of well-trained troops are now accustomed mainly to trust, in engaging a more numerous but less-disciplined enemy, is to break his centre, and defeat his divisions in detail. An opposite plan was here pursued by Miltiades, a plan as bold as it was successful, and evincing both his great confidence in the valour of his troops, and how justly it was bestowed.¹

The ready concession of the supreme command to Miltiades by his patriotic colleagues on this occasion, was due doubtless to the advantage which he pos-

¹ See Appendix O.

sessed, not only of long military experience, but of an experience gathered chiefly in wars where he was either an ally or an adversary of the Persians. He was the only man in Athens who possessed this qualification ; and it was no doubt his former knowledge of the comparative want of discipline in the Barbarian force that emboldened him to hazard a manœuvre, which would probably have involved his own defeat in an engagement with a body of well-trained Hellenic troops.

The misapprehension into which Herodotus has fallen regarding the details of this battle, is one hardly to be expected on the part of a man himself conversant with the art of war ; nor is the general tenor of his allusions to military affairs such as to warrant the belief that he was a practised soldier. Yet his descriptions of the actual conflict or clash of arms are often very striking. His account of the skirmish between the Athenians and the Persian cavalry before the battle of Plataea¹, of the death of the Persian chief Masistius, and of the struggle for the possession of his body, is almost too vividly Homeric to admit of its being strictly authentic. Several adventures and exploits of the battles of Artemisium and Salamis are related in a very spirited manner, as is also the conflict between the usurping Magi and the Seven Persian conspirators.²

Plataea.

His language, in structure and dialect. Parallel of Homer.

15. The analogy between the genius of Herodotus and that of Homer extends to the common characteristics of their style ; that term being here taken in the most restricted sense, as denoting the general tone and structure of language and phraseology. In both we admire the same unvarying per-

¹ IX. 20. sqq.

² III. 78.

spicuity, the same unconscious ease of sentiment and expression; the same cheerful heartiness in treating the more familiar order of subjects, the same gravity and dignity in those of a more elevated character; the homely never degenerating into vulgarity, the impassioned never effervescing into bombast. Such are the attributes which procured for Herodotus the highest place among the prose models of that order of composition defined by the antients as the middle or medium style; being equally removed from turgidity and tenuity, from redundancy and meagreness; and of which Homer also ranked as the standard model in his own poetical sphere. These qualities tend the more effectually to evince the native purity of the historian's taste, that during the period in which he composed, the popular school of Greek prose literature began to be remarkable for attributes of a very different nature, for rhetorical artifice and meretricious pomp of words; defects from which some of his most excellent contemporaries are not exempt.

In regard to its syntactic structure, the style of Herodotus seems to have been classed by several antient critics as belonging to the Sententious or disjointed order, the definition of which, as distinct from the Periodic or cultivated Attic style, has been given in a previous chapter. But that definition can hardly with propriety, be applied to the style of Herodotus. His language may with more justice be described as neither sententious nor periodic, but as preserving, in this as in other respects, a middle course, equally removed from the quaint brevity of his logographic predecessors and the artificial expansion of the Siculo-Attic school. It represents, in

fact, the natural flow of words and ideas in the mind of a man of correct taste and clear intellect. Hence, while many passages of his work might be ranked with the more sententious of Acusilaus or Hecataeus, as many are distinguished by the compass and rotundity, if not the artifice, of Gorgias or Thucydides. Those of the former description occur, as is natural, chiefly where such precision is in itself appropriate; as in the notices of facts or objects requiring detailed description or definition; where a nicer subdivision of clauses conduces to a corresponding distinctness of ideas. Long periods, on the other hand, are chiefly observable in graphic and poetical description, or passages where the text assumes a rhetorical turn.

This native simplicity of language may appear the more remarkable in Herodotus, when it is considered that the dialect in which he wrote was not his own but that of the Ionian colonies; an idiom distinguished by a marked difference of character from his native Doric. Such difference however no way tended to cramp the freedom of his style. The Ionic being, at the period when he wrote, the language of historical literature, was in so far the common property of the cultivated Greek public; and the adoption of it by a native Dorian was as natural in that age, as the adoption of the Tuscan by a Venetian or Neapolitan man of letters in the present day. The dialect of Herodotus cannot indeed be properly considered as representing the spoken idiom of any Greek province; but was more or less an artificial or composite language, formed, chiefly of the varieties of living Ionic, which he himself describes as prevailing in the Asiatic states in his time, partly by an admixture of poetical, partly of Attic forms, to which his connexion with Athens had

habituated him.¹ This is a process which, however foreign to the ideas or practice of the modern republic of letters, was familiar in the literature of Greece from the time of Homer downwards.

How far this mixed Ionic dialect of Herodotus may be the variety of his native tongue best adapted to his own branch of composition is another question. The proper characteristics of the Ionic, both in sound and structure, are certainly less well adapted than those of the Attic dialect to the more practical branches of literature to which history belongs ; and, judging from the condition in which the historian's text has reached us, his inclination would seem to have been rather to extend than to modify those characteristics. On the other hand it may be urged, that the liquid flow and sonorous rotundity of the Ionic idiom adapts itself with equal, perhaps greater effect, than the terse precision of the Attic, to the historian's own peculiar order of historical composition ; to that genial fulness of epic diction which pervades his narrative, and that poetical tone by which so many parts of it are distinguished.

The influence which the style of Homer has exercised on that of Herodotus is not confined to a mere general resemblance. It appears, in more palpable and tangible forms, in many passages and phrases borrowed by the historian from the poet, either to the letter, or under such slight modifications as suffice to show the source from which they are derived. In some instances these passages are of such a nature, or introduced in such a manner, as to warrant the belief that Herodotus meant them to be taken as Homeric citations or paraphrases. In other cases the

¹ See Appendix B.

mode in which they are interwoven with his text, indicates rather the spontaneous produce of a mind habitually under Homeric influence.¹

It has been remarked in another place, that the work of Herodotus was not probably the result of a single prolonged effort brought to bear on an already complete body of materials, but that after it had been sketched out, or had even attained a certain stage of integrity, it may have remained on the author's hands, receiving from time to time such additions or alterations as his more extended research or mature judgement might suggest. His text also bears internal evidence that he lived to an advanced age, and continued his labours nearly to the epoch of his death. It might therefore seem further natural to expect that different portions of a work of so great bulk, and comprising so great a variety of matter, would contain evidence not only in their historical allusions but also in their style, of having been composed at different periods of the author's lifetime; and the more, when we consider the changes which the art of prose composition underwent in the interval between the youth and old age of Herodotus. But the critical analysis of his text affords no ground for such speculations. His style preserves, amidst all the varieties of his subject, a consistent and harmonious uniformity; evincing that by whatever process his work may have attained its existing integrity of form, it had received, in that form, in all its parts, an equal amount of careful polish from the same master hand by which it was originally designed.

Speculative commentators would also discover in

¹ See Appendix P.

the manner as well as the matter of the text, in the placid flow of the narrative, in the frequency and at times Nestorian diffuseness of the digressions, and in the childlike fondness for, and deference to, legendary or superstitious lore, evidence that the work was composed at an advanced period of the author's life.¹ Granting these peculiarities to be each individually characteristic of the genial old age of such a man as Herodotus, they may yet, in the aggregate, and in combination with others of a bolder sterner character which also abound in his page, with better reason be regarded as reflecting the mind of the man than the time of life at which he wrote. Even apart from any such peculiarities of style or allusion, the author of a narrative treating at similar length and in equally popular vein the more interesting vicissitudes of a national history, will usually be found, where the notices of his life are scanty or fabulous, taking his place in the tradition of his country and in the fancy of his readers as an aged man. To this character he appears entitled by the extent and variety of his knowledge, the acquirement of which implies long research and experience, and by the position he assumes as Mentor and instructor of posterity, a position recognised and justified by the permanence and popularity of his work. Here we are led once more to revert to the parallel of Homer; for whom the same essential characteristics have obtained, during nearly three thousand years, the attributes and honours of old age, in the imagination of his readers and the ideal representations of classic art.

¹ Dahlmann, § 9. p. 52.; Bähr, *de Vit. et scr. Herod.*; Jäger, *Disputt. Herodoteæ*; Smith, *Dict. of Biogr.* vol. ii. pp. 432. 435.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A. (Page 28.)

ON THE RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE OF THE ATHENIANS.

THE view here taken differs widely from that of an eminent living historian, distinguished for his warm admiration of the Athenian democracy. Mr. Grote considers Athens to have been remarkable above all the other Greek republics, for her liberal treatment of men of science.¹ This opinion has been expressed in his elaborate apology for the conduct of the Athenians towards Socrates; in which he discovers a spirit, not so much of bigotry, as of toleration. "There was but one city, in the antient world at least," he remarks, where a man, who boldly promulgated doctrines so repugnant to the prevailing notions and feelings, would have been permitted to teach so long with impunity; "and that city was Athens. . . . In any other government of Greece he would have been quickly arrested in his career." The modern public was surely entitled to expect, that so broad an imputation on the great body of the Hellenic people would have been supported by some distinct historical evidence. No such evidence has however been adduced by Mr. Grote; and it may, we believe, safely be said that every historical fact bearing on the subject, proves the reverse of his dogma to be true; proves, not only that Athens was notorious for acts of wanton persecution against enlightened men and liberal doctrines, but that she was the only Greek state open to the charge of such illiberality.

Athenian intolerance persecuted and judicially murdered Socrates; drove Plato, and other disciples of Socrates, into exile to avoid the risk of similar treatment; fined and banished

¹ Hist. of Greece, vol. viii. p. 634. sqq. 672. sqq. First Ed.

Anaxagoras, and in his absence condemned him to death; banished Damon and Protagoras; persecuted Pericles, Aspasia, and Phidias; threw the latter into prison and allowed him there to languish and die; and forced Diagoras to escape by flight the result of a similar persecution with which he was menaced. Here we have some eight or ten well authenticated cases, of the best or wisest men of the age, both her own citizens and foreigners, having been slain or cruelly treated by Athens, all on the same cause or pretext, of their enlightened views and free expression of opinion. Several other less well attested cases might be added to the list.¹

Mr. Grote will not find it easy to substantiate against any other Greek republic, or against the whole body of Hellenic states united, charges of intolerance approaching in number and magnitude to those above stated.² We question whether a single such case can be discovered beyond the limits of Attica; and we repeat the remark made in the text: that one of the most honourable traits in the character of the Hellenic race, with the single exception of the Athenians, was the respect paid by them to boldness and originality of opinion and doctrine in their philosophers and public teachers. Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Zeno, taught successively at Elea, theories as sceptical, and as repugnant to the popular prejudice and superstition, as any for which

¹ Of Diogenes of Apollonia, see Diog. Laert. ix. 57. Of Prodicus, Suidas, sub v.; Schol. Plat. Republ. p. 600.

Even before the settlement of distinguished foreign teachers at Athens, the early inferior order of moral speculators, Agathocles, Pythoclides, and others, are described on high authority (Plato, *Protag.* p. 316.; *Plut. Vit. Per.* 4.), as under the necessity, for fear of the popular odium, of surreptitiously inculcating their doctrines through the medium of lessons in music and other accomplishments of which they were also professors. It seems incomprehensible how Mr. Grote, overlooking these facts, could have written the following passage: "It was the blessing and glory of Athens, that every man could speak out his sentiments and criticisms, with a freedom unparalleled in the ancient world, and hardly paralleled even in the modern." Vol. viii. p. 476. In the next page but one he describes how Damon was banished for the free expression of his opinions.

² The case of the Pythagoreans of Croto, the only one which here occurs to us, forms no real exception; that sect being, as Mr. Grote justly and ably describes it (vol. iv. pp. 542. 546.), not a harmless fraternity of speculative philosophers, but a powerful and dangerous body of political conspirators, disturbing and controlling the existing institutions of the republic.

Anaxagoras and Socrates suffered.¹ Were they "quickly arrested in their career"? All three were honoured in their native or adopted home, not only as philosophers, but as legislators or wise counsellors. Empedocles taught at Agrigentum doctrines no less strange than those of the Eleatics, and arrogated to himself, with far greater audacity than Socrates, the credit of a divinely inspired missionary and of direct intercourse with the Deity.² Yet he too was, even more highly, esteemed and admired as the most illustrious man of his age and country, not only by his Agrigentine fellow-citizens, but by the surrounding Sicilian states. We hear nothing of Anaxagoras having been in any way molested on account of his moral or political opinions in his native Ionia, either before he settled at Athens, or after he was driven by Attic intolerance to return home. On the contrary, as we learn from Aristotle³, he spent the latter part of his life so greatly revered that at his death he was honoured with a public funeral, and that his memory continued to be cherished at Lampsacus, his chosen place of residence. When the disciples of Socrates retired from Athens after the death of their master, Euclides, one of the most distinguished among them, appears to have been already settled in the neighbouring state of Megara. There, instead of being repelled as an atheist or revolutionist, he established a school, and continued to teach undisturbed during the rest of his life, the doctrines for which his master had suffered death in the city of Greece where, Mr. Grote assures us, persons who taught such doctrines were least exposed to persecution. Here too he was joined by Plato, when a refugee from Attic intolerance, and who afterwards extended his own sphere of philosophical pursuit to Cyrene, and other republics. Nowhere do we hear of Protagoras, or Prodicus, or any other member of the fraternity of "sophists," having been exposed in any Greek state but Athens, to the same indignities to which those distinguished masters were there subjected. Everywhere but in that city, even in obtuse and ascetic Sparta, they seem to have been treated with the honours due to their genius, whatever the novelty or peculiarity of the mode in which it was displayed.

Heraclitus of Ephesus is perhaps the one among early Greek philosophers whose character offers the greatest analogy, it

¹ Grote, vol. iv. p. 521. sqq., viii. p. 499. sqq.

² Grote, vol. viii. p. 465. sq.

³ Rhetor. ii. 23.

can hardly be called resemblance, to that of Socrates. Austere in his manners, careless of the refinements or even the decencies of polite society, dogmatical as a teacher and a disputant, and open-mouthed in his contempt for the political institutions of his native city, yet this man was offered the dignity of legislator by the Ephesians¹, as a tribute to his talents and integrity; and when he scornfully refused the appointment, as a disgrace rather than an honour to a man of sense or spirit, he was allowed to follow out unmolested in his own way his own eccentric line of life and doctrine.

Had Mr. Grote therefore reversed his proposition, and asserted that Athens was the only state in Greece where Socrates would have been treated as he was treated by the Athenians; and that had he been a citizen of Agrigentum, or Megara, or Ephesus, he would have been honoured as an ornament and benefactor to his country; had Mr. Grote even pronounced that all or most of the religious and political bigotry of Greece was concentrated in the Athenian democracy, and that the rest of the nation was singularly free from those defects, he would assuredly have been much nearer the truth. But we go further, and maintain, that the most enlightened men in Athens, not perhaps even excepting Socrates himself, were tainted with the spirit common to the mass; and we do so in concurrence with Mr. Grote's own opinion. We cannot indeed agree with him in all his views as to the character and influence of the Sophists; but we entirely agree with his doctrine, that the spirit in which those teachers were assailed by Plato and the other Socratics was a spirit of intolerance, different in kind no doubt, but similar in warmth and zeal, to that which led the inferior tribe of bigots to hunt to the death their illustrious fellow-citizen.

¹ Diog. Laert. in Vit. ix. 1.

APPENDIX B. (Page 117.)

ON THE IONIC DIALECT OF HERODOTUS.

RECENT commentators¹ have disputed the existence of this freedom of usage in the Ionic dialect, and have exerted themselves, especially in dealing with the text of Herodotus, to reduce his language to dialectical uniformity by discarding, on the one hand those idioms which savour of other dialects, on the other those usually considered proper to the old Ionic of the epic minstrelsy. These two classes of anomalous diction are assumed to have been indebted for their place in the historian's text, chiefly to the later transcribers, acting under two kinds of influence. Some, it is supposed, anxious to maintain the dialectical consistency of a standard Ionian writer, have introduced a number of Ionic or Homeric idioms, never actually used by Herodotus; while others, guided by the opposite tastes and habits of their own age, have substituted Attic or common Hellenic forms for the pure Ionism of the historian.

There can be little doubt that the text of Herodotus has suffered on its passage to posterity no small amount of such alteration. It is however to be feared, lest the mode in which it has been attempted to remedy the supposed mischief should prove but a substitution of one species of corruption for another. Small as may be the confidence due to the transmitted readings in individual cases, it seems yet not easy to understand, how those dialectical forms which it is now proposed to discard, could have found place in such numbers in the extant manuscripts, unless there had been some primary basis of authority for the existence of a similar, though perhaps more limited amount of variety, in the more antient editions from which those of later times are derived. Had the Alexandrian grammarians for example, found the principle of dialectical uniformity here in question prevailing in the standard manuscripts which they collated, and had it been enforced by them in their own editions, as it assuredly would have been, the later grammarians, with that deference which they were in the habit of

¹ Dindorf, *Præfat. ad Herodot.* ed. Didot, 1814; Bredovius, *Quæstt. critt. de dial. Herod.* 1844.

paying to those masters, would hardly have shown so great a contempt for their authority in the present case, as never even to have noticed the fact of their having inculcated any such doctrine.

The comparative correctness of the existing text in this particular may be vindicated on other than merely negative evidence. We are assured by some of the best antient grammarians, that the dialect of Herodotus abounded in anomalies of the same description as those which the present school of critics would discard or correct. By those antient authorities his dialect, as contrasted with what they describe as the more genuine Ionic, is characterised by the terms "varied" and "mixed;" which variety and mixture are further stated to consist largely of poetical forms.¹ In the transmitted text accordingly we find, on the one hand an admixture of Attic, and perhaps other provincial idioms, with those defined by modern grammarians as the classical Ionic; on the other hand we find an admixture of forms proper to the Homeric or poetical Ionic. If these two classes of anomaly, admitting them to be such, were now to be expunged from the historian's text, it would not be easy to understand in what the pervading "mixture" and "variety" of dialectical and poetical diction, referred to by Hermogenes and others, could have consisted.

Among the arguments by which it has been attempted to set aside the Homeric portion of those forms, it has been urged that many of them bear internal evidence of having been suggested to the poet or his fellow-minstrels by the exigencies of their metre; and that, however appropriate they may be in his verse, they are improper in the text of a prose writer, who was under no such obligation to alter the customary forms of language. This argument might supply those who attach weight to it with a fair ground of censure against Herodotus, or any other prose writer who had been guilty of the imputed impropriety; but it can furnish no evidence of his having abstained from that impropriety, sufficient to counterbalance the testimony of respectable antient authors to the opposite effect. But in truth, the doctrine which would limit the influence of such metrical considerations solely to poetical writers, is one which, whatever force it might

¹ Hermog. de form. Orat. ii. apud Walz. Rhett. Gr. vol. iii. p. 399. Compare this and similar passages of other grammarians (ap. Walz. loc. cit.; Bredov. p. 6.), where the peculiarity here in question is stated and illustrated.

have in a question relative to other tongues, is little if at all applicable to the antient Greek. For it is certain that, even in prose composition, the delicate ear of the Hellenes was susceptible to the nicer modifications of metrical cadence, in a degree which finds no parallel in the polite modern languages. It was the less to be expected that Herodotus, whose work exhibits him in so many other characteristics of his genius, what he has been emphatically styled by a distinguished antient critic, — the most Homeric of Greek prose authors, should have denied himself a privilege conceded by the courtesy of his age to every great master of the art of composition, that of seasoning his own streams of eloquence from the native common fountain head of harmonious phraseology.¹

Even were the alterations of the transmitted text, proposed by recent commentators, to be carried into effect, there can be little doubt that the result of their efforts to enforce their standard of dialectical propriety, would be but to introduce into the editions other incongruities as palpable as those which it is their object to remedy. One or two examples will suffice among numbers that might be adduced.²

The readings of the manuscripts are nearly equally divided between the Homeric form of the verb *βοηθείην*, and the later contracted form *βωθείην*. Dindorf³ every where rejects the former and retains or substitutes the latter; on what ground is not

¹ Dindorf, (p. xi. xxv. alibi), goes the length of specially excluding the influence of such considerations of euphony or rhythm in the dialect of Herodotus. Our own study of his text has led us to the opposite conclusion; that both the historian, and the people whose dialect he preferred to his native Doric, were peculiarly alive to such considerations in prose as well as in poetry. No one who has read and appreciated the passages of standard antient critics bearing on this point will readily subscribe to Dindorf's opinion. Those passages abundantly show the advantage which Herodotus must have derived from that use of duplicate forms to which he so freely resorts, in the modulation of his rich and varied flow of harmonious language. Conf. Aristot. Rhet. III. 8. Ed. Tauchn.; Dionys. Hal. De Comp. Verb. § sqq. 11. 15. 17. 18. 25.; Cicer. De Or. III. 47, sq.; Orat. 57. sqq.; Quintil. Inst. Or. IX. 4.

² Our remarks on this new doctrine or system of Herodotean criticism, have here been limited chiefly to Dindorf's commentary on the dialect of Herodotus prefixed to the text of Didot's edition; which affords the clearest and concisest summary of the views advocated by its author. The reader may also consult Bredow, op. cit.

³ p. viii.

stated. Yet in the substantive *βοηθός* he prefers the uncontracted form (in deference to the same manuscripts the authority of which had just before been set aside), "because it is possible the noun may have been formed differently from the verb." On another occasion a preference is given, on the ground of a concurrence in the readings, to the Homeric form of the substantive *νοῦσος* over the common Hellenic form *νόσος*.¹ But the manuscripts are singularly unanimous, on the other hand, in favour of the verbal form *νοσέω* in preference to *νουσέω*. One might have thought that, on the same plea to which importance had just been attached, of a possible difference in form between verb and substantive, the unanimity of the readings would have secured for *νοσέω* as good a claim to a place in the modern editor's text, as in the previous case of *βωθίω* and *βοηθός*. But on the contrary *νοσέω* is every where rejected and *νουσέω* preferred.

If the commentators of this school are not always consistent with themselves, it were the less to be expected that they should be in harmony with each other. Professor Bredow of Berlin, who has devoted an octavo volume of four hundred pages to the promulgation of his views, lays it down as a fundamental rule at the outset², that Herodotus "never uses the same word in different dialectical forms." Yet in treating of the verb *βοηθίω* he remarks³, that this was one of those cases where Herodotus must be assumed sometimes to have used the contracted, sometimes the uncontracted form, as suited his convenience. By a similar violation of his own law, he admits the verb *νοίω*, on the same ground of equally divided varieties of reading, to have been sometimes conjugated by the historian in the contracted form *νῶσαι*; sometimes in the uncontracted form *νοῆσαι*. Dindorf on the other hand every where discards the uncontracted form of this verb, and substitutes the contracted one in the text; yet on other occasions, without any better evidence in favour of such an indulgence, he too concedes to Herodotus the use of such duplicate forms. It is not easy to understand why it should be improper in the historian to write both *νῶσαι* and *νοῆσαι*⁴, when he is freely allowed by the same critic to write both *έμέο* and *έμεῦ*, *σέο* and *σεῦ*, &c.⁵ *καλέονσι* and *καλεῦσι*.⁶

¹ p. XL. ² p. 6. ³ p. 196. ⁴ p. VIII. XL. ⁵ p. XIX.

⁶ p. XXIX. This passage amounts to a virtual abandonment or contradiction of Dindorf's general argument; conceding as it does in the

Nor does it appear by what rule of distinction, throughout Dindorf's dissertation, epic precedent, according it would seem to the humour in which the critic may happen to be, is at one time adduced as an argument in favour of readings; at other times as an argument against them. Thus βασιλῆιος and πατρῷος¹ and Αἰνιῆνες² on the ground of their being Homeric forms, are preferred to βασιλείος and πατρός and Αἰνιάνες; but βορέω and ἀναίρειο, and other forms, are rejected as being in harmony with the same Homeric usage, and βορέω and ἀναιρέω &c.³ are approved, even where the MSS. are unanimous in favour of the condemned forms. How such specimens of cacophony as κομῖσαι or χαρίεσαι⁴ could be preferred by even the most determined advocate for Ionic uniformity, we find it difficult to comprehend.

In conclusion it must be repeated, that in these remarks it is by no means intended to uphold the genuine character of that copious variety of idioms which appears to be authorised by the existing codices of the historian's work. All that is here contended is, that both probability and antient authority justify the assumption, that such variety reflects at least a greater or less amount of similar variety in the original text. It were vain now to expect that any exact distinction will ever be drawn between that portion of the whole number of miscellaneous forms which belong to the genuine source, and those which proceed from later corruption. But the only approximation to such a result is to be sought in the old legitimate method, — the selection and preference of the form or forms chiefly authorised by the manuscripts or by valid antient authority. For these data no modern editor is entitled to substitute his own conjectural emendations, as has been done to so great an extent by recent editors of Herodotus. And whatever corruptions remain, after that more legitimate process has been carried into effect will, there can be little doubt, leave the text a more genuine representative of the historian's original composition, than could result from the enforcement of any hypothetical law of consistency.

widest sense, not only to Herodotus but to Ionian authors generally, the privilege of writing the same words at different times in different forms.

¹ p. ix. x. ² p. vii. ³ p. xi. xxvi ⁴ p. xxv. sq.

APPENDIX C. (Page 145.)

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF HECATÆUS.

THE accompanying map has been framed, with some modification, upon that appended by Klausen to his edition of the fragments. The names of localities conjecturally assumed by Klausen to have been borrowed by later authorities from this geographer, but without special mention of his name, have, as a general rule, been omitted; as have also those derived from the fragments of his Genealogies: the object here in view being simply to restore, in as far as possible, his geographical work. Some few names on the other hand, derived from that work, but which have been omitted in Klausen's map, have been supplied in our own.

Many of the names in the list are unnoticed by any other antient geographer. Some of these may have become obsolete, or may represent places which themselves became insignificant or extinct after the time of Hecatæus. Other unidentified sites or names belong chiefly to remote regions, or to the interior of less explored continents. These may have been inserted on hearsay; and possibly so corrupted from the genuine native orthography, as not to be recognisable by those who afterwards extended their researches into the same countries.

The closer analysis to which, in preparing this map, we have had occasion to subject the antiquated system of geography which it represents, has the more convinced us of the fallacy of the doctrine (to be further noticed in the next Appendix), that the work in which that system was embodied was supposititious.

APPENDIX D. (Page 150.)

ON THE PERIODUS OF HECATÆUS.

C. MÜLLER, the most recent editor of Hecatæus, has an elaborate argument, to prove that both Callimachus and Eratosthenes, like

¹ In Fragg. p. xii. sqq.

the two knights who quarrelled about the colour of the black and white shield, are more or less right in their views. He supposes, either that there were two works current in those days under the title of "Periodus of Hecataeus," the one genuine the other spurious; the copy of Callimachus being spurious that of Eratosthenes genuine: or that a single work existed, partly composed of genuine Hecataean matter, partly of garbled extracts from other writers, which work Callimachus had read with sufficient care to enable him to detect the fraud; while Eratosthenes, who had merely looked into it here and there, happening only to light on the genuine passages, had found no cause of suspicion. The only tangible foundation on which this curious theory appears to rest is the occurrence, out of some 380 quotations from Hecataeus, of one or two in which, either owing to a blunder of the quoter or to a corruption of his text, the names of Hecataeus and Herodotus have been confounded with each other.

The details of Müller's argument are no less defective than its substance. In the well-known text of Porphyry, where Herodotus is charged with piracy from Hecataeus, the expression *βραχέα παραποιήσας* (slightly varying) has been interpreted to denote that Herodotus "had given an abridgement" of the borrowed passages (in brevius contraxisse); and one of the points of Müller's argument is made to rest on this misunderstanding.

Few critical readers will, it is hoped, be disposed to admit that the most accomplished and painstaking scholar of the Alexandrian museum, as Eratosthenes certainly was, could, in the exercise of his functions as chief librarian of that establishment, have been involved in so strange a game of cross-purposes with his predecessor in office, in regard to a standard national classic.

That a copious geographical vocabulary, (for the Periodus appears to have been little more,) of great antiquity and celebrity would, on its passage to posterity be liable to interpolations, may readily be granted. But the internal evidence of the great mass of the existing remains, appears conclusive in favour of the substantially genuine character of the work to which they belonged.

APPENDIX E. (Page 176.)

ON THE LYDIACA OF XANTHUS.

WELCKER and C. Müller, in their works above indicated, have preferred the single authority of this obscure Artemon, to the preponderance of better evidence cited in the text. The dilemma in which their elaborate argument in support of his view is involved at the outset, goes far to confute it. As so many quotations of Xanthus are by authors of good credit who flourished after Scytobrachion, and contain notices of more or less importance, both critics have been constrained to admit the genuine character of those extracts. The question then naturally arises: How could the original text of Xanthus be quoted from Scytobrachion's supposititious work? Two modes of evading this difficulty have been proposed. The one assumes those passages to have been borrowed at second hand from the text of earlier writers, Eratosthenes for example, who had access to the genuine *Lydiaca*. The other supposes the spurious compilation to have been made up in part of the genuine work, portions of which may thus have found their way into the pages of later authors. We shall not attempt to examine in detail theories so purely conjectural. But what can be more improbable than that a book so highly prized during the flourishing age of Greek literature, as the standard authority on its own subject, should have been so completely lost or overlooked in the interval between Eratosthenes and Scytobrachion (194—150 B. C.¹), as to have afforded room to the latter for such an exercise of his talents in book-forgery? That interval belonged to a period during which the greatest pains were bestowed by Greek, especially Alexandrian men of letters, on the collection and preservation of such works as the *Lydiaca*; and it seems incredible that, precisely at such a time, so precious a volume should have been discarded from the Alexandrian library, or exposed to be corrupted or superseded in the mode imagined by Welcker.

One principal argument of those favourable to Artemon's

¹ C. Müller, *Fragm. Histt.* vol. II. p. 6.

doctrine appears to rest on the assumption that every preserved passage of any lost work on the early history of Lydia, unless clearly referable to some other writer, is certainly or probably an extract from the supposed spurious Xanthus. In this way the well-attested remains of the real Xanthus have been mixed up by modern editors with a mass, several times their own bulk, of unauthenticated matter. Such are more especially the long extracts from Nicolaus Damascenus¹, all of which have been assumed to be derived from "Xanthus," rather than from other writers of Lydian history. Yet in more than one instance, in that for example of King Cambles² and his gluttony, the account given by Nicolaus differed from that given by Xanthus as quoted by Athenæus. The other story of the Mysian woman in frag. 8., supposed both by Welcker and Müller to be an extract from Xanthus, is to be found (a fact of which neither critic seems to have been aware) in Herodotus, from whom it has been borrowed by Nicolaus in its entire substance, with the alteration of a name or two, such as Mysian for Pæonian, and Alyattes for Darius, to impart to it a certain air of novelty. Conclusive proof that Xanthus is not in this instance Nicolaus's authority exists in the fact that the Mysians are here called Thracians, according to the ordinary opinion; whereas Strabo³, in an authentic citation of the genuine Xanthus, mentions as one of the peculiarities of his geographical system, that he made the Mysians a colony not of Thracians but of Lydians.

An argument from internal evidence has also been raised, even against the better-authenticated fragments, on the plan too popular in the modern schools, of judging antient authors in any given department by some conventional standard of uniformity, and stigmatising such passages as reflect peculiarity of individual character as corruptions or interpolations. That connexion

¹ Müller, *Frag. Histt.* vol. i. p. 40., vol. iii. p. 370.

² Called Camblitas by Nicolaus, ap. Müller, *Fragg. Histt. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 372., frag. 28. Müller (ad loc.) here complicates the dilemma in which his theory involves him, by assuming that, while Nicolaus quotes, from Scytobrachion's Xanthus, Athenæus, who flourished 200 years later derives his account from the genuine Xanthus; the same Athenæus who, in his other passage concerning Artemon, plainly shows that he knew no other Xanthus than Scytobrachion's supposed forgery.

³ xii. p. 572.: conf. frag. 8.

for example between Lydian and Syrian legend, which has been recognised in our own text as illustrating the Asiatic associations of Xanthus, has been stigmatized by Welcker as the learned affectation of an Alexandrian sophist. With better reason might it be maintained, that few things were less likely than such a system of Lydo-Phœnician mythology to have suggested themselves in any such quarter in a similar case. The Alexandrian mode of counterfeiting a Lydian author would rather have been to deck him out with exclusively Lydian habiliments. It happens moreover that one of the passages most broadly marked by this supposed learned subtlety, that relative to Ascalon and the Phœnician fish-goddess, is cited by Mnaseas, a disciple of Eratosthenes, who flourished in all probability about or before the time when Scytobrachion its supposed Alexandrian forger was born.¹

We find in the collective fragments, no passage actually quoted by any trustworthy author from the *Lydiaca* of Xanthus, but what might have emanated from a writer of his age and character²; and assuredly nothing can be more unfair than to judge the authenticity of a work, genuine extracts from which are admitted to occur in Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, by forcing on it passages which cannot be proved ever to have belonged to it. Welcker's theory, we must add, that the genuine work of Xanthus was embodied in its integrity in the supposed compilation of Scytobrachion, seems in itself quite inadmissible. The forgery of lost works, of which tradition was extant as having been written by authors of antient celebrity, was common in those days as in other times. But that a writer who, like Scytobrachion, was qualified to earn fame and popularity by his own original compositions, should have occupied himself in smothering the text of a genuine work still current under the name of its author,

¹ Mnaseas cannot reasonably be supposed to have survived his master, who died aged eighty about 194 B.C., more than forty years. His own death therefore would have taken place about 154 B.C.; and his flourishing epoch may be dated about 180 B.C.; or eighty years before the death of Scytobrachion, which Suetonius (ap. Welck. op. cit. p. 436.) places about 100 B.C.

² In the citation (frg. 27.) by Clem. Alexandr. relative to Terpander, (not Lesches and Arctinus, or Thasos, as supposed by Welcker), the Olympic date, admitting the citation itself to be genuine, may as in other similar cases be placed to account of the quoter, not of the original author.

with a mass of spurious materials several times its own bulk, is something unheard of in the annals of book-forgery.

APPENDIX F. (Page 209.)

ON A PASSAGE OF ION OF CHIOS.

THE genuine character of this passage has been called in question¹; first on the ground of its betraying an ignorance of the history of Ion's time, of which Ion himself could not have been guilty; secondly on account of the expression "was" applied by its author to Sophocles; which expression it is urged must allude to a person not then alive; nor could it therefore have been so used by Ion, whom Sophocles survived many years.

The first, or historical argument, the object of which is to prove that Sophocles never was at Chios under the circumstances supposed in the fragment, is more subtle than conclusive. The objection on account of the expression "was," is also oversubtle. The use of the past tense, not only in speaking of deceased persons, but in allusion to a former intercourse of the speaker with persons still alive, from whom he had either been long separated or who were resident at a great distance, is a common idiom in many languages. A classical example occurs in a fine passage of Dante, his account of his interview with Cavalcante Cavalcanti in the *Inferno*, where the latter asks him (x. 60.):

"Mio figlio ov' è, e perchè non è teco?
Ed io a lui: Da me stesso non vegno;
Colui, ch' attende là, per qui mi mena,
Forse cui Guido vostro ebbe a disdegno . .
Di subito drizzato gridò: Come
Dicesti: Egli ebbe? non viv' egli ancora?
Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce lume?"

But apart from this, the only evidence on which it has been assumed that Ion died in 420 B. C., the passage of the Peace of Aristophanes concerning the "Morning Star," is hardly in itself conclusive, as has been remarked in the text above; and if he survived that year, he may very possibly have survived both

¹ F. Ritter, in *Rhein. Mus.* 1843, p. 180. sqq.

Sophocles and Euripides. There exists accordingly, in the *Anthologia*, an epigram "by Ion" on the death of Euripides. This composition has been condemned as spurious by Bentley¹ on the supposed authority of the same passage of the *Peace*. But those who question the correctness of the received interpretation of that passage, might be entitled in their turn to adduce the epigram in further support of their opinion.

APPENDIX G. (Page 247.)

ON THE AGE OF HERODOTUS—THE REVOLT OF THE MEDES— AND AMYRTÆUS.

1. IN one of these passages² Herodotus, after describing how the divine wrath had pursued, during a former generation, a family of Spartan citizens, remarks: that "it again broke out a long time afterwards, during the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians." Neither according to the idiom of the Greek, nor of any other polite European language, could an author have expressed himself, as some commentators have supposed, in this vaguely "aorist" or historical tone³, regarding a war raging around him at the moment when he was writing. He would undoubtedly have said: "during the present war," or "during the war now carrying on." The language here used can only apply to a war already gone and past, and itself become matter of history.

The same, or even stronger, is the argument from a similar expression in IX. 78. In this passage, after describing the friendly feeling which the Spartans, in consequence of certain old mythical associations, had, ever since the time of Theseus, cherished towards the Attic township of Decalea, Herodotus remarks: that on this account, "in the war waged many years after those events between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedæmonians, when ravaging the Attic territory, spared the demus of Decalea." Here again, it is incredible that the historian can be speaking of a war in full progress at the moment when he wrote the passage.

¹ Epist. ad Mill. p. 497. ed. Lips.

² VII. 137.

³ This tone is even more remarkable in § 138. initio.

A like inference may be drawn, though perhaps less directly, from the passage of VII. 233, relative to Eurymachus, slain in command of the Boeotian force which occupied Plataea in 431 B. C.

Let us imagine a case nearer to our own time; that of an author writing, during the latter half of the last century, a history of the rebellion of 1745. Let us suppose him, in alluding to one of the Scotch noblemen attainted on that occasion, to have expressed himself as follows: "A son of this unfortunate chieftain greatly distinguished himself, in the war waged many years afterwards between Britain and her American colonies." Had a question arisen as to the precise date at which this work was composed, would any intelligent person ever have thought of arguing from the above passage that it was written during the American war? Would the terms employed not rather be held to prove that it was written at a time when the American war was itself a historically consummated event?

It does not indeed follow that those passages of Herodotus were written after the close of what we are now in the habit of calling "the Peloponnesian war." They may have been composed after the treaty of Nicias, in 421, which terminated what Thucydides¹ calls the First war (others the Archidamian war²) comprising the first ten years of the whole contest; and during the ensuing period of ostensible peace, or "respite" as Thucydides calls it, which was brought to a close by the siege of Syracuse. But it is also quite possible, or even more probable, that they were written at the close of the whole war.

Had Mr. Rawlinson duly considered the import of these texts, he would hardly, we think, have hazarded the opinion³, that "there is no passage in the historian's writings, of which we can say that it must certainly have been written later than 430 B.C.," or within about a year and a half after the outbreak of the war. It would indeed be difficult to see how Herodotus, writing in 430, could have spoken at all of those events as occurring "during the war," &c.; all that had yet taken place being an abortive outrage by a body of Thebans on a neighbouring city, and one or two equally abortive incursions of the Lacedæmonians on the Athenian territory, with reprisals on the hostile coasts by the Athenians. A few such isolated acts of aggression, occurring in the course

¹ v. 20.

² See vol. v. p. 119.

³ Herodot. vol. I. p. 32., II. p. 409.

of a year or little more, without any regular battle either by sea or land, could never have been magnified by a historian writing at the time of their occurrence, into: "*the war, waged many years afterwards, between the Peloponnesians and Athenians.*" The same commentator, who seems anxious to throw back to the utmost the age of Herodotus, has placed his death shortly after 429 B. C., or at latest about 425. In following out this view he doubts¹ whether the passage in which Herodotus alludes to the *γενεά* or "generation" of Artaxerxes, who died in 424, was written, as we believe every other commentator has assumed, after the death of that monarch. On this scepticism it may suffice to remark: that we question whether any correct Greek writer, especially one so precise as Herodotus in his use of such definitions, could speak of a man's *γενεά* or life-time, as a measure of time, unless that man's life was already closed. In his allusion therefore to the three *γενεαί* of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, we consider it quite as certain that Herodotus understood Artaxerxes, as that he understood Darius and Xerxes, to be already dead.

2. In the former of the passages quoted in the text², Herodotus mentions a revolt of the Medes from Darius, and a battle, in which they were defeated and again brought under subjection. These notices have usually been understood to refer to the Median insurrection which took place in 408 B. C., under Darius Nothus the second king of the name.³ It has however very reasonably been objected to this view⁴, that in a narrative in which the first Darius son of Hystaspes alone appears as a contemporary actor, and in every other part of which the name Darius, when introduced without any other distinctive title, is exclusively appropriated to him,—Herodotus was not likely, in one single instance, to have applied that name in the same indefinite manner, to a sovereign who flourished sixty years later, and whose reign lay beyond the limits of the historian's subject. It has accordingly been suggested as more likely, that the Median revolt here in question was that described in the Behistun inscription, as forming part of the general insurrection of the provinces of the Persian empire against Darius Hystaspes, during the five or six years after his accession to the throne.

¹ vol. i. pp. 2. 33.

² i. 130.

³ Xenoph. Hell. i. ii.

⁴ Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. iv. p. 303. sqq.: conf. Krüger, Leb. des Thuk. p. 26.; Rawlinson ad Herod. i. 130.

There is certainly some awkwardness in the first interpretation of the passage. But the other explanation involves at least equal difficulty. It has been shown in a previous part of this volume¹ that Herodotus, throughout his otherwise detailed account of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, manifests an entire ignorance of those prolonged and extensive civil wars, by which the first part of that reign was agitated. It is not therefore easy to understand how, in the earlier part of his narrative, he should have been incidentally inspired with a knowledge of events, of which he knows nothing in the part of his work devoted to the more advanced period in which they occurred.

Nor, even assuming those events to have been known to him, would that alternative supply a satisfactory interpretation of the incidental passage here in question. Herodotus, in the context to which that passage belongs, had described the subjugation of the Medes by the Persians; taxing them, in the words of Astyages, and in his own, with being obsequious slaves of their conquerors. He then goes on to say: that "at a later period they repented of their servility, and revolted from Darius, but were defeated in battle, and again reduced to subjection." What is here said seems, in connexion with what went before, obviously to apply to some special effort of the Medes, in their individual capacity, to emancipate themselves from the yoke of the dominant Persian race, not to a mere participation by them in a general revolt of the empire (as described in the Behistun inscription) against a particular king; and in which revolt the Persians themselves were among the ringleaders. The spirit of rebellion against Darius is represented in the inscription, as less inveterate on the part of the Medes than on that of the Susians, the Persians, the Babylonians, or the Armenians. The three former of these provinces, after being once subdued, rebelled a second time; the Susians it would seem a third time; while the Armenians fought a much harder battle than the Medes. The Median revolt is indeed described as but half a revolt, being confined to the Median troops stationed in their native province; while the rest, apparently a large portion of the king's army, remained true to him, and were employed by him against the rebels.

It is therefore certain that the terms of this incidental passage, but for the vague mode in which the name Darius is there intro-

¹ p. 340. sqq.

duced, are in better keeping with the separate effort of the Medes to shake off the Persian yoke in the time of Darius Nothus, than with their participation in the general revolt against Darius Hystaspes. The question then resolves itself into these two alternatives: whether is it less likely, I. that Herodotus should on this one occasion have carelessly applied the name Darius to the second Darius of his own day; or II. that he should, in a casual remark thrown out in the early part of his work, have shown a knowledge of events, of which he appears quite ignorant in treating of the period at which the events occurred; and should also have shaped his casual allusion to them, in terms which very incorrectly describe them.

The second text¹ appealed to as evidence of the late period down to which the historian continued to write, is that where he mentions the death of the Egyptian king Amyrtæus, the same to all appearance who wrested the government of Egypt from the Persians in 414 B.C. and, after a reign of six years as first king of Manetho's 28th dynasty², died in the same year 408 B.C. in which took place the insurrection of the Medes against Darius Nothus. This date has also been called in question; feebly by Wesseling and other old commentators, more vigorously of late by several writers, among others by Mr. Grote³, who disputes the fact of the Amyrtæus whose death is mentioned by Herodotus being the Amyrtæus of Manetho. The Amyrtæus of Herodotus he argues, is described by that historian as having been in active revolt against the Persians as early as the year 462 B.C.; and cannot consequently, with any reasonable probability, be supposed to be the same Amyrtæus who died king of Egypt fifty years afterwards. To this argument, in itself, no great weight need attach; as tending equally to prove that the George the Third who succeeded to the throne of England in 1760, could not be the same George who died in 1820; or that the Louis who became king of France in 1715 was not the same Louis who died in 1774. We have no difficulty therefore in believing that a patriot Egyptian prince, who had gallantly but vainly fought for the national independence in early youth, say at the age of 25, might forty-

¹ III. 15., conf. II. 140.; Thuc. I. 110. 112.

² Clinton, F. H., vol. II. pp. 46. 79. 816.; Dahlmann, Herodot. §8. p. 45. Bunsen, Egyptens Stelle in d. Weltgesch. Book III. p. 150.

³ Hist. of Greece, vol. IV. p. 306.

eight years afterwards, as the result of a more successful struggle¹, have been hailed as monarch by his fellow-countrymen at the age of seventy-three, and have lived and reigned to the age of seventy-nine. The fact of his having reigned but six years may indeed be considered as an argument that he mounted the throne at an advanced period of life. We find nothing so improbable in this as to render it necessary to adopt the expedient proposed by Mr. Grote, of assuming two Amyrtæi, one for Herodotus another for Manetho. That Herodotus was conscious of no such improbability, is clear from one of the passages, (ii. 140, conf. 137 sq.), in which he mentions Amyrtæus. He there describes another earlier Egyptian king, Anysis, as having, in the same way as Amyrtæus, been driven by a foreign invader into the fens; as having remained there fifty years in concealment, and as having at the end of that period reobtained and kept possession of the throne. It is difficult to escape the inference, from the pointed manner in which the analogy between the two cases is drawn by Herodotus, that, though not distinctly so stated, it is meant to extend, in each, to the duration as well as the cause of the exile. Of the supposed duplicate Amyrtæus there is no trace in any author treating of this period. Had there been two, the absence of all such notice were the less to be expected that each would certainly have been, in his own sphere of influence, a very remarkable personage. For Herodotus tells us that no man ever inflicted greater evils on the Persians than his Amyrtæus; while the Amyrtæus of Manetho wrested from the same Persians the sceptre of Egypt, which they had wielded for upwards of a century. Nor indeed does the strong language used by Herodotus to characterise the anti-Persian influence of his Amyrtæus, seem to be fully borne out by his performances in the first part of his career, in so far as recorded; though quite appropriate in its application to the long-continued and finally successful struggle of the hardy old veteran against the alien dynasty.

Herodotus in the same passage² describes Pausiris, son of Amyrtæus, as having received from the Persian monarch the sovereignty of his father, according to the usual Persian policy

¹ That the struggle was renewed whenever opportunity offered during the interval, appears from Thucydides, i. 112.

² III. 15.

of allowing the sons of rebellious vassals to retain their paternal dominions, where they willingly gave in their allegiance to the supreme government. This may account for the circumstance that with Manetho, the native Egyptian annalist, the dynasty of Amyrtæus the Saite ends with himself. Manetho would naturally exclude from his list of independent Egyptian sovereigns one who had placed himself in the position of a mere satrap of the Persian emperor. Accordingly, setting Pausiris aside altogether, he begins a new dynasty, the 29th, with another, Mendesian, king. This passage of Herodotus affords also a further argument that the Amyrtæus of Manetho and of Herodotus are the same. For it does not appear that the government of Egypt was ever given by the Persians to an Egyptian vassal king during the previous period.¹

Mr. Grote further argues, with some plausibility, that had Herodotus continued to live and write his history as late as has here been supposed, he would hardly, in alluding to the Greek national disasters assumed by him to have been portended by the earthquake at Delos in 490 B.C., have restricted them to those which occurred in the reigns of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, 521—424 B.C., to the exclusion consequently of the great Athenian catastrophe before Syracuse, which occurred in 413 B.C. This argument might have some weight in the case of ordinary writers of history, but has none in the particular case of Herodotus. In that spirit of methodical subtlety, which he every where exhibits in the adjustment of his theory of divine dispensation, as fully illustrated in Chapter VI. of our own text, three generations of calamity would abundantly suffice for one prodigy. The disasters of Syracuse or of Ægospotamoi would possess claims to some special portent for their own behoof. As a parallel case may be adduced the pains he takes to assure us, that the destruction of

¹ Mr. Rawlinson's theory (Note to Herodot. iii. 15.), that Eusebius (or rather Africanus), in quoting Manetho, has by mistake dated the six years' reign of Amyrtæus some forty-eight years out of its place,—in 414—408 instead of 462—456 B.C., and that Pausiris may have been raised to the viceroyalty by the Persians during the life of his deposed parent, is not fortunate. A more dangerous policy can hardly be conceived, than thus putting it in the power of a son to play into the hands of an enterprising father, in promoting what could hardly fail to be a common object with both,—the restoration of their family to the independent possession of their rightful throne.

Athens and devastation of Attica by Xerxes, were not judgements on the Athenians for their murder of the Persian ambassadors, but for some other impiety which he has not thought fit to mention.

The somewhat similar argument of Mr. Rawlinson (Herod. vol. i. p. 38.), and other commentators, that had Herodotus survived the siege of Syracuse, he could not have spoken, vii. 170, of a certain slaughter of Tarentines and Rhegians by the Iapygians as the greatest that ever befell the Greeks,—is fallacious; being in fact what logicians call a *petitio principii*. It assumes as beyond question, that the actual destruction of life during the Athenian retreat, for Herodotus is here speaking of a single action or adventure, was greater than that suffered by the Tarentines and Rhegians in the battle to which he refers. Herodotus does not distinctly specify the number slain in that battle, except in the case of the Rhegian auxiliaries, (evidently but a small part of the whole Tarentine army)¹; and which he rates at 3000 men. Assuming the loss of the Tarentines proper, which he describes, hyperbolically, as “beyond calculation,”² to have been but 7000³, we have a sum total of 10,000. But no careful reader of Thucydides will gather from his description, that the actual loss of life during the retreat of Nicias and Demosthenes, was rated by him at anything like that amount. The statement with which he closes his narrative⁴, that “the

¹ As Rhegium was nearly 200 miles from the scene of action, and separated from it by other independent states, the transport thither, by sea or land, of a much larger body of troops than those slain, is not very probable. Diodorus (xi. 52.) rates the Iapygian army in this action at 20,000.

² So we understand the phrase: *ὅτε ἐπὶν ἀριθμός*, conf. vii. 191.

³ This may be considered a moderate estimate. The historians of the Italiote states everywhere represent the armies brought into the field by those wealthy and densely peopled communities, as far greater than any of which we read in Greece proper. Strabo, an author not given to exaggerate, informs us (p. 261.: conf. not. Casaub.) that in the battle of the Sagra, so celebrated on account of the inferiority of numbers on the victorious side, 10,000 Locrians, with a force of Rhegian allies, number not mentioned, defeated 130,000 Crotoniates with such slaughter as to cause the decline of the state of Croto. The same author (p. 263. A.) describes the Sybarites as bringing 300,000 men into the field, in their last unfortunate struggle with the Crotoniates. Diodorus (xii. 9.) on this occasion rates the Sybarites at the same number, the Crotoniates at 100,000; and adds, that as the Crotoniates gave no quarter the destruction of life on the other side was immense. That these numbers are greatly exaggerated there can be no doubt: but such exaggerations must at least be raised on a broad basis of reality.

⁴ vii. 85.

slaughter on this occasion was greater, or certainly not less than that suffered in any previous action of the Sicilian war,"—is in itself conclusive. For assuredly in no other battle, either by sea or land, of the Syracusan campaigns, could the loss of life have much exceeded 5000 or 6000, between the two sides. All the details of his account are in harmony with this general estimate. The Syracusan catastrophe was not a bloody battle, or even series of battles. The retreat was attended doubtless with much loss of life, as well as cruel suffering. But Thucydides nowhere mentions any large mass of slain on any particular occasion. He speaks more of the sufferings of the wounded, from the harassing attacks of the Syracusan light troops, than of the numbers killed. In regard to the division of Demosthenes, he expressly describes the Syracusans as not only abstaining from risking their own safety in close combat with already conquered enemies, but as purposely sparing their lives for the present, in the certainty of having both their persons and their lives ultimately at their own disposal.¹ It seems clear that during the whole retreat, especially during the night, the unarmed portion of the mass were making their escape, doubtless with connivance of their pursuers. The 6000 of this division who ultimately surrendered, evidently comprised merely the fighting men of it who remained true to their colours, after several contingents had, by express invitation of the Syracusans, gone over to the latter; and these deserters would be accompanied no doubt by large numbers of the unarmed body, sailors, slaves, and other camp-followers, who would take the opportunity of the same invitation to make their escape. With regard to the division of Nicias, Thucydides still more plainly intimates, that besides those who surrendered, although "a good many were killed," partly in the final rout of the division, partly on the previous march, much the greater portion got off in one mode or other, and in such numbers that "all Sicily was filled with them."

There is in truth no such analogy between the desultory casualties of a six or seven days' disastrous retreat, and the condensed slaughter of a single murderous battle, as could reasonably have suggested to Herodotus the supposed comparison between the two cases. But had he ever thought of instituting the comparison, it is also clear that it could not have led to any such results as have been assumed.

¹ VII. 81.

Mr. Grote's objections¹ to the view here preferred rest on the general ground, that "the supposed mention by Herodotus of a fact so late as 408 B.C. perplexes the whole chronology of his life and authorship." "According to the usual statement of his biography, which there is no reason to call in question, he was born in 484 B.C. Here there is an event alluded to in his history, which occurred when he was seventy-six years old." That Herodotus should have continued to write his history down to an advanced stage of his life, were nothing improbable in itself; and many of the best and most critical of his commentators have, in fact, been led by the internal evidence of his own text to the opinion (in which we do not concur), that the whole work was composed in the old age of the author. But what Mr. Grote describes as the usual statement, of his biography, which there is no reason to call in question, amounts to little more we apprehend than the statement of Pamphila, to whose authority no intrinsic value attaches.² Her statement is shown to be false in the case of Hellanicus by an extant quotation from his works, and admitted to be so by Mr. Grote himself in a note to p. 617. of his sixth volume. We need have very little scruple therefore in discarding her testimony, if necessary, in the case of Herodotus.

Another argument of the late period at which Herodotus died, is the circumstance, that the unanimous judgement of the ancient critics of every period, and of Pamphila³ in particular, made him junior to Hellanicus. The latter historian therefore being ascertained on his own evidence to have been engaged in writing after 406 B.C., it follows, unless we altogether reject ancient testimony on the subject, that Herodotus must have outlived the year 408 B.C.

¹ Vol. iv. p. 305.

² Supra, p. 218. note 6.

³ We scarcely see how Mr. Rawlinson reconciles his deference to the authority of this compiler, and his vindication (vol. i. p. 3.) of her credit against our estimate of it, with his admission (p. 48.) that Hellanicus survived 406 B.C.; a fact which shows her to be wrong, in the only case connected with this question where we have means of distinctly testing her accuracy.

APPENDIX H. (Page 267.)

ON THE OLYMPIC LECTURE OF HERODOTUS.

THE principal objections to the credibility of Lucian's legend have been forcibly stated by Dahlmann; and some of the points on which he dwells are substantially those to which prominence has been given in the text above. But while there is this similarity in the object, there is some difference in the method of the two arguments. Our able predecessor appears to have weakened his case, by too great a deference to other traditions concerning Herodotus possessing little better claim to authenticity than that of the Olympic lecture. He adopts for example implicitly, with Larcher and other commentators of the old school, the precise dates assigned by Pamphila to the nativities of Herodotus and Thucydides. He also acquiesces in the view of those commentators, as to an original connexion between the Olympic legend of Herodotus as a lecturer, and that of Thucydides as a listener; which two assumptions involve a third, that the lecture, if it took place at all, must have taken place, as Larcher had laid down, in 456 B. C.; in the 28th year of the historian's age, and in the 16th of that of Thucydides. Accordingly, against these combined hypotheses and the chronological improbabilities which they involve, the whole strength of Dahlmann's argument has been directed. Lucian however betrays no knowledge of the share in the Olympic lecture assigned by the Byzantine writers to Thucydides; the later origin of which legend may, on grounds stated in our own text, safely be assumed. Nor is there any reason to believe that Lucian's opinion as to the relative chronology of the two historians, assuming him to have had any opinion on the subject, coincided with that of Pamphila. Dahlmann's chronological arguments therefore, however valid against Larcher, are of no force against Lucian, nor consequently against those adherents of Lucian¹ who place a less implicit reliance than Dahlmann on Pamphila's dates. These defects of Dahlmann's method may be illustrated by his argument on the passage of Herodotus relative to the skulls on the battle-field of Papremis. That passage, he observes², proves that the historian's visit to Egypt did not take place until after 456 B. C., and consequently, that in

¹ Krüger for example, *Leben d. Thucyd.* p. 32.² § 13. p. 70.

that year, in which (according to Larcher and Dahlmann's theory) he is represented as reciting his description of Egypt at Olympia, he had not yet set foot on the shores of the Nile. Here there are two fallacies. For in the first place the account of Lucian, leaving out of the question Pamphila's dates for which he is no way responsible, may apply to any Olympic year prior to 448 B. C. in which the historian settled at Thurium; and in the second place, it is quite possible that Herodotus may have visited Egypt more than once.

Our own argument against Lucian has been restricted to the only ground on which he can fairly be assailed; by excluding from it all other traditions concerning Herodotus, but such as can reasonably claim to be better attested than Lucian's own Olympian anecdote.

APPENDIX J. (Page 414.)

ON THE SELF-CONTRADICTIONS OF HERODOTUS.

IN order to avoid an undue accumulation of such details in our main text, we have reserved for this note a few other specimens of this curious kind of "Homeric" self-contradiction.

Herodotus, at the commencement of his work, tells us that Crœsus king of Lydia was the first who, by acts of aggression against the Greeks of Asia minor, provoked that spirit of international hostility between the Hellenic and oriental races, which ultimately led to the invasion of Greece by Darius and Xerxes. Yet immediately afterwards he describes, in some detail, a previous succession of similar acts of violence against the same Hellenic colonists; invasions of their territory, sieges and sacks of their cities, &c., as habitually carried on by the predecessors of the same Crœsus; by Alyattes, Sadyattes, Ardys, and Gyges. What he means probably, and afterwards says, is, that Crœsus was the first who reduced the Hellenic commonwealths to a permanent state of vassalage. But the expressions used in 1. 5. are inconsistent with the descriptions given in 1. 14. sqq. Nor can the charge, even as against the Lydian monarchs generally, be reconciled with the historian's account of the previous piratical invasion and occupation of large portions of Lydia and

the neighbouring countries by the Ionian emigrants.¹ In the face of these notices, with what justice can the Lydian kings be stigmatised as first aggressors, for endeavouring by all means in their power to subdue or expel the descendants of those original usurpers.

When Crœsus was preparing to make war on Cyrus, one of his councillors endeavoured to dissuade him by pointing out the inequality of the stakes at issue between him and his adversary; that while he had everything to lose in case of defeat, the Persians were a race of needy adventurers, from a victory over whom he would derive no advantage whatever. Upon which Herodotus adds his own comment: that "before their conquest of Lydia the Persians were strangers to all the good things of life." He here forgets, for the sake of a momentary effect of contrast, not only that the Persians had already conquered the great and wealthy empire of the Medes, but that he had himself described Cyrus, when bent on that conquest, as encouraging his countrymen to undertake it, by pointing out the great abundance of the good things of life which it would secure them.²

In book VI. 121. Herodotus expresses his surprise at the report which had gone abroad, of a conspiracy to betray Athens to the Persians at the time of the battle of Marathon, having been set on foot by the Alcæonidæ, "a family who," he adds, "had hitherto been more distinguished for their hatred of tyrannical government than even Callias son of Phænippus, who alone among the Athenians, during the temporary expulsion of Pisistratus from the city, had ventured to become a purchaser of that usurper's confiscated property." Compare this statement with the historian's previous account³ of the mode in which, on that same occasion, Megacles, chief of this family of Alcæonidæ, had been the instrument of reestablishing the expelled tyrant in his despotic power, on condition of his espousing the daughter of his renegade confederate; the same renegade who here, with his whole race, is lauded by Herodotus as the unflinching friend of constitutional liberty.

In book II. 103. 110. Sesostris is described as having conquered the Scythians. But in book IV. 46. the same Scythians are glorified, in the time of Darius, as being not only hitherto unconquered, but as altogether invincible.

In book I. 70. Herodotus mentions a bronze cup, sent by the Spartans to Crœsus in the last year of his reign, as having been

¹ I. 146

² I. 71.: conf. 126. 207.

³ I. 60.

intercepted and seized at Samos on its passage to Sardis, just about the time when Crœsus was dethroned by Cyrus. In III. 48. he describes a present of 300 eunuchs, sent by Periander of Corinth to king Alyattes father of Crœsus, as having been also intercepted at Samos on their passage, about the same time when the Spartan cup was plundered in the same island. If so, the last year of the reign of Crœsus must have coincided with some part of the reign of his father and predecessor who died fourteen years before.

In II. 137. sqq., we are told that an Egyptian king named Anysis, being driven into the fens by an Æthiopian invader, had there occupied himself, during a fifty years exile, in forming an artificial island; which island no king of Egypt, for more than 700 years after his time, had been able to find, until it was discovered by king Amyrtæus. This Amyrtæus, as we learn from Thucydides¹, revolted against the Persians in 462 B.C.; and when defeated in 456, retired like Anysis into the fens; hence called by Thucydides "king in the fens;" where he remained until restored to the throne in 414 B.C. By reference to the detailed Egyptian chronology of Herodotus, if ten years be allowed for the reign of Anysis after his restoration, and fifty for that of his successor Sethos, the only two reigns of the series the years of which have not been recorded,—the whole interval, between the restoration of Anysis and the retirement of Amyrtæus to the fens, is under 280 years.²

APPENDIX K. (Page 424.)

ON THE MYTHICAL DETAILS OF THE BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.

No notice has been taken in the text above of the 400 Thebans, also said by Herodotus to have formed part of the force detained

¹ I. 110. 112.: conf. *supra*, Append. G. p. 542.

² Such numerical discordances might not unreasonably be attributed to corruption of the text, but for other similar cases; those for example of the Scythian campaign of Darius, and of the Greeks slain at Thermopylæ, where no such explanation is admissible. Herodotus may here have inadvertently confounded two varieties of native legend, as to the order and length of the reigns, of the so-called Dodecarchi more especially, in the sequel of the series.

by Leonidas in the Pass; neither their presence nor their performances having any bearing on the question there more immediately at issue. It has however been justly remarked by Mr. Grote¹, that the historian's account of their share in the campaign of Thermopylæ, is one of the few points on which Herodotus has been successfully attacked by "Plutarch." They are represented by the historian as having been detained by Leonidas against their will when he dismissed the bulk of his army, from his knowledge of their Persian partisanship. It is difficult to say which of the improbabilities were here the greatest: that Leonidas should have been influenced by any such motive to keep the Thebans; or that the Thebans, aware of his reason, and of the fate to which they were destined, should have tamely acquiesced in his orders. A body of Bœotian men at arms, however disaffected to the national cause, were assuredly no cowards; and would rather have fought their way home in such a case even through a line of Spartan enemies, than have quietly remained to be massacred by Persian friends. But even had they remained, must it not have further occurred to Leonidas himself, that the natural course for them to have taken, and in such an emergency a perfectly justifiable course, would have been, the moment the action commenced, to have joined the Persians in their assault on the Spartan and Thespian troops? The result however is described by the historian as different, and his description does but accumulate improbability on improbability. Towards the close of the action, when the Spartans and Thespians were nearly all slain, the Thebans, he tells us, crossed over to the Persians, begged for quarter, and their lives were spared. Until this moment however he describes them as having fought, like their countrymen, against the Persians. If so, they were certainly the simplest and most disinterested body of traitors to a national cause of whom record has been preserved. But although they fought, it does not appear that any of them were killed, as well because no mention occurs of their bodies in the sequel, as from the historian's own limitation of their loss to a few men, whom the Persians slew by mistake on the advance of the phalanx to beg for quarter. We are thus called on to believe that of three battalions, all engaged on the same narrow spot of ground, and during the same space of time, with an overwhelming number of adversaries, while two of them were entirely cut to pieces, the third escaped without any loss whatever. It is impossible to

¹ Hist. of Gr. vol. v. p. 122.

reconcile these strangely improbable and discordant statements with each other or with historical truth.

Mr. Grote, while deferring to the authority of Herodotus in regard to the presence of the 400 Thebans in the Pass, adopts the tradition of Diodorus, which describes Thebes as divided at the time of the Persian war between two factions, one favourable to the patriotic cause, the other to Xerxes; and the former as sending the contingent of 400 men to Thermopylæ.¹ But the same Diodorus, in what is perhaps the most probable part of his account, represents the Theban force as not present at the final catastrophe of the Pass, having been dismissed with the other Greeks by Leonidas. Mr. Grote supposes further, in opposition to both Herodotus and Diodorus, that the zeal of the 400 for the national cause may have induced them voluntarily to remain; but that when the struggle between life and death was brought fairly home to them, they lost heart and submitted to the Persians. Little benefit can here be expected from any conjectural attempts to adjust the anomalies of the popular tradition. This hypothesis however, even judged on its own merits, has its own share of improbability. It is not very likely that a body of warriors, who were dastardly enough to betray their comrades or desert to the enemy at the last crisis of a brilliant action, should, a few hours before, when free to return home with the main body of the national army, have been so heroic as deliberately to prefer the alternative of self-immolation. The story of two parties in Thebes, one for the Greeks the other for the Medes, each so strong and independent as to have an army at its disposal, is itself an unauthenticated tradition, of which no trace exists but in the apocryphal page of the Sicilian compiler. The Thebans themselves knew nothing of it in the time of Thucydides, who introduces them in their own elaborate apology for their "Medism," not denying their defection to have been general, but merely excusing it on the ground of coercion by the dominant oligarchy. Had there been in Thebes at the time a patriot party, strong and zealous enough to send 400 hoplites to the confederate force in spite of that oligarchy, the Theban orator at Platea would not have failed to make the most of the circumstance in his harangue.

The authority of Herodotus therefore remains good as to the general course of Bœotian policy during the war. So long as central Greece was in possession of the national force, the Thebans, ashamed or afraid to desert, affected cooperation, even to

¹ p. 123.

the extent of sending their share of troops to defend its frontier. But when the same district was occupied by the invaders, the Thebans at once joined them. The only sound inference to be drawn from the exaggerated or conflicting stories above examined regarding Thermopylæ, and from others that might be collected from authors of every period of antiquity, is: that all or most of the details transmitted of that celebrated action, beyond the substantial fact of a body of Spartans and other Greeks having perished in defence of the Pass, are, like the details of the battle of Thyrea¹, or the synchronism of the battles of Salamis and Himera, of Plataea and Mycale²,—no better than popular fables. Besides the discrepancies of statement already pointed out, the account of Thermopylæ given by Diodorus³, "Plutarch,"⁴ and Justin⁵, differs altogether from that of Herodotus. According to them Leonidas and his men fell, not in open battle in the Pass itself, but in a murderous midnight assault on the Persian camp. Diodorus again limits the numbers of the Greek forlorn hope, variously rated by Herodotus in one place at 1000, in another at 4000,—to 500; 300 Spartans and 200 Thespians. Pausanias⁶, while also excluding the Thebans, adds 80 Mycenians; Isocrates⁷ makes the force consist of 1000 Spartans and a few other Greeks; and Justin⁸ (or rather Trogus) limits the exploit to Leonidas and his Spartans alone. It has been customary with modern writers, and naturally enough, to dismiss these later accounts as valueless, compared with the graver authority of the "Father of history." There can however be no doubt that they too rest on older more nearly contemporaneous data; and considering how improbable and self-contradictory the version of Herodotus is in its details, his prior title to credit becomes, to say the least, extremely defective.

APPENDIX L. (Page 427.)

ON THE WALLS OF BABYLON.

MR. GROTE (here quoted, *loc. sup. cit.*) accepts the account of Herodotus; and vindicates its correctness by an appeal to

¹ Supra, p. 329.

² Herodot. vii. 166., ix. 100. Diodorus (xi. 24.) substitutes Thermopylæ for Salamis.

³ xi. 10.

⁴ De Malig. Her. 32.

⁵ ii. 11.

⁶ x. xx. 2.

⁷ Paneg. p. 59. A.; Archid. p. 136. D.

⁸ Loc. cit.

the Chinese wall, which he describes as 1200 English miles in length, from 20 to 25 feet in height, and wide enough for six horses to run abreast. The analogy is not very apparent between such a line of frontier rampart, averaging, with its appendages, say 23 feet of cubic dimensions, and two city walls each about 330 feet high, 60 (Roman) miles long, and from 50 to 80 feet thick. The grandeur of the Chinese work consists certainly not so much in its own bulk, as in the great extent of the frontier line which it protected. But the parallel between the two fails as entirely in regard to bulk as to general character. The above figures give for the whole of the outer Babylonian wall an amount of gross cubic dimensions more than double that of the whole Chinese wall; and taking the inner line of Babylonian wall at about two thirds the size of the outer one, the dimensions of the two together would be from three to four times those of the Chinese structure. Mr. Grote enforces his illustration by the remark, that the Chinese wall has been estimated to contain more materials than all the buildings of the British empire put together. If so, the walls of Babylon must have contained from three to four times as much masonry as all the buildings of the British empire; a consequence which certainly does not tend to increase our faith in the numbers of Herodotus. It is to be presumed that the phrase "British empire" has been used inadvertently for British islands. The substitution of "islands" for "empire" would diminish the extravagance of the estimate, but would be far from reducing it within the bounds of credibility.

The great exaggerations in the Greek accounts have been recognised and illustrated by Sir Henry Rawlinson¹; who both from personal knowledge of the sites, and as an oriental antiquary, may be considered as the best living authority on any such question.

APPENDIX M. (Page 473.)

ON THE HYPOTHESIS THAT THE HISTORY OF HERODOTUS IS AN UNFINISHED WORK.

THERE can be no better proof of the blindness to the higher principles of Greek epic composition with which the disciples of the Wolfian school of criticism continue to be afflicted, than the fact, that several able modern commentators of Herodotus have

¹ Notes to Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. 178. (vol. I. p. 314. sq.)

pronounced his history an unfinished work, even in respect to its main narrative; and have assumed that his original plan comprised, or ought to have comprised, a further sequel of events, such as would have been destructive of that unity which now constitutes its fundamental excellence.¹ Had the historian continued his subject beyond the return home of the Athenian fleet, as these critics have suggested; had he undertaken to record the transactions narrated by Thucydides in his introductory chapter; the rise of fresh heart-burnings betwixt Athens and Sparta; the insidious attempts of the latter state to obstruct the measures of the Athenians for the restoration of their country to its former prosperity; and the fresh naval armaments fitted out by the Confederacy against the Persians, — we should have been embarked on an entirely new career of historical adventures, which Herodotus would assuredly perceive to be beyond the just limits of his undertaking, as instinctively as Thucydides has recognised in them an appropriate introduction to his history of the Peloponnesian war. The chief or only evidence adduced in support of this doctrine is a passage of the seventh book², in which the historian promises to direct the reader's attention in the sequel to a transaction beyond the limits of his present narrative; but of which transaction no further mention is made in the existing text. A more reasonable inference would be that Herodotus, who in so many other instances has noticed prospectively, or in the way of episode, matters extraneous to his immediate subject, has in this single instance, after promising further information, forgotten to fulfil his engagement.

APPENDIX N. (Page 499.)

ON THE AWARDS OF MARTIAL ARISTIA BY THE GREEK CONFEDERACY.

THE principle on which the awards of *Aristia*, or preeminent valour, were bestowed by Herodotus, or by Greek public opinion,

¹ There is no obvious reason, says O. Müller (*Hist. of Gr. Lit.* p. 269.), why Herodotus should have carried down the war between the Greeks and the Persians to the taking of Sestus, without mentioning any subsequent event of it. This opinion however he virtually retracts, in a note to the same page; where the taking of Sestus is very properly characterised as a "distinctly marked epoch." Conf. Dahlmann, *Herodot. iii.* § 9. p. 48; ix. § 37. p. 217.; Smith, *Dict. v. Herodotus*, pp. 432. 434. Bähr, *vit. Herod.* 1835.

² vii. 213.

appears to have been the same narrow Spartan principle which dictated the useless sacrifice of valuable lives at Thermopylæ; account being taken, not so much of the aggregate excellence of each combatant, as of the degree of desperation displayed in the hand to hand conflict with the foe. From the commencement of the operations before Platæa¹ to the close of the battle, the conduct of the Athenians is described by Herodotus as not only in all respects blameless, but as distinguished by brilliant courage combined with strict discipline. On the retrograde march from Gargaphia to Oeroe, while the fortunes of Greece were being placed in jeopardy by the dogged insubordination of a Spartan chief of battalion², the Athenians steadily followed out the combined movement, their share in the execution of which was peculiarly hazardous, exposing them to the much dreaded assaults of the Persian horse, the only very efficient portion of the enemy's force; while the Spartan route, being over the declivities of Cithæron, was free from that annoyance.³ The Athenians, in the battle itself, were opposed to the Thebans and other Helleno-Persian troops, an enemy three times their own number⁴, and in themselves more formidable than the native Persians, the tumultuous barbarism of whose attacks, as described by Herodotus, rendered them an easy conquest to any well disciplined body of Hellenic warriors. The old and bitter hatred of the Thebans against the Athenians insured, as we also learn from the historian, a determined resistance on the part of the former.⁵ Even after the enemy was driven from his position the victory remained incomplete, as Herodotus tells us, until secured by the superior conduct of the Athenians; Spartan prowess having been baffled in its efforts to storm the fortified camp of the Persians, which was carried mainly by the Attic troops.⁶ Yet, in the face of these facts, not only is the award of superior valour bestowed on Sparta, but the same Amompharetus, who at the most critical moment had risked the fortune of the battle by an act of mischievous and insolent disobedience, for which a modern lieutenant-colonel might have been shot or cashiered, — because he happened to fall fiercely fighting in the subsequent onslaught, is numbered among the four warriors to whom the highest honours were awarded.

¹ See especially ix. 20. sqq.² ix. 53.³ ix. 56.⁴ ix. 28. 32.⁵ ix. 67.⁶ ix. 70.

APPENDIX O. (Page 515.)

ON A POINT OF GREEK MILITARY TACTICS.

It appears from the accounts both of this battle, and of others fought by the Greeks during their flourishing age, that the Hellenic commanders attached greater importance to the strength of their flanks than to that of their centre, and had little notion of the value of the opposite system of bringing the main attack to bear on the centre of the enemy's line. The best troops were stationed in the wings, and the critical turn of the action depended mainly on the efforts of the two lines to outflank each other.¹ This was the defect of the Lacedæmonian tactics, which when met by the improved system of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, involved the defeat of the Spartan armies by those generals. The great battle of Mantinea is pointedly described by Xenophon² as having been gained by the modern manœuvre of breaking the line. The Macedonian phalanx was also formed on the principle of concentrating the weight of the attack on a particular point of the enemy's front; so much so as to have been somewhat unwieldy, and hence unable to withstand the still more improved science of the Romans.

The Persians seem to have had no fixed rule. At Marathon their best troops were posted in the centre; at Plataea they were on the flanks; a change dictated perhaps by their fatal experience of the Greek tactics in the former battle.

APPENDIX P. (Page 520.)

PARALLEL PHRASES IN HERODOTUS AND HOMER.

HERODOTUS.	HOMER.
I. 14. οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο.	Il. ε. 303., η. 444.; Od. τ. 92., χ. 408., alibi.
27. αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσκειαν. . . .	Odys. v. 236., ο. 536.
45. οὐ σέ μοι . . . αἴτιος, . . . ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις.	Il. γ. 164.; Od. α. 347., λ. 558.
87. τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλούμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον.	Il. α. 39.

¹ Thucyd. v. 71.² Hellen. lib. vii. in fine.

HERODOTUS.

168. κτίσας οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
Θρηϊκῶν. . . .
188. πολλὰι κάρτα ἄμαξαι τετράκυκλοι
ἡμιόνειαι.
- II. 22. γέραναι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα.
104. νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας
ἄλλων.
138. δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα.
- III. 14. ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.
- „ δακρύνει μὲν Κροῖσον, δακρύνει δὲ
Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας, αὐτῶ
τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἶκτον
. . . .
34. τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα.
36. ἀλλ' οὔτι χαίρων . . .
- „ ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλ-
λετο πολλὰ κελεύων.
81. χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἵκελος.
135. καὶ ἄμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίηε.
- VI. 23. μισθὸς δὲ οἱ ἦν εἰρημένος.
66. ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ ἀνάπυστα
ἐγένετο ταῦτα.
84. ζωρότερον πῖειν.
130. παιδὸς τῆς ἐμῆς μνηστῆρες.
- VII. 17. ὄνειρον . . . ὑπερστὰν τοῦ Ἄρτα-
Εάνου. Conf. 12. 14. I. 38.
158. οὕτω δὲ Γέλωνος μνηστis γέγονε.
159. ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειεν ὁ Πελοπίδης
'Αγαμέμνων.

HOMER.

- Od. λ. 324., π. 120.
ρ. 293.; Π. ρ. 25.
- Π. ω. 189. 266. 324.;
Od. ζ. 72., ι. 241.
- Π. γ. 3. sqq.
- Od. γ. 93., δ. 324.,
θ. 491.
- Od. ε. 239.
- Π. χ. 60., ω. 487.;
Od. ο. 348. alibi.
- Od. δ. 184.
- Π. β. 21., π. 146.
- Od. δ. 93.
- Π. ε. 528., ι. 252.
179., ρ. 356.; Od.
γ. 267. alibi.
- Π. ε. 87. sq.; conf.
δ. 452. alibi.
- Π. τ. 242.
- Π. θ. 524.
- Od. λ. 274.
- Π. ι. 203.
- Od. α. 368., δ. 321.
- Π. β. 20.; Od. δ.
803., alibi: conf.
supra, Vol. I. p.
491.
- Od. ν. 280.
- Π. η. 125.

HERODOTUS.

- VIII. 8. λέγεται . . . ψευδέσι ἵκελα.
 IX. 100. φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατό-
 πεδον.

HOMER.

- Od. τ. 203.
 Frag. Homeric. ap.
 Æschin. in Tim.
 ed. Reisk. p. 141.

To which may be added the Homeric or poetical terms ζῳάγρια,
 III. 36.; πρόβριζος, I. 32., III. 40.; δυσχείμερος, IV. 28.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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34. line 9. The term *γράμματα* in this passage of Plato, as in other similar notices by Greek authors, may be understood to comprise writing and elementary arithmetic, neither of which are here specified. It appears from the sequel of this text, and from Legg. p. 810. B., that schoolboys were carefully instructed in writing; and the same, no doubt, was the case with arithmetic. The schools mentioned by Plato were day schools. We can bring to mind no notice of "boarding schools" among the Greeks.
174. note 2. In reference to this conjecture, and another to a like effect in p. 176 of the first edition, we have, since those passages were written, been led to concur in Welcker's opinion, that there is no evidence of any such biographical work as that alluded to by Creuzer (Fragg. Xanthi, pp. 225, 227), or indeed of any literary work, having been composed by the Athenian musician Xanthus.
343. note, line 7. The same can hardly be said of another passage (III. 127), in this part of the historian's narrative—*ἄτε οἱ οἰδεύοντων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων* ("his affairs being still unsettled") which has been rendered by Mr. Rawlinson, "as *the whole kingdom* was still unsettled."
343. note (conf. p. 541.) It may indeed be said that the revolt of the Medes, as of some other provinces, being led by a representative of their own antient dynasty, was in so far directed against the lately dominant state of Persia. But we have here no satisfactory explanation of the historian's cursory remark in I. 130. Had he known of the much more formidable rebellion by which Darius was assailed by his other subjects, he could hardly have limited his special description of the civil war, in III. 150, to the single case of Babylon.
- 365, line 16. Mr. Rawlinson (vol. I. pp. 93, sqq.) controverts at some length our description of Herodotus (in this page) as "morbidly intent on bringing all the affairs of life into connexion with some special display of divine interposition;" and (in our p. 373) as "representing every act of signal folly or iniquity . . . to be the object of a special Nemesis. Our

definitions are comprehensive, it is true, but we have not thought fit to modify them, as being substantially borne out by facts. In the historian's work are recorded, in the mode of oracle, dream, omen, or special providence, some 200 or more cases of divine interference. An author who particularises the many affairs of life which these cases affect, as objects of such interference, may fairly, we think, be characterised as "intent" on bringing both them and others into the connexion above described. Mr. Rawlinson appeals, as a case of exception in his favour, to the storm which subsided after incantation and sacrifice by the Magi (vii. 191), where, he observes, Herodotus "suggests, that it was not so much their sacred rites which had the desired effect, as that the fury of the gale was spent." We have never said, or imagined, that because Herodotus was bent on substantiating his theory, he considered himself bound to enforce it in modes or on occasions repugnant to his own judgment or feelings, or in favour of a national enemy. Mr. Rawlinson will hardly be so hypercritical as to interpret our expression "all the affairs, &c.," as comprising any other than—in the historian's estimation—available cases. Had the storm on a like occasion ceased after sacrifice and prayer by the Greek augurs, he might perhaps have spoken more decidedly. Nor can we altogether subscribe to Mr. Rawlinson's construction of the passage. "The Magi," says the historian, "by their incantations, &c., caused the wind to cease, . . . or perhaps it may have subsided of its own accord." His principal statement here certainly is, that the effect was produced by the sacred rites, although he admits that it might have been owing to natural causes.

Our other remark, that Herodotus "represents every act of signal folly or iniquity as the object of a special Nemesis," is also borne out: 1st, by his general statement of his religious principles in vii. 10, §§ 5 sq.; conf. i. 32, 34; ii. 120; iii. 40;—2dly, by the numerous cases adduced by him of retributive dispensation illustrative of those principles;—3rdly, by the concurrence, we believe, of all or most of the best commentators prior to Mr. Rawlinson, in the view here advocated (conf. Schweig. Lexic. Herod. v. *φθονερός*; Valck. ad Herod. iii. 40; O. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 271, sq.). Our expression however, "object of a Nemesis," does not mean,

as our critic seems to suppose, that the historian's theory placed him under an obligation to point out, in every case of signal delinquency, the particular Nemesis that had overtaken the offender, or even that the Nemesis had ever been inflicted, as capable perhaps, in some cases, of being averted by proper measures of atonement. Here then again, by reference to the legitimate construction of our words, the alleged case of exception to which Mr. Rawlinson chiefly appeals, the murder of the Persian heralds by the Athenians, tells entirely on our side. That Herodotus considered that outrage the object of a Nemesis, is clear from his remark that he was unable to specify the one by which it had been visited; implying plainly, that although the penalty may not have been exacted, the liability still remained.

We discover no trace in Herodotus of retribution in another state, nor consequently of the Christian doctrine, that the wicked man may be even more prosperous in this life than the good man, each being sure of his due recompense in the life to come. If therefore we are wrong in supposing every act of signal iniquity to be, in the theory of Herodotus, the object of a Nemesis, a number of such acts must in that theory have passed altogether unpunished.

We have also been taxed by Mr. Rawlinson (p. 97) with having gone "beyond the truth" in our remark (p. 369, 1st ed.) that, in "almost every case" where the latter days of some personage of note, especially one chargeable with crimes or follies exposing him to divine Nemesis, were marked by any of those reverses which in the theory of Herodotus were the result of such Nemesis, there were several versions current of those details of his history. The personages who occur to us as possessing reasonable claim to rank as of historical "note" in the above category are, Croesus, Astyages, Cyrus, Apries, Cambyses, Psammenitus, Smerdis, the impostor Magus and his brother, Polycrates, Oroetes, Hipparchus, Hippias, Cleomenes, Demaratus, Leotychides, Histæus, Aristagoras, Miltiades, Xerxes, Pausanias, and Themistocles. Were it not tedious, and we trust superfluous, we think we could show, to the satisfaction of any impartial reader, by reference either to Herodotus or to other, in part contemporaneous, authors, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ctesias, &c., that there existed varieties of tradition regard-

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ing the death or signal disasters of all the persons here enumerated, except Histæus, Aristagoras, and Leotychides. These exceptions, we apprehend, are not inadequately provided for by our qualifying expression "almost." When however we consider the preponderance of cases in which the rule holds good, and, generally, the great fertility of Greek historical tradition, in which, as exemplified both in Herodotus and other popular authors, "almost" every memorable event assumes in its details a greater or less variety of shapes, it may fairly be conjectured, that had he thought the investigation necessary, other versions of the fate of the two Milesian patriots, if not of Leotychides, might have been brought to light.

384, note 2. This note was written under the impression that neither Herodotus nor the Platæan gravediggers were such subtle anatomists, as to distinguish between a skull in which the sutures were distinctly marked, as consisting of several pieces of bone, and one on which they were, as here supposed by Mr. Rawlinson, not visible, as being of a single piece. We must however in candour admit, that a closer consideration of the mode in which the term *ῥαφή*, when used, as it here is by Herodotus, in a properly anatomical sense, is specially, if not solely¹, applied by authors of every period to the sutures of the skull, rather than to any other kind of joint or commissure, has led us to alter our opinion, and in so far to subscribe to that of Mr. Rawlinson.

391, note 6. We have been here further taken to task by the same commentator (*loc. cit.*) for disbelieving—to quote his own words "a number of statements which there is not the slightest reason to question; as the existence of men without names in Western Africa (iv. 184); of a bald race beyond Scythia (iv. 23); the peculiar form of cannibalism ascribed to the Massagetæ and others (i. 216, iii. 99, iv. 26); and the eccentric customs with regard to women, of the Nasamonians (iv. 172), Indians (iii. 101), and Caucasians (i. 203)."

On referring to our censor's commentary on these parts of the historian's text, we find that in several instances its tendency is not to confute, but entirely to justify our scepticism; which, on one occasion alone, as admitted in note 1 to our page 391, has been carried somewhat too far.

¹ An exception occurs in Eurip. Suppl. 505.

In regard to the men without names, Mr. Rawlinson cites notices by Leo Africanus and Salt of certain African tribes, to the effect, not that they had no proper names, but that they were in the habit of addressing each other solely by names derived from the personal peculiarities of each individual. Upon which our critic remarks, very justly, that "this does not by any means amount to the entire absence of names which is spoken of by Herodotus," and that "he probably misunderstood his informant." With what propriety then, we venture to ask, can Mr. Rawlinson assert against us, that there is "not the slightest reason to question" a statement which he himself admits to be incorrect, and quote authorities proving that those tribes *had* names, after rebuking us for doubting the historian's statement that they had no names? The practice described by Leo is more or less common in parts of Italy, and probably of other civilised countries, to this day; and we should never have thought of questioning its existence in Libya, assuming it to be the groundwork of the historian's statement (which at the best is doubtful), had it not in that statement been so grossly perverted. With all respect for Herodotus we must add, that the notion of any race of men, endowed with speech and reason, familiarly associating and conversing with each other, and yet remaining entirely without names, appears to us not only false, but altogether absurd.

Not more fortunate is our critic's annotation on the text concerning the race "bald from their birth." "Although," he says, "a race of men absolutely without hair may be a fable, yet it is a fact that scanty hair characterises several of the wandering tribes of Northern Asia," &c. So that, after censuring us for disbelieving that these races were bald by nature, he himself adduces evidence that they were not bald by nature; and admits that the statement, which he elsewhere affirms against us "there is not the slightest reason to question," may be a fable.

In regard to the peculiar form of cannibalism ascribed to the Massagetæ and others, that of killing, cooking, and eating their sick and aged people, Mr. Rawlinson (vol. III. p. 490) quotes Strabo and Marco Polo. Strabo no doubt mentions (p. 756, ed. Falc.) a similar practice as reported to exist among the Derbices, a tribe on the Caspian Sea; but he

treats the report as mere popular legend. As to Marco Polo, his work abounds in fabulous matter; and the account quoted by Mr. Rawlinson of domestic cannibalism in Sumatra, which even our own indulgent editor Marsden rejects as fable, sounds very like another variety of the Herodotean legends, in support of which appeal is made to it. We had much rather suppose the traditions current in different countries, of so disgusting a form of cannibalism, as prevailing even among partially civilised tribes, to be, like the historian's Treasury of Rhampsinitus, scraps of a primæval fund of grotesque mythology common to the Asiatic races, than admit, on the slender evidence adduced, the real existence of such practices. Human nature recoils from eating the flesh even of diseased animals; and until we have clear proof of the fact, we decline believing that any tribe of men was ever so denaturalised, as to esteem the diseased or superannuated carcasses of their own parents among their choicest articles of diet.

We do not observe that any attempt has been made by Mr. Rawlinson to vindicate the historical reality of those eccentric customs in regard to women, to which, as attributed by Herodotus to the Indians and Caucasians, our scepticism chiefly attaches. We believe that the peculiar sense of shame with which the sacred historian (*Genes.* iii. 7, sqq.) describes man's first parents as having been imbued by their Maker, has ever since remained a fundamental instinct of our species. It is one which may, no doubt, in rare instances have become partially blunted or effaced in the more degraded states of humanity; but that it should have been altogether extinguished, as Herodotus asserts, in large masses of mankind, such as those nations of India and Caucasus of whom he writes¹, nations not certainly deficient in moral and intellectual capacities, and some of the Indians, at least, already in a forward state of civilisation, we hold to be a fable, not less repugnant to human nature than to historical truth.

¹ *μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὧν κατέλεξα πάντων, ἑμφανὴς ἐστὶ κατὰ περ τῶν προβάτων.* III. 101. In like manner, of the *ἔθνη ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα*, of Caucasus: *μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἑμφανία κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοις.* I. 203. We can hardly believe Mr. Rawlinson serious in asserting that there is not the slightest reason to question such statements.

Mr. Rawlinson's defence of the historian's veracity seems here to rest very much on the principle, that an author is not seriously open to censure as a believer in or vendor of fables, if it can be shown that those fables are founded (as most fables are) on some basis of fact. If the authority of Herodotus is not to be questioned when he tells us of a northern race bald from their birth, because the hair of some northern races is below the average thickness common to mankind; or when he affirms a people to have no names, because, although that people have names, they are not quite of the sort with which he was familiar; as little can he be amenable to criticism in his account of the Ethiopians, whose ordinary length of life was 120 years, or of the ants of the Indian gold country, which were larger than foxes and swifter than camels,—if it can be shown that some race of Southern Africa was longer-lived than most other men, or that the ants of some district of India were a good deal bigger and ran a good deal faster than those of other countries. Our own rule of judgment, which has exposed us to Mr. Rawlinson's criticism, we admit to be different. We consider a false or absurd statement to be not the less false or absurd, or the person who believes and circulates it less chargeable with credulity, because it is or may be a perversion of some other statement more consistent with truth or common sense. On the relative merits of the two principles the reader may form his own opinion.

We also question the propriety of quoting one fabulist as a voucher for the statements of another. Marco Polo, in the page next but one to that cited by Mr. Rawlinson, (612, Ed. Marsden,) describes and apparently believes in a race of men "with tails like those of dogs." If an admirer of Herodotus is entitled to quote the one statement in support of his fabulous cannibalism, might not a believer in Ctesias quote the other statement as proof of the real existence in India of a race half man half dog, as described by that historian?

Nor can it, we think, with reason be alleged that the more pointed exemplifications of the historian's credulity can only be fairly drawn from his accounts of things incredible or impossible, to the exclusion of such as are merely eccentric or wonderful. The latter, when pressed inopportunately on our attention, or side by side with his

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more palpable fables, may tend also, in our opinion, materially to illustrate this peculiarity of his genius. As an example may be noted the gigantic Persian skeleton, overlooked in p. 379 of our first edition, but which, as now (in p. 384) introduced, supplies, in the scale of Platean rarities, an apt gradation of the not impossible marvellous, between the not improbable treasures of gold, &c., and the altogether incredible skull and jaws. Even admitting that such anatomical phenomena may be facts, or founded on fact, it is also true that Herodotus reports them as prodigies; and that none but a morbidly credulous writer would wind up his narrative of a great national victory, with scraps of local gossip concerning the wonderful size or structure of bones found years afterwards on the battle field. As little can we except the fables in which he disbelieves, or for the truth of which he does not distinctly vouch. The very fact of his collecting and reporting them in such numbers, as materials for a great historical work, must be taken largely into account.

- 532, Append. C. line 7. The geographical names mentioned in the fragments of the Genealogies, but omitted from our map on the ground above stated, are, in Europe: Tænarum, Tegea, Psophis, Lerne, Argos, Cene, Hymessus, Phocussæ, Ætolia, Amphanaë, Itonia, Hippiæ, Ambracia; in Asia: Caicus (river and plain), Themiscyra, Chadisia, Melia, Mygisi, and Tremilæ (the Lycians). In cases where neither work is distinctly referred to, those for example of Sinope (frag. 352), and the Epei, &c. (frag. 91), the benefit of the doubt has been awarded to the Periodus.

Places of altogether unidentified site or existence are the cities of Cimmeris, Colura, and Euelgea.

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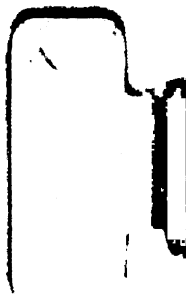
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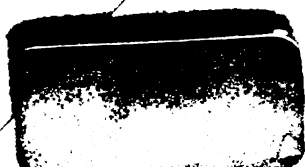
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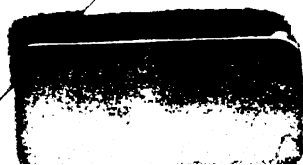
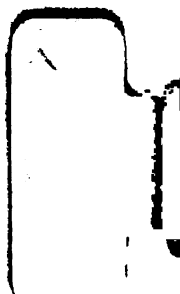
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A

CRITICAL HISTORY,

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CHAP. VIII.

THUCYDIDES: HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

1. GENERAL VIEW OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.—2. THUCYDIDES. HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.—3. HIS AGE.—4. HIS RELATION TO HERODOTUS.—5. HIS INDIRECT ALLUSIONS TO HERODOTUS.—6. OR TO THE CONTENTS OF HIS WORK.—7. HIS AMPHIPOLITAN CAMPAIGN. HIS SENTENCE OF EXILE.—8. HOW FAR MERITED BY HIS CONDUCT.—9. HIS RELATION TO CLEON. HIS LIFE IN EXILE. HIS RESTORATION TO HIS POLITICAL RIGHTS.—10. PUBLICATION OF HIS WORK. ITS CONTINUATORS. ITS DIVISION INTO BOOKS. AUTHORSHIP OF THE EIGHTH BOOK. HIS DEATH.—11. HIS CHARACTER COMPARED WITH THAT OF HERODOTUS.—12. STATE OF SOCIETY WHICH HE DESCRIBES.—13. ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY FEROCITY.—14. CONTRASTED WITH ITS INTELLECTUAL REFINEMENT. ATHENS AND SPARTA.

1. THE work of Herodotus closes the earlier, elementary, or "logographic" age of Greek historical literature. Thucydides introduces a more practical and critical era of historical research. Or it may perhaps with greater propriety be said that Herodotus, combining the character of "logographer" with that of critical historian, forms a link between the two divi-

General view of historical literature during the fourth century B.C.

sions of the Attic period. The transition from the one to the other in the present volume, will render necessary some modification in the method of treatment hitherto followed in this part of our subject.

In the previous chapters, the backward state of prose composition during the fifth century B.C., with the comparative want of precise distinction between its several branches, led to our assigning a place among historians to authors who, in more advanced stages of literature, would properly rank as Miscellaneous writers ; as Geographers, Mythologers, Genealogists, Political and Biographical Essayists. The subject of this volume will be restricted to Historians alone, or writers of Historical narratives in the proper sense.

Where authors entitled, on this more limited basis, to rank as historians in right of their principal compositions, have also produced works in other departments of literature, an exception to the rule of limitation will be made in favour of those works, in so far as an insight into their contents may be essential to a full estimate of their authors' genius. Where, on the other hand, writers chiefly distinguished in other departments have also cultivated History, their historical works will receive, in their separate capacity, such attention as may be due to their intrinsic value ; our biographical notice of the authors, being reserved for the future portion of our subject with which their other standard works more immediately connect them.

The effect of the above restriction on the whole amount of materials for treatment in this volume, will be less than might on first view be expected ; owing to the still comparatively immature state of

historical literature, and to the loss of the principal works in those subsidiary branches. Geography, though still frequently forming, as with Herodotus, an ingredient of more bulky historical compilations, was less zealously cultivated as a separate pursuit in this latter part of the Attic period than in its earlier stages. The first eighty years of the fourth century B.C. (400—323) produced no such zealous travellers or diligent compilers as Hecataeus, Scylax, or Herodotus. The taste for geographical research was however renovated and extended by the conquests of Alexander, which provided enterprising men of science with new and varied opportunities for its prosecution.

Biographical literature also remained in a comparative state of infancy. It is remarkable that the few recorded works of the kind belong to the department of Literary history; being devoted, solely or chiefly, to the lives of men eminent in science or letters. We find no allusion during this period to a Biography, in the proper sense, of any great political or military character.

The taste for purely mythical history, if history it can fitly be called, which tended, with the predecessors of Herodotus, so greatly to obstruct the progress of more critical research, now became for a time dormant or extinct; to be revived however and again zealously cultivated in the ensuing Alexandrian period. Its decline in the present century may be owing, partly, to the influence of Thucydides on his immediate successors, the most eminent of whom, Xenophon, with the standard Sicilian historian Philistus, emulated that great master in restricting their subjects to real events and persons. Mythical

legend continued however, in a subsidiary form, to be blended more or less largely with History, by Ctesias, Theopompus, Ephorus, and other contemporaneous authors.

In the historical department of Miscellaneous literature, an important branch of composition, which, originating in the previous century, was matured and extended by Aristotle and his leading disciples, is that entitled "Polities," or historico-critical Treatises on the forms of government existing in Greece, or the more enlightened of the neighbouring countries. Of the numerous works of this class record of which is extant, those by or attributed to Xenophon, two in number, have alone been preserved entire, and will occupy a share of attention in our notice of his collective writings.

Another subsidiary branch of historical research, Chronology, which had been partially cultivated in the old logographic school, was now, also chiefly by the same Aristotle, matured and reduced to scientific principles. His works however in this department, of which but a few unimportant fragments are extant, seem to have been first rightly appreciated or turned to practical account by the historians of the ensuing Alexandrian period.

THUCYDIDES.

Thucydides.

2. If we accept one or two casual notices, bearing on points of secondary interest, the only contemporaneous, or, it follows, strictly authentic information that has been transmitted concerning Thucydides, is contained in his own work; and, however valuable in itself, is far from copious. Of the supplementary

accounts, the earliest now extant date posterior to the Alexandrian era, and possess but slender claim to even that inferior kind of authority which can in any case attach to posthumous tradition.

A "Life of Thucydides" therefore, in the proper sense, is precluded, as in the previous case of Herodotus, by a dearth of adequate materials, and the biographer must be content to shape his researches in the less pretending form of a Historical inquiry.¹

That Thucydides was a native Athenian citizen we learn from himself. That he belonged to the Demus of Halimus may also be admitted, on the unanimous testimony of his biographers, confirmed by the inscription on his monument at Athens.² All authorities agree however in ascribing to him, through one at least of his parents, a Thracian descent. The accuracy of this tradition is indirectly confirmed by his own assurance³ that he possessed large property

His birth
and parent-
age.

¹ The extant "Lives" of Thucydides, two in number, and commonly prefixed to the text of our editions, are both of a late period. One is by Marcellinus, an author of whom nothing is known but that he wrote after Dionysius of Halicarnassus (B.C. 30), the latest writer whom he quotes. The Tract, as its antient superscription implies, is a compilation from then existing scholia on Thucydides. The various conjectures of modern commentators concerning Marcellinus or his work will be found in an article by G. H. Grauert in the *Rheinische Museum*, 1827, p. 169.; and in Pauly, *Real Encyclopädie*, art. Marcellinus. The other "Life," by an anonymous writer, confounds the Historian with his namesake and elder contemporary, the statesman Thucydides, and is in other respects full of blunders. Of the miscellaneous notices by authors of various ages, the most trustworthy are those by Cratippus, who was contemporaneous with Thucydides, and wrote a continuation of his work. Another more obscure personage named Zopyrus, cited by Didymus in Marcellinus (§ 32. sq.), regarding the Historian's death, seems also to be characterised by the latter, though vaguely and confusedly, as his contemporary.

² Antyllus ap. Marcell. § 16. 65.; Plut. Cimon, c. 4.; Anonym. in Vit. § 10.

³ iv. 104—5.

in Thrace, and that his father was called Olorus. This is a genuine Thracian name of some celebrity. Hegesipylë, wife of Miltiades son of Cimon, the victor of Marathon, who inherited from his uncle the elder Miltiades the lordship of the Thracian Chersonnesus, was a daughter of Olorus, a neighbouring Thracian potentate¹, and bore to her husband, his successor in fame and influence, the younger Cimon. These coincidences of name and local connexion tend to confirm the further accounts of the Historian's near relation to the Cimonian family.² In one he is said to have been descended from the Marathonian Miltiades³, through his mother, who is herself reported to have been called Hegesipylë.⁴ If, as from the correspondence of names might further be surmised, there was a previous blood connexion between his father and his mother, the practice of intermarriage betwixt kindred would appear to have been prevalent in this distinguished race. The tomb or cenotaph of Thucydides is also said, in all the notices of his death, to have been situated in their hereditary place of sepulture.⁵

His Thracian possessions are placed by his biographers in the neighbourhood of Scaptesyhlë, on the coast opposite Thasus; of which island the same Scaptesyhlë, with the surrounding district, was a de-

¹ Herodot. vi. 39.; Plutarch, loc. cit. The variety Orolus, mentioned by Marcellinus, § 16., is evidently either an error of transcript, or an etymological subtlety of the later grammarians: conf. Grauert's tedious discussion of this point, Rhein. Mus. vol. i. p. 176. sqq. Thucydides, in right doubtless of this Thracian ancestry, is described by Aphthonius as of royal blood, Progymn. p. 20. ed. Porti.

² Plutarch, loc. cit.; Marcell. § 2.

³ Marcell. § 14.; Suid. V. Thuc.

⁴ Marcell. § 2.

⁵ Polemo and Antyllus ap. Marcell. 16—55.; Plutarch, Cim. 4., conf. Pausan. Attic. xxiii.

pendency. This is confirmed by his own statement¹, that the value of his property consisted chiefly in its minerals; and Scaptesyklê was the centre of the mining district of Thrace. In some accounts he is said to have inherited these estates from Thracian relatives²; in others to have acquired them by marriage with a Thracian heiress.³ It is a plausible conjecture of modern critics, that he may have been indebted for them, in part at least, to his connexion with the younger Cimon. The reduction of Thasus, and its annexation with its appurtenances to the Athenian dominions, were among the more important services rendered by that commander to Athens; and Thucydides expressly mentions⁴ the mineral district on the opposite coast as part of the annexed territory. It may be presumed that the commander who achieved the conquest, would have at his disposal a fair allotment of those portions of the newly acquired lands, which, as usual in such cases, fell to be distributed to colonists from the conquering State; and his own kinsmen would naturally be among the first to profit by his privilege.

Mention also occurs of a connexion by blood between Thucydides and the Pisistratidæ⁵, the influence of which has been supposed to manifest itself in a tone of partiality towards the "tyrants," and of disfavour to their adversaries Harmodius and Aristogiton, in the Historian's allusions to the downfall of the usurping dynasty. The passages referred to indicate, no doubt, a peculiar interest in the destinies

¹ IV. 106.² Marcell. 14.; Plutarch, Cimon, 4.³ Marcell. 19.⁴ I. 101.⁵ Hermippus ap. Marcell. § 18. The possible truth or falsehood of this very vague notice has been discussed with his usual learning and diffuseness by Krüger, *Leben des Thukydides*, p. 4. sqq.

of that family, which has led Thucydides into a long and not very appropriate digression on their affairs. The practice however, so common with the old commentators, of founding statements of fact concerning eminent authors on speculative interpretations of passages of their works, renders it perhaps more probable that the cousinship has here been suggested by the digression, than the digression by the cousinship.¹ Thucydides is further reported to have studied rhetoric under Antiphon, of whom he makes honourable mention², and philosophy under Anaxagoras.³ The authenticity of the former notice is borne out by coincidences of a very marked nature between his own rhetorical style and that of his supposed master, as exemplified in the still extant orations of the latter.⁴ The spirit of religious freethinking which everywhere manifests itself in his work, is also closely akin to that for the promulgation of which Anaxagoras was fined and banished from Athens.

His age.

3. We are told by Thucydides himself⁵ that he was contemporaneous with the whole of the twenty-seven years' war which he describes; and that he had already, at its outbreak, attained such a maturity of years and judgement as enabled him to prognosticate its dura-

¹ In the same way the Scholiast of Aristides, tom. II. (ed. Jebb) p. 121., attributes the friendly feeling of Thucydides towards Pericles to the circumstance of their being old schoolfellows.

² VIII. 68. : conf. Antyll. ap. Marcell. § 22., Dionys. Hal. de Comp. Verb. 10. ; Schol. ad Thuc. IV. 135. ; Suid. in Thucyd. and Antiphon ; Hermogen. De Formis Orat. II. p. 391. 402. ed. Porti ; Schol. Aristid. II. p. 181. ; Vita Antiphontis in Reisk. Orat. Græc. tom. VII. 603. To this discipleship Plato has been supposed to allude (in Menex. p. 236. Steph.) by the antient grammarians cited by Hermogenes and Van Spaan de Antiphonte in Reisk. Orat. Gr. t. VII. p. 803. sq.

³ Antyll. ap. Marcell. 22.

⁴ See Appendix G. No. xi.

⁵ V. 20. 26. : con. I. 1.

tion and magnitude, and to form the design of recording its vicissitudes.¹ In another place he informs us, that he commanded an Athenian fleet and army on the Thracian coast in the eighth year of the war, and that, for an imputed neglect of his duties on that occasion, he was banished, and remained in exile twenty years. This information, distinct as it is in so far as it extends, leaves ample room for conjecture regarding the epoch of his birth or the duration of his life. Traditional sources afford but two subsidiary dates; one to the effect that he was forty years old² at the commencement of the war in 431 B.C., the other that he died not long after his fiftieth year.³ These two statements are obviously irreconcilable both with his own and with each other. For, if the first were correct, Thucydides having, as we know from himself, survived the close of the war, or 404 B.C., would at that epoch have been some seventeen years older than the second admits him to have been at the time of his death. Both appear to embody mere conjectural interpretations of his own definition of the age which he had attained at the commencement of the war. That definition admits evidently of much variety of construction, according to the different views or impressions of different readers. To one it might seem that a man of so powerful and acute a mind⁴, on reaching the full age of manly discretion, let us suppose his twenty-fifth year, would be quite competent, in terms of his own remark, to plan and undertake such a work. In this case, adding twenty-

¹ iv. 104.

² Pamphila ap. Gell. Noct. Att. xv. 23.

³ Marcell. § 54.

⁴ So Aphthonius, Progymn. p. 21. ed. Porti; and Philostr. Vit. Soph. i. ix.

seven years for the duration of the war, we should have fifty-two for the age of Thucydides at its close; and as his History has been left unfinished, the further inference was reasonable, that its completion had been prevented by his premature death. Other speculators might find difficulty in ascribing so penetrating an insight into futurity, to any but a mind disciplined by long experience of public affairs, for the acquisition of which a previous lifetime of forty years might not seem more than sufficient. In the absence of more positive data, the exact length of years attained by Thucydides must be allowed to remain one of the unsettled points of his biography.

Indirect proof that he did not long survive the close of the war, has been discovered in another passage of his work.¹ In mentioning an eruption of Etna, in the sixth year of the war (425 B.C.), he remarks that it took place at an interval of fifty years after the one which last preceded it; and that record was extant, in all, of but three eruptions of the mountain. Although it has been attempted to give another turn to this statement², its natural import undoubtedly is, that the other two eruptions were both prior to that of 425 B.C., with reference to which the Historian mentions them. As therefore a fourth eruption occurred in 396 B.C., it has been argued with some plausibility, that Thucydides must have died prior to that year, otherwise he would not have limited the number of those which he knew to three only. Reasonable as this calculation appears, it were yet a fallacious groundwork of any chronological inference. The composition of the Historian's work, as we learn

¹ III. 116.

² Dodwell, *Apparat. ad Annal. Thuc.* § xxvii.; Dahlmann, p. 217,

from himself, was begun from the commencement of the war, and continued during its progress; and, apart from his own testimony, his text affords evidence that the earlier portions of it were matured substantially in their present form, shortly after the events which they describe, or at least during the twenty-seven years which his work was meant to embrace. This evidence consists in the repeated occurrence, in the earlier parts of his narrative, of statements or remarks, which, though correct or appropriate at the time when written, became at the later epochs of the war, or of his own lifetime, owing to an intermediate change of circumstances, inaccurate, or inconsistent with subsequent statements. Such passages, it is obvious, must have been written at an early stage of his undertaking, and have been overlooked by him in his subsequent revisals of the text. The subjoined examples will serve for illustration.

In describing¹ the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesian army in the fifth year of the war, being the fourth such inroad that had yet taken place, he observes that it was, next to the second, the most afflicting of all to which the invaded country had been subjected. The second invasion, which lasted forty days, had been previously described as the one of longest duration.² Both these passages must have been written prior to the date of the last invasion, in the nineteenth year of the war, which resulted in the permanent occupation of the Attic town and district of Decelea³, the greatest calamity, next to the Sicilian defeat, which had yet befallen the republic.

In another place⁴ he mentions, that a controversy

¹ III. 26.

² II. 57.

³ VII. 18.

⁴ II. 54.

had formerly prevailed among interpreters of prophecy, whether a phrase occurring in an old oracle concerning an impending disastrous "Dorian" war, was to be read "Loimos" (Pestilence), or "Limos" (Famine). This controversy, he remarks, was, on the outbreak of the Plague at Athens, in the second year of the Peloponneso-Dorian war, very naturally decided in favour of the former reading. "But," he sarcastically adds, "if some future Dorian war should happen to be attended by famine, the party in favour of Limos would probably reassert their claims." Now it is notorious, from Xenophon and other unquestionable sources, that during the four months' siege of the city by Lysander, it was afflicted by a most severe famine; and that after the citizens had long held out obstinately, in the midst of daily increasing mortality, the entire failure of food proved the immediate cause of surrender. It is incredible that Thucydides could have alluded, in the hypothetical terms above cited, to the possibility of an event happening, if he knew that it had actually happened. This passage therefore was written in the earlier part of the War, and inadvertently left as it stands after the conquest of the city.

Other examples might be added. But the text here immediately in question may itself be adduced as an illustration of the case, though not altogether of so direct a kind as those above quoted. Assuming the statement¹ relative to Mount Etna, to have been written shortly after the sixth year of the war in which the eruption there mentioned took place, it would have been accurate at that time. If allowed to stand as originally written, until after the date of

¹ III. 116.

a subsequent eruption, it would then be at variance with the altered state of the facts; but would no more prove that the Historian died before that date, than the passage relative to Loimos and Limos proves that he died before the capture of Athens by Lysander.

The best argument that Thucydides did not long survive the end of the war, is the unfinished state in which he has left his great work. Its composition was, as he himself impresses on us, the one great object of his life. It cannot therefore be supposed, that after the close of the grand series of events which he records, he would willingly have allowed his narrative to remain, for any length of time, in its present imperfect condition; one fourth part unwritten, and a large portion of the existing text, that now forming the eighth book, to all appearance incomplete. Although therefore there may not be enough either of internal evidence or traditional authority, to prove that he died prior to 396 B.C., it is not probable that he long survived that year. The eight years between that date and the close of the war (404 B.C.), might even seem more than sufficient to have enabled him to bring his narrative down to the stage where it breaks off. Allowance however may in all such cases be made for incidental obstacles; for weak health, or distractions connected with his personal or political interests at the epoch of his restoration to his native country, amid the fierce war of factions which then prevailed. His failure to complete his undertaking has in fact been ascribed by some of his biographers to a lingering disease of which he ultimately died.¹ The prevailing tradition however was, that his lite-

¹ Marcell. § 44.; Anonym. 9.

rary labours, with his life, were brought to a more sudden termination by the hand of an assassin.¹ But no details have been given either of the motive to the act, or the time and mode of its perpetration.

His relation
to
Herodotus.

4. The relation in which Herodotus and Thucydides may have stood to each other, whether in respect to time or to their historical undertakings, is a question, apart from the interest attaching to it on other accounts, of some moment in its bearings on the chronology of either historian's life. By reference to notices supplied, partly by Herodotus himself partly by his elder contemporary Hellanicus, we have, in a previous chapter, amid the doubts and difficulties in which at best the point is involved, preferred the opinion that the work of Herodotus was not completed until after the year 408 B.C.; that the date consequently of his death must be brought down lower than that year, or towards the close of the fifth century B.C. The opposite doctrine, which would throw back that date some fifteen or twenty years, must however be admitted also to possess its share of plausibility. Here then it is that a certain chronological, as well as literary value, attaches to the question: whether Thucydides was, or was not, acquainted with the researches of Herodotus? If the answer be in the affirmative, the argument in favour of the earlier epoch for Herodotus, would not be of vital importance, as no very long interval of time between the publication of his work and the death of Thucydides, would have been required to enable the latter to profit by its contents. But if, on the other hand, the question be solved in the

¹ Didymus et Zopyrus ap. Marcell. § 32.; Plut. Cimon, c. 4.; Paus. Att. xxiii. 9.

negative, the Attic historian's ignorance would afford, and has in fact afforded, a strong argument to those who adopt the more recent date for the death of Herodotus, as having been too immediately followed by that of Thucydides, to allow the latter historian any such opportunity of access to the work of his predecessor.

The antient commentators seem never to have doubted the fact of a near literary or even personal connexion between the two authors. In our own time a different doctrine has been keenly and ably maintained by critics of high authority¹, who deny all knowledge by Thucydides either of the labours or the existence of his elder contemporary; and although their opinion has not been generally received by the modern classical public, their arguments in its favour have not hitherto undergone any conclusive refutation.

The remarks on this subject in our previous volume² were limited chiefly to the fabulous details of the joint biography of the two historians, which represent the one as a lecturer, the other as a listener, in the Olympic arena. A more careful examination of the strictly historical question regarding a connexion between them was postponed, until, in the prosecution of our general subject, the text of Thucydides had been submitted to the same closer analysis formerly bestowed on that of his predecessor. The result of this analysis has been a full conviction of the correctness of the old doctrine, to the extent at least that Thucydides was well ac-

¹ F. C. Dahlmann, *Herodot.* p. 214. sqq.; K. O. Müller, *Gesch. der Griech.-Literat.* vol. II. p. 343. : conf. Arnold ad *Thuc.* I. 20.

² p. 245. 254. : conf. Appendix G. p. 534.

quainted with the work of Herodotus. The grounds of this conviction will be here stated in detail, as tending not only, it is hoped, to a final settlement of the question at issue, but also to illustrate certain characteristic features of the Attic historian's genius.

I. Thucydides commences his history, or rather the historical Retrospect of events prior to his main subject, at the precise point where the history of Herodotus terminates. The Retrospective narrative of the one forms in fact a continuation of the main narrative of the other. It is difficult to believe that this continuity of subject in the two works can be merely accidental.

Attention was formerly directed to the judgement displayed by Herodotus, in closing his narrative with the taking of Sestus on the Hellespont, and the return home of the Athenian fleet after that achievement. Appropriate however as this conclusion undoubtedly is, whether judged by the rules of epic composition, or on purely historical grounds¹, it is very doubtful, to say the least, whether such an arrangement was likely to suggest itself to many, or perhaps to any of the other previous or contemporaneous writers by whom the same series of events had been treated. So little indeed has it been appreciated in our own time, that more than one eminent modern authority has pronounced it so defective, as to afford evidence that the work of Herodotus was, like that of Thucydides, left in an unfinished state; "there being no obvious reason why the war should have been carried down to this particular point;" and that the original plan of

¹ Vol. IV. p. 468. 547.

Herodotus comprised, or ought to have comprised, a further series of events.¹ It would certainly therefore be a very remarkable coincidence, had the work of Herodotus been unknown to Thucydides, that he too should have adopted this particular epoch, as the line of demarcation between the close of the one series and the commencement of another which he had himself undertaken to record. When we further find Thucydides² so pointedly characterising the period immediately subsequent to that occupied by Herodotus, as having been neglected or superficially treated by previous authors, thereby implying very plainly a greater fulness of detail in the treatment of the preceding period, it seems difficult to escape the inference that such fulness was provided by the work of Herodotus, and by it alone. For although several previous historians had written on the Persian war, Charon of Lampsacus, for example, and Hellanicus, there is no reason to believe that it had been described by any one of them at greater length or with greater precision than the subsequent half-century of Grecian history by the same Hellanicus, whose commentaries on that period are stigmatised by Thucydides³ as so incorrect and superficial, that he had found it necessary himself to pass it in review as introductory to his own proper narrative.

II. Thucydides, when treating, as he frequently does in the digressive or illustrative parts of his text, subjects common to Herodotus, confines himself with rare exception to such parts of those subjects, and

¹ K. O. Müller, Dahlmann, and others cited in Appendix M. to Vol. IV. of this work, p. 547.

² I. 97.

³ I. 97.

treats them in such a manner, as to imply that these portions of his own work were supplementary, whether in the mode of completion or correction, to that of his predecessor. The case of the two historians is here analogous to that of Homer and the Cyclic poets, illustrated in an early part of this work. The greater number of those poets celebrate, like Homer, the Trojan war, or the events connected with it. But while their principal narratives are restricted to portions of that wide subject not previously treated by him, their episodical passages contain such plain allusions to his text, as to prove to demonstration that their works were supplementary to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and hence, that they were familiar with those poems as existing in their time substantially in the form in which we now possess them. Similar is the inference from a collation of parallel portions of Herodotus and Thucydides.

The care with which Thucydides, where the tenor of his narrative led him upon what may be called common ground, avoids trenching to any extent on parts of it already occupied by Herodotus, is especially remarkable in his supplementary notices of Themistocles. With both authors this distinguished Athenian is among the great men of the previous age an object of peculiar interest. His affairs fell but in part within the immediate subject of Herodotus, by whom they are in so far copiously treated. They are altogether extraneous to the immediate subject of Thucydides. He digresses however at some length on the portion of them left untouched by his predecessor. His Episode of Themistocles¹, for so it may

¹ I. 135, sqq. : conf. 90. sqq.

with all propriety be called, is a continuation and conclusion of the previous history of the same hero by Herodotus. The one describes the earlier more prosperous period of his life, the other his declining years, misfortunes, and death.

Similar is the case with the Spartan Pausanias, the victor of Plataea. Herodotus had narrated his youthful more glorious and prosperous career. Thucydides¹, taking up the tale exactly where Herodotus left off, relates the latter disastrous vicissitudes of his life to its close.

Herodotus², in his account of the Pisistratidæ, mentions in very concise terms the murder of Hipparchus by Harmodius, but dwells at great length on the expulsion of Hippias by the Alcmaeonidæ. Thucydides³, in his episode on the same family, reverses the method of his predecessor, giving a long and detailed account of the earlier transactions, the conspiracy of the two patriots, its conduct and results, while the final liberation of Athens is disposed of in a few sentences.

Herodotus⁴, in treating of the Macedonian royal family, enlarges, with a more than ordinary profusion of fabulous embellishment, on their origin, their migration from Argos, and first settlement in their trans-Olympian territory; but omits all notice of the growth and extension of their dynasty, during the seven generations between its founder Perdiccas and the Alexander whose share in the campaign of Xerxes suggested his notice of their affairs. Thucydides⁵,

¹ I. 128. sqq.: conf. 94.

³ VI. 54. sq.: conf. I. 20.

⁵ II. 99.

² V. 55. sq., 62. sq.

⁴ VIII. 137. sqq., V. 22.

when introducing the same Macedonian monarchs on his scene of action, again reverses the plan of his predecessor. He is content with simply stating the fact of their Argive origin and settlement in Thrace, abstaining from all illustrative detail, but gives a full though condensed summary of the subsequent more authentic portion of their history overlooked by his predecessor; of the successive stages of conquest by which their empire was established; and of the names and geographical position of its provinces.¹

His in-
direct al-
lusions to
Herodotus.

5. III. The allusions by Thucydides to statements or opinions of previous writers, especially where they assume a satirical tone, admit in several instances of so curious and so pointed an application to passages of Herodotus as can hardly be the result of accident. These allusions occur chiefly in the introductory part of the Attic historian's work, in a general philippic against the simplicity with which the Hellenic public was accustomed to receive popular errors as historical truths. Of the three cases of such credulity which he has been at pains to specify, one is the belief that a division of the Spartan army bore the name of

¹ In the few cases where both authors have dwelt to any extent on the same transaction, it will be found that the account of Thucydides differs from, and hence may probably be intended to controvert, that of Herodotus. For example, both authors treat at some length of the Sicilian republic of Zancle or Messene. Herodotus (vi. 23.) gives no account of its original foundation, but devotes a large share of attention to the sequel of its history. Thucydides (vi. 4.), while affording detailed notices of its first settlement, gives a concise, but in some respects different, account of its subsequent destinies. This remark also applies to the greatly amplified description by Thucydides (i. 126. sq.) of the Cylonian conspiracy, more concisely noticed by Herodotus (v. 71.), where the former gives in several points a different, and what is doubtless intended as a corrected, account of that adventure.

the Pitánate cohort¹; another, the belief that the Lacedæmonian kings had each two votes in the Senate.² Thucydides maintains that no such cohort existed, and that each king had but one vote.³

On a first simple view of the case, it seems hardly credible that Thucydides, out of three examples so pointedly adduced in illustration of a sweeping stigma on the good sense and intelligence of his countrymen, should have given prominence to two of so far-fetched, almost trivial, a nature, unless some peculiar or adventitious importance had attached to them, such as they might derive from having been sanctioned by some notable representative of the popular Greek genius which he satirises. When therefore we find that both are promulgated by Herodotus, almost in the identical words in which they are quoted by Thucydides, and, in so far as known, by Herodotus alone among Greek authors, it seems scarcely possible to escape the conclusion, that the credulity of Herodotus is that which Thucydides had here more immediately in view. If to these considerations we add the sensitiveness, so broadly displayed throughout the introductory portion of his work in which these sarcasms occur, to his own literary honour; the elaborate, at times casuistical line of argument, by which he endeavours to establish the grandeur and importance of his own subject, as compared with what had fallen to the lot of any preceding historian; and the self-complacent, almost boastful terms, in which he contrasts his treatment of that subject with the uncritical method of his predecessors, the conclusion

¹ IX. 53. See Appendix A. § 1.

² VI. 57. See Appendix A. § 2.

³ I. 20.

becomes more and more unavoidable, that this whole commentary on the comparative merits of his own, and of other historical productions, is not of mere general application. It is not probable that he would have been at so great pains to vindicate his superiority to such unworthy competitors as Hellanicus, Charon, or Xanthus. It required some more formidable rival to awaken so much jealousy, and elicit so pointed an expression of it. But let us suppose that Thucydides, a man of a proud and sensitive mind, and ambitious of unrivalled distinction in his own field of literary exertion, had, at the time when that field was yet unoccupied but by those inferior competitors brought to a certain stage of maturity a work which formed the favourite employment of his life, on which he had staked his hopes of celebrity, and of the immeasurable superiority of which to all former efforts of the kind he was justly proud. Let us suppose further, that before he had time to carry his undertaking to perfection, the vacant arena had suddenly been entered by a rival, certainly not inferior to himself in the aggregate of his literary qualifications, though in a less intellectual branch of their common art, a rival whose very defects are alluded to by himself as sources of more immediate popularity than his own work was likely to attain.¹ Let us suppose all this, nor is it more than is borne out by probability and the internal evidence of the two compositions, and no reasonable doubt will remain of the fact, that Thucydides was not only well acquainted with the labours of his predecessor, but has, in this remarkable series of commentaries intimated clearly, though indirectly, that such was the case.

¹ I. 22. in fine.

In dwelling however on two of the three examples of Greek popular credulity adduced by Thucydides, as evidence on the one side, we must not overlook the argument which the third example has supplied to the advocate of opposite views. On this third occasion¹ Thucydides mentions, among other vulgar errors, the belief "of the Athenians," that Hipparchus, slain by Harmodius and Aristogiton, was the eldest son of Pisistratus, and at the time of his death the reigning member of the family; whereas in truth he was the younger brother, Hippias being the eldest son and his father's successor on the throne. "In this instance at least," it has been contended, "Herodotus was as well informed as Thucydides of the real facts; having, in describing the death of Hipparchus, specially designated him as 'brother of the tyrant Hippias,' not as himself the tyrant."² Thucydides therefore, it is urged, "could not here have had Herodotus in view; nor is it likely that in so severely reflecting, as has been supposed, in this same context, on the examples of his rival's ignorance, he would, had he read this passage of his book, have been so uncandid as to withhold from him the credit due to a fellow-assertor of the truth."³ Admitting what is here assumed (but is not altogether beyond question⁴), that Thucydides really believed Herodotus in this case to be free from the popular error, it must be observed, that the former historian's censure is here specially restricted to the vulgar belief of the popular "Athenian public;" while in the other two cases it is directed generally against the popular "Greek public." This distinction tends obviously to strengthen

¹ I. 20.; VI. 54. sqq.

² Dahlmann, Herodot. p. 227.

³ V. 55.

⁴ See Appendix B.

rather than invalidate our previous argument. Herodotus was not an Athenian. The limitation therefore of the stricture in the one case may seem as if intended to exclude him from its application; while the extension of it in the others, the more clearly implicates an authority who was preeminently the organ of popular Greek tradition in the wider sense.

Another point to which weight has been attached on the negative side of this question is, that while Thucydides, in his retrospective notices, differs at times materially from Herodotus, he nowhere makes any allusion to such difference, or any attempt to vindicate his own views, or controvert, as might have been expected, those sanctioned by so distinguished an opponent.¹ This argument is founded

¹ Dahlmann, p. 219. The discrepancies which we have been able to detect, inclusive of the two already noted in the respective accounts of the Cylonian Conspiracy and of the foundation of Zancle (see note to p. 20.), are but few in number, and of a trifling nature.

With Herodotus (VII. 233.), the body of Thebans who treacherously occupied Platæa is rated at 400 men under the command of Eurymachus, son of Leontiades. Thucydides describes them (II. 2.) as a few more than 300 men, and as commanded by the Boeotarcha, Pythangelus and Diemporus; while Eurymachus with him is but an influential Theban citizen, through whom the intrigue with the anti-Attic party in Platæa was mainly conducted. In each account Eurymachus accompanies the expedition, and is slain by the Platæans.

Herodotus (VI. 98.) mentions, on the authority of the Delians, an earthquake as having occurred in their island in the year before the battle of Marathon. He adds, that this was the first and the last earthquake which had visited the island. Thucydides, on the other hand (II. 8.), describes Delos as shaken by an earthquake immediately before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, and adds that this was the first that had been experienced in the island.

The disagreement which Dahlmann discovers in their respective accounts of the Thracian colony of Aristagoras of Miletus (Herod. v. in fine; Thucyd. IV. 102.) does not appear to have any real existence. Nor can the different number of ships assigned in each author to the Greek naval force at Salamis (Herod. VIII. 44. 48.; Thuc. I. 74.) be here taken

on a plain misapprehension of the historical art of the age in which both writers flourished. The practice of quoting and controverting statements of rival authors, indispensable as it seems in the historical compositions of our own age, was not the practice generally of the early Greek historians, and least of all that of Thucydides. The single author whom he mentions by name is Hellanicus¹; and him he mentions neither as an authority nor an opponent, but simply with reference to the fact, that the portion of Greek history immediately preceding his own subject had been treated by Hellanicus alone, and so imperfectly, as to render necessary his own introductory Retrospect. Even had it been the custom to controvert rival authorities, it was a custom to which Thucydides could with the less propriety have conformed, after having, in his prefatory chapters, repudiated in the mass all deference to the research of his predecessors, as fabulous and superficial. His only consistent or dignified course, after such a declaration, was to give his own view of each controverted matter, leaving his readers to judge for themselves between him and opponents whom he so lightly esteemed.

6. Far more important (IV.) than the negative argument founded on such partial discrepancies between the two authors, is the affirmative evidence contained in the habitual allusions by Thucydides to facts or events narrated by Herodotus, as to matters of general notoriety. These allusions are so numerous and varied as at least abundantly to prove that the preceding stages of Greek history had

Or to passages of his work.

into account; the statement in Thucydides not being made by himself, but placed in the mouth of an Athenian orator.

¹ I. 97.

been investigated with a care, and described with an amplitude of detail, which, were the work of Herodotus to be excluded from the existing library of Greek literature, would be inexplicable by reference to any other known source of light on the period. It would at least be necessary to award to the predecessors of Herodotus a far greater amount of credit for original research than has ever yet been claimed for them, and to himself a much smaller share of such merit than that to which he has hitherto been held entitled. The notices in question also refer, in frequent instances, not so much to events of prominent political importance, as to rare facts or anecdotes, which were the less likely to have been common, with Herodotus, to the second-rate logographers of the previous generation.

Of the many examples that occur of this species of parallel passage, the notices of Themistocles by the two authors supply some of the most pointed.

Thucydides¹ mentions, briefly and incidentally, as a well-known fact, that Themistocles, during a war with Ægina, had persuaded the Athenians to make the large addition to their naval force, which enabled their fleets to cope with those of Xerxes, during the ensuing Persian war. The details of this sage policy of the Attic statesman are given at length by Herodotus.²

Thucydides³, in the same brief incidental manner, makes the Athenian envoys remind the Lacedæmonians of the patriotic stratagem, by which Themistocles at Salamis forced the Persians to fight in the Straits instead of the open sea, and thus secured the

¹ I. 14.

² VII. 144.

³ I. 74.

victory to the Greeks. The particulars of this stratagem are likewise given in full by Herodotus.¹ In the sequel of the same passage, Thucydides mentions, also as a known fact, the special honours paid by the Spartans to Themistocles after the close of the war, for his brilliant services to the common country. Of the mode in which this mark of distinction was conferred on the Attic statesman we have a detailed account in Herodotus.²

Herodotus narrates at some length the cunning manœuvres by which the same Athenian commander, curiously combining the character of true patriot with that of Unjust steward, secured for himself, in prophetic anticipation of his impending reverse of fortune, the future protection of the Persian royal family; first, by giving Xerxes secret information of the intended Athenian movements prior to the action of Salamis³, and afterwards by dissuading the Greeks from destroying the bridge over the Hellespont.⁴ In the letter which Thucydides⁵ makes Themistocles, after his flight from Greece, address to Artaxerxes, both these acts are cited as services rendered to the father of that sovereign, and are admitted by him as valid claims to his own favour and protection.

In Herodotus⁶ we have a long and highly fabulous account of a passage of arms betwixt 300 Spartans and 300 Argives at Thyrea, in an old war between the two republics regarding the right to that frontier town. Thucydides, in describing⁷ a diplomatic negotiation between Sparta and Argos, in the twelfth year of the Peloponnesian war, makes the Argive commissioners allude to that legendary adventure,

¹ VIII. 75. 79.² VIII. 124.³ VIII. 75.⁴ VIII. 109.⁵ I. 137.⁶ I. 82.⁷ V. 41.

and suggest, in certain contingencies, a recurrence to the same mode of settling disputes. The Spartans, in their reply, characterise this suggestion, with the precedent to which it refers, as "folly." In this expression it is difficult to overlook a not unmerited sneer at Herodotus, as well as at the Argives, for attaching importance, in that more advanced period of military and political science, to precedents borrowed from the mythical wars of their semi-barbarous ages.

At an early stage of the quarrel between Athens and Corinth, Thucydides¹ introduces a Corinthian orator alluding, in the course of his argument, to a present of twenty ships, as having formerly been made by his countrymen to the Athenians in a war with Ægina, at a time when the Athenian navy was in low condition. In Herodotus² will be found a full account of this transaction.

In his notice of the Greek naval armament engaged at Artemisium, Herodotus³ particularly mentions the zeal and valour of the Plataeans, who, while themselves, as an inland people, unprovided with ships, embarked and fought on board the Athenian galleys. Thucydides⁴, in the address of the same Plataeans to the Spartans, after the capture of their city, makes them pointedly appeal to this same peculiar service rendered by them to the common cause of freedom.

Herodotus⁵ dwells, in a severely satirical tone, on the selfishness and duplicity of the Spartans, as compared with the disinterested patriotism of their Athenian rivals during the Persian war, and on the

¹ I. 41.² VI. 89.³ VIII. 1.⁴ III. 54.⁵ IX. 6. seqq.

indifference of the same Spartans to the sufferings of their fellow-Greeks, so long as they themselves were exempt from the common calamity. These strictures are repeated by the Athenian envoys, in very similar terms, in the speech which Thucydides¹ makes them address to the first Convention of Dorian states at Lacedæmon.

Herodotus² relates, in much detail, how the Platæans had formerly, when oppressed by the Thebans, appealed to the Spartans for protection, and how the Spartans declined the application, on the ground of their distance from the Platæan territory, and advised them to have recourse to Athens, as nearer at hand and better able to assist them. This transaction is appropriately referred to by the Platæans in the address to their Spartan oppressors³ after the capture of their city, where both the refusal of aid by Lacedæmon, and the reason assigned for that refusal, are restated in terms identical in substance with those used by Herodotus. Nor is it probably by mere accident, that while Herodotus, in his account of the first formation of this alliance between Athens and Platæa, has neglected to mention its date, the omission has here been supplied by Thucydides.⁴

V. These references by Thucydides to facts or events previously described by Herodotus, present at times, in style and expression, so near a resemblance to, or even identity with, the parallel passages of the latter author, as to warrant the belief that the words as well as the sense have, inadvertently or unconsciously, been borrowed from his text.

¹ I. 74.² VI. 108.³ III. 55.⁴ III. 68.

A remarkable series of such coincidences occurs in their joint accounts of the Conspiracy of Cylon. That by Herodotus consists but of a few lines, mentioning the main facts of the affair, as connected with the overthrow of Democracy in Athens by Cleomenes. Thucydides, having occasion to refer to the same transaction in connexion with the charge of impiety brought by the Spartans against Pericles, amplifies the concise notice of Herodotus into a detailed narrative. Subjoined are the parallel texts of each author :

HEROD. v. 71. — *Cylon was an Olympic victor among the Athenians, who, aspiring to Tyrannical power, collected his adherents and attempted to seize the Acropolis. But, the enterprise proving unsuccessful, he sat down as a suppliant at the feet of the goddess. From this position they were removed by the Prytanēs who then held sway in Athens*¹ . . .

THUC. i. 126. — *Cylon was an Athenian Olympic victor who, consulting the oracle, was instructed by it to seize the Acropolis of Athens. . . . He accordingly seized the Acropolis with a view to Tyrannical power. . . . They sat down as suppliants at the altar. . . . But those charged by the Athenians with the public safety removing them from this position*² . . .

Herodotus, in his notice of the usurper Pisistratus, gives him credit for many qualities of a wise and

¹ ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης. Οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμῃσεν· προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταιρήτην ἡλικιωτέων, καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη. Οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι, ἐκέτης ἕζετο πρὸς τῷ γάλμα. Τοὺτους ἀνίστασιν μὲν οἱ Πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων, οἵπερ ἐνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀΐνας, ὑπεγύουσι πλὴν θανάτου.

² Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος . . . χρωμένῳ δὲ . . . ἀνείλεν ὁ θεὸς . . . καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν . . . ὁ δὲ κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι . . . οἱ δὲ . . . καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐκείται . . . ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακὴν

virtuous sovereign. Thucydides, in his supplementary account of the usurper's sons, bestows a like commendation on them, especially on Hipparchus, in terms offering similar points of correspondence:

HEROD. i. 59.—He governed the city according to the established laws, *adorning it beautifully* and well.¹

THUC. vi. 54.—He *established* his government on no invidious footing, . . . and they *adorned the city beautifully*.²

Herodotus informs us that Pisistratus purified Delos, by removing the graves situated in those parts of the island which were within view of the temple. Thucydides, in describing the subsequent more complete purification in 426 B.C., incidently mentions the course formerly pursued by Pisistratus in terms nearly identical with those of Herodotus:

HEROD. i. 64.—Purifying as much of the island as lay within sight of the sanctuary.³

THUC. iii. 104.—He purified as much of the island as could be seen from the sanctuary.⁴

To these passages may be added the two above referred to, regarding the Plataean alliance with Athens; where however the correspondence is less in the words than the sense:

HEROD. vi. 108.—But declining the proposal they replied, *We dwell at a great distance*

THUC. iii. 55.—But you sent us away, and counselled us to turn to *the Athenians*, as

¹ ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατεστιῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

³ τὴν νῆσον . . . καθήρας . . . ἐπ' ὅσον ἑποψίς τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε.

² τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . ἀντιπύθονως κατεστήσατο . . . τὴν τε πόλιν ἀντῶν καλῶς διεκόσμησαν.

⁴ ἐκάθημε . . . ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωρᾶτο τῆς νήσου.

from you. . . . We therefore advise you rather to give yourselves up to the Athenians, who are your near neighbours.¹ *being near at hand, while you dwell at a great distance.²*

Amphipolitan campaign of Thucydides.

7. The only events in the Historian's life of which we possess strictly authentic notices, those supplied by himself, are: His having been resident at Athens during the Plague in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, and having been himself one of the few among those attacked who recovered from the disease³; his having held an important command in Thrace in the eighth year of the war; his having been degraded from that command on account of alleged misconduct; his subsequent twenty years' exile from Athens; and his return to his native city at the close of that period.⁴

During the early part of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenian interest seems to have been paramount, or greatly in the ascendant, in that part of the north-western shore of the Ægæan, which might not improperly be called the Hellenic Thrace. This district comprised the broken line of bays and promontories, extending from the Thermæan Gulf on the south-west, to the Isle of Thasus on the north-east; the larger portion of which, occupied chiefly by Greek settlers, was the great peninsula of Chalcidicë, with its three well-defined headlands, Pallene, Sithonia, and Athos. Nearly in the centre of this district lay Amphipolis on the river Strymon, a flourishing Attic

¹ οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἑλεγόν σφι τάδε· ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκούμεν . . . συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ἡμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισι τε ἀνδράσι . . .

² ὑμεῖς ἀπεώσασθε, καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐκτελεῖτε τραπέσθαι ὡς ἐγγύς ὄντας, ἡμῶν δὲ μακρὰν ἀποικούντων.

³ II. 48.

⁴ IV. 102. sqq.; v. 26.

colony, and a place of great political and financial importance to Athens, not only as the metropolitan seat of her empire in this region, but as one of her principal depôts of naval stores and timber for ship-building. Amphipolis however was not itself a maritime town. This defect was made up by her dependency Eion, a commodious harbour, situated a few miles lower down the river, near its issue into the sea; hence also familiarly styled the Port of Amphipolis. In the summer of the eighth year of the war, Brasidas, the ablest Spartan general of that day, invited by Perdiccas of Macedon whom he had persuaded to play false to Athens, and by the Lacedæmonian party in the Hellenothracian republics, marched rapidly from Bœotia through Thessaly and Macedonia, with a moderate force, and formed a junction with his ally Perdiccas in the Chalcidicæ. Being unprovided with ships, his operations were carried on entirely by land. In the course of a few weeks, he without opposition made himself master of the Athenian vassal states of Acanthus and Stagirus, and in the ensuing autumn undertook the far more important conquest of Amphipolis. The enterprise was well-timed. Thucydides, on whose presence and local influence, apart from the force under his command, the Athenians greatly relied for maintaining their hold on the place, was absent in a distant part of his province. There remained but a small number of regular troops, if any, for the defence of the town, under his colleague or lieutenant Eucles.¹ Brasidas,

¹ It was the Athenian custom to intrust the command of any important station to several Strategi, officers combining the functions of naval and military commanders with those of provincial governors. But usually,

advancing by a rapid night march from his quarters in the Chalcidicæ, suddenly appears beneath the walls on the afternoon of the next day, and by aid of the small faction friendly to Sparta, succeeds in occupying the outer defences and principal approaches to the citadel, so completely as to preclude all hope of any effective resistance by the force under Eucles. In this emergency, the leaders of the Athenian party dispatched Eucles with intelligence of the state of things to Thucydides, then at Thasus, distant about half a day's voyage, in the hope of being able to hold out until he should come to their relief. On receiving the intelligence he at once set sail with the seven triremes immediately at his disposal. But in the meanwhile Brasidas, partly by intimidation, partly by mild and conciliatory offers, persuades the citizens to surrender. Thucydides, hearing of this catastrophe by the way, stops short at Eïon, which he

if not invariably, one of the number was invested with a certain superiority to his colleagues. Among other cases in point are those of Nicias (IV. 42. 53.) and of Demosthenes (III. 91. 93. sqq.), who alone appears as planning and directing the disastrous Ætolian expedition; of his colleague Procles, after the mention of his appointment, nothing more is heard but that he was slain in the general rout of the army. There can therefore be no doubt that Thucydides had on this occasion the direction in chief of the Athenian interests in Thrace; and that Eucles, nominally his colleague, was virtually his deputy or lieutenant. It is evident from the Historian's own account that the whole effective force of men and ships was with himself at Thasus. It is even left doubtful whether Eucles had any regular troops under his command; or whether he may not rather have been left at Amphipolis in little more than the quality of Athenian resident commissioner, to direct or concur with the municipal authorities in maintaining the Attic interest in the place. If, in § 104., we adopt the reading retained by Arnold, which designates Thucydides as τὸν ἑταρον στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης, instead of τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης, Eucles would then more distinctly appear as only governor of the town of Amphipolis, while Thucydides was commander in chief of the whole district.

reaches in time to anticipate and frustrate the attempt of Brasidas to take it also by surprise.¹

For his conduct on this occasion the Historian was deprived of his command and visited with penalties, the exact nature of which he has not explained, further than that they involved his twenty years' exile from Athens.²

His sentence of exile.

The supplementary notices of this affair by his popular biographers, seem as devoid of authenticity, as the commentaries which accompany them of impartiality or sound criticism. They all more or less proceed on the assumption that Thucydides had been unjustly treated. They suppose, and not unreasonably, that a man of so much talent and patriotism as his work shows him to have possessed, could not have been guilty either of treachery, or serious mismanagement in any official capacity; that he must at least have acted to the best of his means and opportunities; and that his exile was the penalty of no graver crime than want of success, an unpar-

¹ IV. 78. 84. 102. sqq.

² VI. 26. There were two modes in which the punishment of exile might be made effectual; one by a simple decree of banishment, usually involving confiscation of goods; the other where the accused, fearing a harsher sentence, declined appearing before the tribunal, and thus voluntarily incurred the penalty of outlawry. The crime laid to the charge of Thucydides is described by his biographers (Marcell. § 55.) as that of Treason. But this term does not necessarily imply wilful treachery, or favour to the enemy. Certain more serious cases of culpable negligence, those more especially involving the loss of a city or fleet, formed, in the public law of Athens, a species of constructive treason, those guilty of which were liable, like traitors of a worse description, to the penalty of death. It was customary however, in these more venial cases, to extend indulgence to the criminal, by conniving at his flight or absence when summoned to take his trial, and thus reducing his punishment from death to exile. Such was probably the Historian's case.

donable one in the eyes of those who sat in judgment on his case. This mode of reasoning was the more natural, that the disaster occurred at a time when the ultra-democratical party was at the height of its power in Athens, under the leadership of Cleon, the least scrupulous pander to its caprices; Thucydides himself being favourably affected to the aristocratic interest. Cleon accordingly, in all the speculations on the subject, is assumed to have been the arch-enemy, of whose malicious persecution the Historian was an innocent victim. However creditable this view of the case may be to the feelings of an admiring posterity, it is not certainly warranted by an impartial estimate of the facts, even as stated by the defendant himself in his own cause.

The account given by Thucydides of his services in Thrace, and of the general conduct of this campaign on the Athenian side, is marked by a brevity and a reserve, difficult to explain in a manner favourable to himself. He nowhere informs us of the epoch at which he was appointed to the command of the province, whether before or after the arrival of Brasidas. We are first apprised of his holding the office at the moment of the assault on Amphipolis, when affairs had already taken such a turn, that the mention either of himself or his position could no longer decently be dispensed with. Here we have, from whatever cause, a departure from his usual, if not invariable practice, of naming the officer intrusted with any important command at the time of his appointment, especially where the station over which he presided afterwards became the scene of memorable events, or his own conduct a subject of serious animadversion. But this is not the whole singularity of the case. During the

earlier summer career of Brasidas, while he was rapidly achieving the conquest of Athenian colonies, and otherwise undermining the Attic interest in Thrace, down, in fact, to the afternoon of his appearing before Amphipolis, we are not only left in the dark as to whether the Athenian officer in those parts was Thucydides or some other person whom he afterwards superseded, but whether there was any Athenian officer at all in the district. The single allusion in his text¹ to measures taken by the Athenians for protecting their interests, where he tells us that, "on hearing of the march of Brasidas and the defection of Perdiccas, they established a closer watch over their Thracian allies," does but add by its vagueness to the general mystery. Who were the Athenians that ordered this increased watchfulness? The Athenian authorities at home, or the Athenian officer in the province? If the former, by what means did they effect their object? If through the agency of the latter, why are we not apprised of his existence, name, and mode of action, matters of such vital moment as affecting both the Historian's credit and the history of this memorable campaign? While "the Athenians" were so careful to watch their allies, how happens it that not a hint should occur of watchfulness over the movements of their daring and energetic enemy, still less of any attempt to oppose or obstruct them? That an author, usually so distinct in his historical details, should, in this particular instance, where his honour was vitally at stake, have left his readers so dependent on their own conjecture, is certainly a strong argument that he had nothing very satisfactory to communicate.

¹ IV. 82.

From the mode in which he limits his share in this campaign to the operations connected with the fall of Amphipolis, and specially to his non-arrival in time to save the place, his apologists have been led to infer, as on his own authority, that an imputed slackness in the performance of that particular duty was the sole ground of his condemnation. In more critical quarters this can hardly appear the whole sum and substance of his offending. His habitual truthfulness entitles him no doubt to credit, when he assures us that he used all possible diligence in coming to the relief of Amphipolis, after receiving the message of Eucles. It would however, for reasons stated in the sequel, be doing injustice to the Athenian government to suppose, that an imputed half-hour's delay in any such case would have been visited by so cruelly severe a penalty. Nor can Thucydides fairly be charged with attempting to convey such an impression. In describing the fall of Amphipolis he restricts himself to the mere facts of that disaster. The mention of his exile occurs in another part of his work; and the expression which he there uses, merely defines the time, without particularising the cause of his disgrace, further than that it was a consequence of his "military command at Amphipolis."¹ It might perhaps with better reason be assumed, that he has been at pains to narrate in detail the least censurable part of his conduct, while passing over in silence the transactions in which he felt himself to blame.

How far
merited by
his con-
duct.

8. The main points of the case against him are obviously involved in the question: How happened he to be lying idle with his fleet and troops at Thasus, the most

¹ v. 26.

distant extremity of his province, while so formidable an enemy was rapidly achieving, in its centre and opposite extremity, the series of conquests which ended in the capture of the most important Athenian possession in Thrace? No answer has been given by Thucydides, or by any one of his advocates, to this question; and until it is satisfactorily answered, the reasonable presumption must be, that he was in the wrong. Thasus could not be threatened by Brasidas. It lay as far from Amphipolis to the north, as the scene of the Spartan warrior's earlier successes from the same city to the south. Nor could it in any case have been much exposed to danger, being only accessible by sea, and Brasidas had no ships. The place which naturally presented itself to a wise governor or prudent tactician, as his head-quarter in such an emergency, was, if not Amphipolis itself, Eion, the port and naval station of Amphipolis, three miles distant at the mouth of the river, and in the centre of the whole threatened district. But at this most critical moment, Eion was left as unprovided with naval or military defences as Amphipolis. The natural inference therefore seems to be, that the Historian's fault was, not so much his slowness in repairing to his proper post in the hour of danger, as his having permanently absented himself from that post at so critical a time. It might perhaps be urged, that Thasus itself may have been exposed to danger; that disaffection may have existed in the island, or among the dependent tribes of the neighbouring continent. In that case however the Historian would surely have mentioned the existence of such a state of things, as furnishing the best apology for his conduct. But

the facts seem altogether at variance with any such hypothetical vindication. Had Thasus now been ripe for revolt, the opportunity offered by the sudden departure of Thucydides with his force, and the brilliant success of the Lacedæmonian arms, would not assuredly have been let slip. But the island remained true to Athens for many years afterwards. As for danger to the Athenian interest from the neighbouring continental tribes, he himself precludes any such supposition, by his pointed mention of the influence which his large mineral property secured for him in the district.¹ But may not this very fact, his extensive interest as a proprietor in that extremity of his province, furnish an explanation of his preference of Thasus to Amphipolis or Eion as his head-quarter? The centre of the Thracian mining district, where his own possessions were situated, was Scaptēsylē, on the coast immediately opposite Thasus; and the principal town and port of that island was also the chief emporium of the mineral trade of Thrace. In the absence therefore of all other apparent motive for his being stationary in the extreme north of his province, while Brasidas was conquering the principal cities of its south and centre, it is not very uncharitable to suppose, that the fault laid to his charge, and not without reason, was his having been more occupied with his own affairs than with his official duties, at a time when the latter had an imperative claim on his undivided attention.

Nor is it a light matter that he neither attempts to vindicate himself nor specifies the ground of his sentence. Such reserve on the part of a man conscious

¹ IV. 105.

of innocence, and smarting under a sense of injury, would indeed be a surprising instance of human forbearance. A historian whose subject involved mention of an act of grave injustice committed against himself, was surely entitled, or even bound, to say a few words in his own vindication. The common assumption that his imputed crime was merely his failure to perform the voyage from Thasus to Amphipolis as rapidly as the democratic leaders at home might affect to consider practicable, is injurious to the Attic government of that period. Whatever may have been its conduct in the later stages of the war, when the popular mind was soured by reverses, undue severity in judging its military officers cannot at this time be laid to its charge. Thucydides, if himself the victim of such severity, would have been the less likely to suppress other examples of it. No argument of his having been unfairly treated could weigh more strongly with posterity, than the adduction of other similar cases of harshness. There occurs however but a single one, prior to the Syracusan disaster, throughout the chequered vicissitudes of Athenian military enterprise which he describes. It is where the three Strategi, convicted, or at least found guilty, of having been bribed by the Sicilians to withdraw the force under their command from the island on terms degrading to Athens, are punished, two with exile, the third with a pecuniary fine.¹ This was certainly but a mild sentence for the crime of actual treason, whether real, or, as Thucydides seems to imply, only imputed. But as a general rule, where mere mismanagement was the alleged fault, and no

¹ IV. 65.

suspicion existed of culpable motives, we are more led to admire the leniency than to blame the severity with which offenders were treated. The Ætolian expedition of Demosthenes¹ is a remarkable instance; an enterprise undertaken with inexcusable rashness, against the advice of allies well aware, from local knowledge, of its difficulties, and terminating in the disgraceful flight and ultimate destruction of what Thucydides himself describes as the finest body of native Athenian troops fitted out during the war. Yet after a short interval, without any notice of his having been either punished or called to account, we find the same Demosthenes still in command on the same station. Nicias is also described as chargeable in various instances² with blunders or oversights, more palpable, and even more fatal in the end, than the supposed delay of Thucydides between Thasus and Amphipolis. What the republic required was zeal, activity, and devotion; and in no instance where these qualities were displayed, does ill success, at this stage of the war, appear to have formed a ground of prosecution, or even of serious complaint.³

¹ III. 94. sqq.

² VI. 104., VII. 42.

³ It is proper here to mention that the author, the better to form for himself, by reference solely to original sources, an independent judgment on this delicate point of the Historian's biography, abstained from examining those parts of the works either of Bishop Thirlwall (vol. III. p. 268. 2nd edit.) or Mr. Grote (vol. VI. p. 565. sqq.), in which it is treated, until this portion of his own text had been composed and written out to the very letter as it is here printed. The only additional remarks which a reference to either authority has suggested, are contained in the note below to p. 45. It will be seen that his view is the same in substance as that of Mr. Grote, although with some variety in the details. This result, while it may possibly tend to influence the reader in favour of our joint opinion, has been a source of gratification to the author,

Of the precise period and circumstances of his degradation and impeachment, whether before or after the ensuing capture by Brasidas of Toronë and other Thracian towns¹, or of the mode in which he was arraigned or condemned, no account has been transmitted either by the Historian or his popular biographers.

9. The statement of those authorities that Cleon was the chief author of his disgrace, while unsupported by authentic data, is in itself probable, in so far as that demagogue, being then high in influence, would be the most natural person to take the lead in enforcing penalties against a delinquent member of the moderate party. It is certainly remarkable that Thucydides, usually so guarded in his judgements, especially where unfavourable, on the characters of public men, should have taken such pains to expose the political presumption and military incapacity of this particular statesman. On the other hand it must be remembered that Cleon, among the public characters of this period, is the one most notorious for the defects which Thucydides satirises. Had therefore the Historian thought fit to abandon his habitual reserve in any special instance for the purpose of introducing a Themistocles, whose defects should act as a foil to the brilliant qualities of Themistocles, Pericles, or Alcibiades, or to the more homely virtues of Nicias,—Cleon is the man who, even apart from motives of personal dislike, would have offered himself as best adapted to the purpose. Several

His relation to Cleon.

from his having had frequent occasion on other points to differ widely from his eminent contemporary.

¹ IV. 109. sqq.

modern writers, on the other hand¹, admirers or apologists of the Athenian democracy, have endeavoured to vindicate Cleon at the expense of Thucydides, by supposing the sarcasms of the latter to be the principal basis on which the now received estimate of Cleon's character is founded; that those sarcasms therefore, being themselves instigated by vindictive feeling, may be set aside as groundless aspersions, or exaggerations of venial defects.

The question which here arises, resolves itself very much into a comparative estimate of the character of Cleon for political discretion and military genius, and that of Thucydides for historical truthfulness; a question which can, by reference to existing data, admit but of one decision. Thucydides, with all his great qualities, was not certainly exempt from human weakness; and it is quite possible that he may, under the peculiar circumstances here supposed, have been tempted to gloss over transactions discreditable to himself, or to caricature the failings of a political adversary. But the estimate of his character which the critical public of every age has formed on the internal evidence of his work, our only authentic source of knowledge, is hardly compatible with his having been guilty of the deliberate misrepresentation implied in the theory of Cleon's vindicators. That would be giving him credit, not only for dishonesty, but for a disregard of his own fair fame, scarcely conceivable even in a dishonest man moderately gifted with common sense. His description² of the

¹ Droysen, *Aristophanes* 1^{er} Theil. p. 298. sqq.; Grote, *Hist. of Gr.*, vol. vi. pp. 458. 476. 459.

² iv. 27. sqq.

scene in the Athenian assembly, where Cleon appears in so discreditable a light, was prepared, it must be remembered, for a strictly contemporaneous public. It may be highly coloured; but were it not essentially true, the narrator would have been liable to be convicted of falsehood by, to use a classical figure of speech, "not less than thirty thousand witnesses," many of them friends and partisans of the calumniated statesman, and who would not have been slow in denouncing Thucydides as a liar and a slanderer. Yet not a hint transpires of the Historian having ever been exposed to any such charge on account of this part of his narrative. The assumption that Cleon's reputation with posterity is founded on the supposed misrepresentations of Thucydides or the satires of Aristophanes, involves other strange anomalies. It were surely something unexampled in the annals of national biography, that the popular impression of the character of the most popular demagogue of the most brilliant period of Attic history, should be founded exclusively on the misrepresentations of one or two malicious caricaturists. Yet nowhere in antiquity is there a trace of any estimate of Cleon's character different from that authorised by Thucydides.¹ Little weight can attach,

¹ This complete unanimity of the native contemporary public and of posterity, has been altogether overlooked by Mr. Grote, in his elaborate vindication of the demagogue's character. "No man," says he (vol. VI. p. 659.), "thinks of judging Sir R. Walpole, Mr. Fox, or Mirabeau, from the numerous lampoons circulated against them; no man will take the measure of a political Englishman from Punch, or of a political Frenchman from the Charivari." We concur in the illustration,—slightly modified however by adding the word "solely" before the word "from," in each case where the latter occurs in the passage quoted: and we remark confidently, that if the authority of every leading historian of the

in the face of these positive proofs, to the purely speculative argument by which alone they are met, that the contemptible part assigned to Cleon in the Historian's page, is difficult to reconcile with the influence which he acquired and exercised in the great and enlightened republic of Athens. Other cases are certainly not wanting in the annals of republican government, or of human nature, where a combination of reckless audacity, with those rhetorical arts which consist in finding fault and pandering to popular caprice, has procured for men of inferior intellect a similar sway over as large and as rational bodies of men as the Attic democracy.

His life in
exile.

The Historian is variously reported by his biographers to have fixed his abode, after his banishment, in Thrace¹, in Ægina², and in Italy.³ He himself gives us to understand that he had no settled residence, being diligently engaged in watching the events he had undertaken to record, in different parts of the wide theatre over which they extended. That he passed much of his time in Peloponnesus he indirectly assures us.⁴ The other secondary notices on the subject are improbable. The fact of his being

age of those modern statesmen were as clearly on the side of the lampooners, of Punch, and of the Charivari, as the authority of Thucydides and Theopompus is on the side of Aristophanes in the case of Cleon, and if not a single voice were recorded in an opposite sense,—we should without hesitation adopt the description of the lampoons, Punch, &c., as substantially correct. The further analogy which Mr. Grote attempts to draw between Cleon and Socrates fails altogether; and for a like reason,—the entire absence in the case of the latter of that unanimity which forms the strong point of the case against the former.

¹ Dion Hal. De Thuc. Jud. 41.; Plutarch De Exil. 14.; Marcell. § 25.

² Marcell. § 24.

³ Timæus ap. Marcell. § 35.

⁴ v. 26.

an Athenian outlaw is conclusive against his having found refuge in Ægina, then a province of Athens. A permanent residence in a remote corner of Thrace would have placed beyond his reach those varied sources to which he must have been indebted for his equally varied and copious stock of materials, even admitting that he retained his Thracian property and right of domicile. This however is not likely, the district of Scaptēsylē being, like Ægina, a dependency of Athens. The Italian tradition may probably originate in a confusion between the Historian and the Statesman Thucydides¹, who seems to have visited Italy in the course of his political vicissitudes.

Thucydides informs us generally, that he was himself personally cognisant, as an actor or eyewitness, of much of what he describes. But except his Thracian misadventure, and his having been afflicted with the Plague at Athens, he has not specified any event, civil or military, at which he was actually present. The only passage which may seem to admit such a construction, is in his description of the battle of Mantinea; where he tells us that the Lacedæmonian army, when drawn up in line, "appeared the greater of the two."² The natural sense of these words certainly is, that the line so appeared to the person who makes the remark;

¹ There can hardly be a doubt that this is the case with the allusion by the Anonymous biographer to his residence at Sybaris shortly before "his ostracism;" a notice which has been so implicitly adopted by Krüger (*Leben des Thukyd.* p. 50. sqq.), in aid of his visionary theory as to the near domestic relations between Thucydides and Herodotus.

Regarding the connexion between the Historian and Archelaus king of Macedon, confusedly hinted at by Marcellinus, the reader so disposed will also find the usual amount of diffuse speculation in the same *Leben des Thuk.* p. 61. sqq.

² v. 68.

and this sense is further borne out by an expression in another place, implying his having, after his banishment, been present, as a looker on it may safely be assumed, at some of the more important movements on the Peloponnesian side.¹ But apart from such specific notices, the graphic precision of many of his descriptions, of Syracuse for example, or the Bay of Pylos, sufficiently evinces his familiarity at least with the localities described.

His restoration to his political rights.

The only authentic notice of his restoration to his political rights, its date or occasion, is his own statement², that his exile, which commenced in 423 B.C., lasted twenty years. If "twenty" be here understood as a mere round number, his return may be supposed to have taken place more or less immediately after the peace of 404 B.C., which is said to have been accompanied by a general amnesty to political offenders.³ If the notice, on the other hand, be taken by the letter, the date of his return would coincide with the successful enterprise of Thrasybulus for the restoration of free government. In this case Thucydides may be presumed not to have availed himself of the amnesty during the political degradation of his native republic under the Thirty tyrants, but to have preferred a more honourable reinstatement as one of her liberators from that humiliating oligarchy.

Authorities are generally agreed⁴ that Thucydides,

¹ v. 25.

² v. 26.

³ Pausanias, Attic. XIII., describes him as having been indebted for this act of grace to a special motion by an orator called Cænobius; but under what circumstances we are left to conjecture.

⁴ Cicero De Orat. II. 13.; Marcellin. § 23. The opposite notices in the Anonymous Life confound the Historian with the Statesman Thucydides.

fond as he is of garnishing his narrative with speeches, was neither himself a professional orator, nor took any active part in political debate. That he had however diligently studied oratory, may be inferred from the knowledge of its most subtle arts, displayed in the rhetorical portions of his text. The internal evidence of these passages also bears out the statement of the native critics, that his style was formed partly on the more solid eloquence of Antiphon, founder of the earliest Attic school of professional rhetoric¹, partly on the model of Gorgias, and other leading masters of the more florid Sicilian school.² Dionysius of Halicarnassus³ describes him as having held several other military appointments prior to his command in Thrace; and although this statement seems, like many others concerning him, to be merely conjectural, it is not in itself likely that he would have been appointed to a post of such importance, without having, in a previous subordinate capacity, afforded proof of his competency.

10. It has been generally assumed by modern critics, on the strength of a vague passage of Diogenes Laertius⁴, that the work of Thucydides not only remained unfinished at his death, but that no part of it was published during his lifetime; and that posterity is indebted to Xenophon for its final publication in its present form. This view however is opposed to the testimony of Cratippus, an author here

Publica-
tion of his
History.

¹ See note to p. 8. *supra*.

² Antyllus ap. Marcell. § 36. 51.; Dionys. Hal. De Thuc. Idiom. 2., De Thuc. Judic. 24., De admir. vi dic. Demosth. 4. 8., Ad Cn. Pomp. de Platone; Philostrat. Vit. Soph. I. ix., Epist. XIII. p. 919.; Schol. Thuc. iv. § 135.

³ De præcip. Hist. 3.: conf. Suid. in Thucyd.

⁴ In Xenoph. § 57.

possessing peculiar claims on attention, as being the only ascertained contemporary of the Historian to whom we are indebted for any information concerning him. Dionysius ¹, after describing Cratippus as contemporaneous with Thucydides, and as author of a supplement to his interrupted History, quotes him as the proposer of one among the current explanations of the well-known peculiarity of the eighth book, the absence from its narrative of those set speeches which abound in the others. The cause of this peculiarity was, according to Cratippus, that Thucydides, having observed that those portions of the already completed text had been found tedious by his readers, had determined not to insert any more such matter in the sequel of his work. This notice, whatever the intrinsic value of its author's theory regarding the speeches, is at least indirect evidence that the earlier portions of the Historian's work had been published, not only before his death, but sufficiently long before it to enable him to take the opinion of the critical public regarding them. It may perhaps be said that this opinion might have been obtained by the expedient of oral recital, or reading aloud, which, as practised in those days, was considered in some measure equivalent to written circulation. But this was evidently not the impression under which Cratippus made his statement, and it is with that impression alone that we have here to deal. Cratippus would have been a man of very obtuse intellect, had he failed to perceive that the same reason (whether true or false matters little to the present argument ²), which

¹ De Thuc. Jud. 16.

² The explanation of Cratippus is preferable at the worst to that suggested by some modern commentators, that the eighth book afforded

he assigns for the Historian's omitting the speeches from the eighth book, would have operated equally as a motive for expunging them from the previous seven, unless he had already committed himself by their publication. He would hardly have been satisfied, in clearing one small portion of his work of tedious digressions, to send forth the remainder of it full of such blemishes; not to mention the anomaly involved by the difference of method in the different parts of the same work, which, as it now exists, offends the critical reader. There can therefore be no reasonable doubt that Cratippus believed Thucydides to have himself published the earlier part of his History; and such belief on the part of a contemporaneous man of letters, and one himself nearly interested in the work as continuator and commentator, amounts to proof of the fact.

Apart from the testimony of Cratippus, unless the first seven books had been published by the Historian himself, it would be difficult to explain why they should have been worked up to so high a state of perfection during his life, while the eighth book

no similar opening for displays of oratory. The reverse may confidently be asserted. If we except the earlier stage of the war, while Pericles still lived, in no part of the Historian's subject were so many remarkable orators in a state of activity, or with better opportunities for exercising their talents. It may suffice to mention Alcibiades, Antiphon, Theramenes, Andocides. The debates among these statesmen, during the momentous fluctuations in the Athenian constitution described in this part of the narrative, were surely as well worth being recorded as those in the Sicilian Councils of books six and seven. The Historian himself characterises the last speech of Antiphon, in defence of his conduct as a party leader in these political struggles, as one of the most remarkable ever delivered. Could he not, if he had thought fit, or had time, have introduced it as appropriately, and with as good effect, as the long harangue of Hermocrates in vi. 33.?

remained imperfect, and the rest unwritten. This is not the usual process followed in our own age, where the original design of an author has been to complete and publish a work in its collective integrity; nor was it assuredly in the age of Thucydides. In such cases the whole is first written in a more or less rough form, and subsequently undergoes, in the order of its parts, its several stages of completion and polish. It is only where the primary intention has been to issue a work in separate allotments, that the earlier portions are first fully matured, while the rest remain incomplete or uncommenced. The adoption of this method by Thucydides would also explain the elaborately finished character of his Introductory dissertation, or "Archæologia" as it has been called. Where an author, after having fully digested the plan of his work, resolves to publish it in parts, it is the customary course now, and was doubtless also in the time of Thucydides, to issue the preface to the whole with the first of the separately published volumes. But where the work is not intended to be circulated at all till finished, no author would ever think of completing his preface till he had completed his book.

Admitting then, on the testimony of Cratippus and from the inherent probability of the case, that the first seven books were published during the author's life, it is further certain that no portion of them was published prior to the close of the war. The proof of this is, that in every part of their text there occur passages distinctly alluding to the war as concluded. It may be presumed therefore: I. That after the close of the war, the portion of the work now comprised in the first seven books, and which terminates with the great Syracusan catastrophe, being already in an

advanced state of preparation, was completed and published by its author; II. That the continuation had, at the date of the author's death, been brought down, in a more or less digested form, to the close of what now forms the eighth book, and was posthumously published.

Cratippus is said by Plutarch¹ to have carried on the history of the Peloponnesian war and of Greece, from the point of interruption at the close of the eighth book, to Conon's victory at Cnidus in 394 B.C.; and this statement is partly confirmed by Dionysius², who describes him as author of a supplement, or Paralipomena, to Thucydides. That the Hellenica of Xenophon was composed as a continuation of the same eighth book is certain, as well from the united testimony of the antient critics, as from the mode in which Xenophon commences his subject; and the same was the case, as we learn on equally unanimous antient authority, with the Hellenica of Theopompus.

Its continuators.

The parts of the Historian's narrative have above been cited with reference to its present division into books. There is however no reason to believe that this arrangement was sanctioned by himself or by the earlier editors of his History. Dionysius, in quoting the remarks of Cratippus on the absence of speeches from the eighth book, makes him designate it merely as "the latter portion of the History." Had the present more definite adjustment of the text been known to Cratippus, he would probably have referred to it in a case where preciseness of definition was desirable. It also appears that this division was not the only one familiar to antient

Its division into Books.

¹ De Glor. Athen. 1.

² De Thuc. Jud. 16.

commentators. Diodorus¹ mentions one into nine, and Marcellinus one into thirteen books. The latter author adds, that there were other modes of distribution, which he does not specify; but that the present was the most common, and had been described as such by Asclepius or Asclepiades, a grammarian probably of more antient date than Dionysius², the earliest commentator now extant by whom it is noticed. It is also the only one observable in the existing manuscripts. The division into thirteen books was familiar to the Grammarians of later times, and is frequently noticed by the Scholiasts on the text. The limits of the separate books of this arrangement have also, in several instances, been defined with some precision by those authorities.³

The Historian's text supplies no internal data for judging what may have been the mode of distribution adopted by himself. He never refers, as Herodotus frequently does, to past or subsequent portions of his narrative, as forming distinct sections or discourses. The same remark here occurs as in the case of his predecessor, that it is not likely, as supposed by one antient commentator⁴, that so voluminous a book would have been put forth by its author without some kind of textual division. Positive data

¹ XII. 37., XIII. 42.

² Marcell. 57. : conf. Schol. Thuc. I. 56. ; Suid. in Asclepiades ; Krüger, *Leben des Thuk.* p. 83.

³ Appendix C.

⁴ Schol. to IV. 135. The annalistic arrangement which Thucydides so scrupulously follows as a chronological distinction, could hardly have supplied an appropriate division into books, from the great inequality of the allotments; some years of the war furnishing material for but two or three pages, while others extend over fifty or sixty.

are equally wanting as to the title by which it may have been designated by Thucydides. In the opening passage he merely defines the subject as "The war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians."

In the preceding pages, the latter part, or eighth book of the History, has everywhere been cited as the genuine composition of Thucydides. For although its title to this honour has been disputed, on grounds some of which are not devoid of plausibility, the preponderance of evidence, as regards the integral substance of the text, is conclusive on the affirmative side. On the other hand it appears certain, as well from the unanimity of native tradition as on valid grounds of internal evidence, not only that this book remained unpublished at its author's death, but that it was left by him in an incomplete state. Traces of redaction by a strange hand may also be discerned in portions of its text. In the tradition which disputed its genuine origin, three competitors are named for the honour of spurious authorship; the Historian's daughter, Xenophon, and Theopompus.¹ If their rival pretensions be restricted within the more reasonable bounds of posthumous revisal and editorship, those of Xenophon are clearly entitled to a preference. Not only is the preponderance of testimony in his favour, but he was, from his own literary character and pursuits, in every respect the man of the day most likely to have been selected for such an office by the Historian's executors. And this external evidence in his favour is supported by the Xenophontean character of several of those passages which, while foreign to the manner of Thucydides, bear marks of supplement to, or correction of an original text.²

Author-
ship of
the eighth
book.

¹ Marcell. § 43. : conf. Diog. La. in Xenoph. § 57.

² Appendix D.

His death. The traditions concerning the place of the Historian's decease are numerous and conflicting. According to Cratippus, and Zopyrus¹, an obscure author also cited as contemporaneous, he died in Thrace; according to Didymus², at Athens; according to Timæus³, in Italy; according to Apollodorus, in Asiatic Æolia⁴. The principal weight here seems due to the account of Cratippus, both as that of a contemporary and from its own intrinsic value. It has also been preferred by Plutarch, who alludes to the Historian's death, or rather his assassination, at Scaptesyllē, and to his remains having been brought to Athens and deposited in the burial-ground of the Cimonian family, as matters of notoriety.⁵ There is much inherent probability in this account, in the fundamental fact at least of the Historian's death in Thrace. It has been shown, in a previous part of this inquiry, that he took a warm personal interest in his Thracian property; and his inducements to a settled domicile in that region were not probably diminished in his declining years. Even after his restoration to his civic rights, a residence at Athens might have lost much of its

¹ Marcellinus, 33. (conf. 45.) In the passage here quoted Marcellinus rejects the opinion of Zopyrus (that the Historian died in Thrace); "although," he adds, "its correctness does happen to have been vindicated by Cratippus." This expression would seem to imply that Zopyrus was, like Cratippus, a younger contemporary of Thucydides, and had been the first to publish an account of his death which had been corroborated by Cratippus. In the sequel however it is stated by the same Marcellinus, that Zopyrus had been quoted by Didymus, as placing the Historian's death, not in Thrace, but at Athens. It has been proposed to reconcile this discrepancy by changing *Θράκη*, in the first passage of Marcellinus, into *Ἀρρυχί*. But this whole text seems to abound in errors or false readings: conf. Poppo, vol. i. p. 31.; Grauert im Rheinisch. Mus. 1827, p. 184.

² Ap. Marcell. 32.

³ Ap. Marcell. 33.

⁴ Ap. Steph. Byz. in Parparon.

⁵ In Cimon, c. 4.

charm to one who seems to have had little taste for domestic politics, and who had been subjected by his fellow-citizens to degrading penalties, involving exile during the best twenty years of his life. There can be no doubt that his monument, whether sepulchre or cenotaph, with his name inscribed, was shown in the time of Pausanias in the Cimonian cemetery, situated, it would appear, without the Melitian gate of the city, near the suburban village of Cœlë.¹

In the legendary notices of his domestic relations, Thucydides is represented as a married man, and as the father of a son and a daughter.² The wife and daughter are left anonymous. Of the son, Timotheus, nothing more is recorded than the name. The daughter shares, as we have seen, with Xenophon and Theopompus, the credit of having continued the interrupted labours of her father.

11. In following up this sketch of the life of Thucydides by a concise review of his character, it has been considered desirable to combine with that review a comparative estimate of his genius, and that of his distinguished rival Herodotus; the case being one in which the aid of contrast, at all times an effective means of illustrating human qualities, seems to be more peculiarly available.

His character compared with that of Herodotus.

Herodotus and Thucydides were, in respect to the whole, or greater part of the active life of each, contemporaneous. They were, the one by birthright the other by choice and adoption, citizens of the same commonwealth. They enjoyed similar advantages of birth and education, wrote under the same in-

¹ Paus. Att. XXIII.; Plutarch, loc. cit.; Marcell. 16. 55.; Anonym. Vit. Thuc. 10.

² Marcell. § 53.; Suid. in Thucyd.

fluence of political and patriotic feeling, on subjects of a strictly national character and presenting other points of resemblance. They each possessed in a high degree the more valuable qualities of historical writers. Yet the difference between their productions, in composition and style, in the scope and character of the intellectual capacity and in the tone of moral and religious sentiment which they reflect, is of that peculiar nature which is commonly observable between writers, not merely of different tempers but of different ages and stages of society. Herodotus has been characterised, in a former chapter, as a man whose habits and sympathies were identified with "the good old time;" with the age of which he wrote rather than that in which he lived. Thucydides may, with equal justice, be pronounced still more in advance of the intellectual standard of the times, than Herodotus was in arrears of it. It would not indeed be easy to name, in any period of pagan antiquity, a man so generally devoid of the prejudices of paganism. The one therefore may be considered as representing the progress of the age, the other its conservative or stationary element. In the one the working of a naturally clear head and sober judgment, is liable to be disturbed by a lively imagination and unsuspecting simplicity of heart. In the other a powerful but over-subtle intellect is frequently led, by its excess of speculative acumen, to overstep the just limits between sound argument and sophistry. The one everywhere exhibits a confiding deference for national tradition in all its forms, historical, mythical, and poetical. In the other a zealous spirit of research after historical truth is combined with a contempt for

all popular legend, unless in so far as it may seem to embody a substantial element of fact. The veneration of Herodotus for the sound religious doctrine of a Supreme providence and its retributive justice, extends to all or most of the vulgar superstition by which, in his native Pantheon, that doctrine was partly disfigured, partly adorned. Thucydides exhibits a marked indifference to, if not positive disbelief in, the whole fabric of pagan faith and worship, from the summit of its visionary superstructure to its more solid basement of natural religion. In Herodotus the frank expression of his own opinions and feelings borders occasionally on egotism. Thucydides, on all convenient occasions, disguises his own judgments on men and things by delivering them in the words of others.

Among the more delicate modes in which the openness of the one character and the reserve of the other betray themselves, may be remarked, that the text of Herodotus throws a clear light on the nature and extent of his literary attainments. That of Thucydides is comparatively barren of such data. The former, it is true, enjoyed, in the varied character of his subject, opportunities that were wanting to his rival, for a display of such properly scientific qualifications, geographical, astronomical, or philological, as he possessed. He was however under no similar obligation to exhibit his acquaintance with polite literature. Yet Herodotus quotes, inclusive of anonymous writers, from fifteen to twenty authors in different branches of composition, some of them in repeated instances; and the influence exercised on his genius by several of them is perceptible throughout his work. The direct appeals of Thucydides

to former writers are limited to Homer and Hel-
 lanicus, and these are quoted merely as historical
 authorities. He also gives us incidentally to under-
 stand that he was conversant with the works of
 "all" the previous historians, or "logographers" as
 he calls them.¹ But with the above two exceptions,
 neither book nor passage of any author is referred
 to.² This barrenness of such allusion can hardly
 proceed from ignorance in a contemporary of Sopho-
 cles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, and one whose
 whole tone of sentiment and language proves him to
 be a highly educated man. It does but the more
 clearly mark his essentially practical turn of mind,
 and his disinclination to stray from the direct course
 of his subject, or expose himself to the charge of that
 undue excursiveness which he condemns in others.
 It must however also be admitted, in justice to
 Herodotus, that his references to the popular litera-
 ture indicate an exercise of critical judgement which
 is wanting in Thucydides. The former on several
 occasions speculates, and with some acuteness, on the
 age and genuine character of the works which he
 quotes. Thucydides, from the unqualified manner
 in which he subscribes³ to the popular belief that the
 Delian hymn to Apollo was a genuine production of

¹ I. 97. : conf. 21.

² Two passages of the History may seem to contain traces of anony-
 mous citation from popular poets. The concluding section of the ad-
 mirable speech of Nicias (VIII. 77.), *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις, καὶ οὐ τείχη, κ.τ.λ.*,
 is a celebrated maxim of Alcæus, paraphrased also by Æschylus, So-
 phocles, and other writers (see Vol. III. p. 267.). The description
 of Spartan dainties in IV. 26., *μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην, καὶ λίνου σπέρμα
 κεκομμένον*, also sounds more like a fragment of Alcman, than an original
 text of Thucydides. See Vol. III. p. 201. sq. ; and the passages of Alc-
 man there referred to.

³ III. 104.

Homer, in the face of internal proofs to the contrary, which could not have escaped his acumen had his attention been called to them, may be presumed not to have been much conversant with such questions.

If Thucydides has less opportunity, he also shows less inclination than Herodotus to hazard opinions on points of speculative science, beyond the immediate requirements of his narrative. His geographical commentaries are limited to countries where his scene of action is laid, and are neither frequent nor copious. His remarks on physiological questions amount to little more than an occasional sneer at the prevailing credulity, which instead of explaining the phenomena of Nature by natural causes, ascribed to those phenomena a counteracting influence on her own economy. In two passages alone does he distinctly imply that his own views were more sound or more sceptical.¹ In one he remarks that an eclipse of the sun could only take place at the time of new moon. Here he stops short; content with stating the fact which he knew, and leaving the reader to seek in some more professedly scientific quarter, the explanation which he was probably himself able to afford. The other is where, after describing the ravages caused by an influx of the sea during an earthquake, he adds, that without an earthquake he did not believe any such effect could be produced.² His work as little indicates as that of his predecessor a knowledge of any tongue but his own. There is however this difference, that while Herodotus, by the philological speculations in which he indulges, shows the extent of his ignorance, Thucydides, by abstaining from all such

¹ II. 28. : compare also VII. 50.

² III. 89. : conf. VII. 79.

discussions, withholds the means of estimating his knowledge. Amid the general neglect of philological pursuit in those days, the most that, on conjectural grounds, can be claimed for him, is an acquaintance with the Thracian tongue, both on account of his near connexion by blood and property with Thrace, and of the personal influence which, as he himself informs us, he possessed among its native population.

While the general tone of thought and feeling in both authors indicates essentially honest and truthful minds, Thucydides, in regard to historical or political impartiality, appears on the whole to have the advantage. The impartiality of Herodotus has been considered in every age liable to doubt, and has been keenly attacked on at least plausible grounds. That of Thucydides has never been seriously questioned in any itself impartial quarter. No undue leaning either towards Athenian or Spartan, democrat or oligarch, has been or can fairly be imputed to him. He has not indeed left us in doubt as to his own political opinions. Like every other great writer of antiquity, he was opposed to pure democratic government. But any charge of partisanship, that might be founded on his expressions of favour¹ to the aristocratical principle, is effectually neutralised by his unqualified admiration for the character and policy of Pericles, the most distinguished promoter of democratic privilege, and by the elaborate panegyric on the Athenian republic which he places in the mouth of that orator. Of his dispassionate judgement on international questions, something may perhaps be due to circumstances as well as to his own sense of equity. One honourable trait of his character, which in the

¹ VIII. 97.

vicissitudes of his fortune or his narrative is never effaced, is his genuine Attic patriotism. This feeling, if allowed its full influence in a work describing a life and death struggle between two rival interests, might have shown itself in modes too favourable to the side on which the author's own sympathies were enlisted. The wound inflicted by the result of his Amphipolitan campaign, may hence have helped to cherish and maintain that rigid impartiality which is everywhere perceptible; and posterity may thus have profited by his disgrace and exile, as well in this respect, as in the leisure with which they provided him for the prosecution of his research.

As a whole however the character of Thucydides, as reflected in his own page, is that of a less amiable man than Herodotus. His judgements of human conduct are more remarkable for the accuracy of their moral distinctions, and the subtlety with which they are drawn, than for generosity of feeling or appreciation of virtue. The elaborate care with which he dresses up his pictures of vice, and analyses the complex variety of forms which it assumed in his own time, seems to indicate, if not a naturally morose disposition, a temper soured by disappointment, and contrasts unpleasantly with the genial warmth of feeling that animates the moral judgements of Herodotus. This morbidity of temperament may also possibly have its advantage, as contributing to that dispassionate estimate of men and things which forms one of his chief merits as a historian. Where however his personal feelings are concerned, it shows itself in a less creditable manner, in the sarcastic, almost malignant terms, for example, of his indirect allusions to Herodotus.

State of
society de-
scribed in
his work.

12. The contrast above traced in the genius of the two authors may be extended with equal effect to that of the times of which they wrote, as exhibited in the work of each. It is one sadly to the discredit of the more advanced stage of society. In the picture presented by Herodotus, of Greece during and prior to the Persian war, the character of the people, under all the varied forms and fluctuations of their political government, of oligarchy, aristocracy, democracy, of settled constitution, revolution, usurpation, still appears under its best and most agreeable aspect. The sentiment of local patriotism is combined, in Athens and other leading states, with zeal for the national honour and interests. The conflict of factions tends to elicit the virtues rather than the vices of the citizens. Men of commanding talent and generous tempers rise to the head of affairs. Bad causes acquire dignity from the character of their supporters. The despotism of the usurper is often so blended with the virtues of the paternal sovereign that the extinction of freedom seems to promote the welfare of the subject people. No material change for the worse is perceptible during the ensuing half-century. The period between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars, may be considered as that of the greatest prosperity ever enjoyed by the Greek states. Those naturally restless communities appear animated by as general an inclination as they were capable of experiencing, to repose from war and faction, and occupy themselves with those arts of peace which they so rapidly carried to perfection. The maritime republics were content, by a partial sacrifice of independence, to enjoy tranquillity under the as yet mild sway of Athens.

Sparta, retaining her previous ascendancy among the continental states, relapsed into those habits of political sluggishness for which she was proverbial, when no motive of self-preservation, or other powerful inducement, impelled her to extend her sphere of action beyond her Peloponnesian circle of interests. Wars no doubt there were during this period, but they were of a comparatively languid character, and carried on more with a view to the better consolidation of peace, than, as afterwards, from a thirst of conquest or impatience of rival influence.

But the germs of future turbulence were steadily ripening beneath the outer surface of tranquillity. The policy of Athens had been, during the whole period, a plausible course of self-aggrandisement at the expense of her weaker neighbours; and her protectorship of the maritime republics placed at her disposal pecuniary resources surpassing those of the rest of Greece united. This accumulation of power and wealth in the hands of an ambitious rival, led the Dorian states to unite the more closely for their security, and at length provoked their leader Sparta to resent and oppose the threatened encroachments on her own immediate province. The part taken by Athens in the quarrel between Corcyra and Corinth in 432 B.C., as a first step to the spread of her influence from the eastern to the western extremity of the Hellenic body politic, forms, in the judgement of Thucydides, the immediate cause of the Peloponnesian war.

The commencement of that war is an epoch of marked deterioration in the Greek character. As Athens is the state from which the social revolutions

of Greece mainly derive their tone, it is in the vicissitudes of Athenian politics that the change is chiefly observable. Pure democratic government acts, where it acts most effectively, under the guidance of some ruling demagogue, on the choice of whom consequently the spirit of its action depends. In the century prior to the Peloponnesian war, disinterested patriotism and simplicity of manners in the mass of the citizens, insured a preference of able and virtuous rulers, and produced an abundance of such men qualified to direct affairs. In the ensuing period these qualities were supplanted, in the people by political pride and self-indulgence at home, oppression of dependents abroad; in their leaders by subserviency to popular caprice. There could hardly be a more efficient course of democratic policy than that pursued at Athens under the direction of Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles; or one more disastrous than that which ensued under Cleon, Nicias, and Alcibiades. Pericles, who died in the third year of the war, was the last example of that rare union of civic virtue with political and military genius, which distinguished the earlier brilliant series of democratic rulers. Nicias, surpassed by none of his predecessors in sterling moral worth and pure patriotism, wanted energy and genius as a statesman or commander. In Alcibiades, political and military genius of the highest order was exercised in reckless defiance of moral principle. The common characteristic of the other Attic leaders who figure towards the close of the war is a mediocrity of talent, which as little qualified them to grapple with the martial energy of Lacedæmon, as with the licentious impolicy of the home government.

This deterioration is common to the confederacy at large; though less marked perhaps, in Sparta owing to the greater uniformity of her social habits; in the secondary states, owing to their more limited field of influence. The wholesome restraint which fear of the foreign invader had imposed on local feuds and jealousies was now removed. The rival communities, from whom we part in Herodotus still united in defence of the common country, reappear in Thucydides bent on the ruin of each other; and the barbarian enemy is courted by each of his former adversaries as a welcome ally against their former confederates. Never were the hostile passions of any people called forth with greater intensity, or in a greater variety of modes, than in this memorable civil war; and never has such an ebullition of international animosity been described with more vivid effect than in the narrative of Thucydides. During seven and twenty years, all the resources of several scores of high-spirited commonwealths, all the faculties of their citizens, were on the stretch to forward the work of mutual destruction; the sea swarming with fleets and squadrons, flitting from coast to coast, and island to island; some engaged in combating each other, in assaulting hostile ports, or ravaging hostile shores; others in transporting land troops for service in the interior, where armies of corresponding numbers were everywhere as actively employed. In the negotiations carried on during temporary suspensions of arms, all the machinery of diplomatic fraud was put in motion with hitherto unexampled effrontery; treaties violated, promises broken, vows perjured. The motives of action were not every-

where the same. Those of state policy, by which the leading combatants were influenced, were less active among their weaker neighbours, were made up by ties of party, tribe, or antient alliance, or even, where a neutral course would have been preferred, by the necessity of taking a side; the rule, that whoever is not for us is against us, being strictly enforced, unless in the rare instance of some defaulter powerful enough to assert his right of neutrality. The whole contending body was ostensibly ranged under the banners either of Athens or of Sparta, as the chiefs, the one of the Ionian, the other of the Dorian race; the one of the naval, the other of the military power of Greece; the one of the Democratic, the other of the Aristocratic interest. These bonds of union were not however so close as to preclude, among the members of each league, a number of lukewarm, insincere, or doubtful partisans, sufficient to relieve the monotony of federal war by defections, changes of policy, and intestine revolutions. In some of the states, Corcyra, Argos, Samos, the struggles of faction were marked by a virulence and ferocity unparalleled in the previous annals of Greek party feud.

Its political and military ferocity.

13. One most lamentable feature of difference between the two periods is the recklessness of human life, or rather the thirst for human blood, which everywhere horrifies the modern student of Thucydides. Battles between Hellenic armies, if less frequent, were often as bloody, and perhaps as fiercely vindictive¹, in the one period as in the other. But of those cold-blooded, deliberate massacres of unarmed, often harm-

¹ Herod. vi. 75.: conf. 78. This act of the maniac Spartan was considered in his own day a monstrous case of exception.

less, bodies of Greek citizens by their fellow-countrymen, so familiar in the page of Thucydides, there is little if any trace in that of Herodotus. In the struggles of hostile faction which he describes, at Athens or in other parts of Greece, we hear nothing of any sweeping destruction of their opponents by a successful party. No paid assassins are found posted at convenient corners of the Pnyx or Agora, to pick off the more distinguished victims, where a wholesale butchery was thought inexpedient. There can be no better proof of the comparative rarity of such acts of political murder in the earlier period, than the fact that almost the only one recorded by Herodotus, that of the Cylonian conspirators, which would hardly deserve mention among the excesses of a like nature during the Peloponnesian war, was considered of such importance in its own day, as to form one of the most memorable epochs in the annals of Hellenic faction. Massacres of a far more aggravated nature are so frequent in the narrative of Thucydides, that we become habituated to them as ordinary occurrences. The announcement by the Historian, that on the surrender of a besieged city "the adult male citizens were slain, the women and children sold as slaves," forms a sort of recurring commonplace in his text, like those which record the dates of years of the war, or the transitions from the summer to the winter season. Nor had such outrages in many cases the excuse of being committed in the heat of victory, or after an obstinate resistance involving perhaps heavy loss to the conquerors, or otherwise under the immediate impulse of excited feelings. The question whether some five thousand Hellenic freemen should or should not be slaugh-

tered, for no other crime than asserting their liberties, or faithfully serving an ally to whom they were bound by antient ties of gratitude and friendship, is frequently reserved for grave discussion in the senate-hall, and decided commonly on grounds of pure expediency; those of humanity or justice being purposely kept out of view by the orators on the side of mercy (so we are assured by one of themselves¹) as irrelevant to the occasion, and more likely to fatigue or offend the audience than to procure votes. The difference between the two periods may be illustrated by the subjoined pair of examples. If ever there was a case in which treason to a national cause, and service in the ranks of an alien enemy, could have justified the destruction of the offender by the party betrayed, it was the defection of Thebes to the interest of Xerxes. Yet all the vengeance exacted was the death of the two political leaders who had guided her counsels. On the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, a generation afterwards, Plataea, the Greek republic which, perhaps above all others, had distinguished itself by its patriotic resistance to the Medes, was, mainly as an act of grace to that same Thebes, expunged by Sparta from the map of Greece, and the whole population of the city on whom the destroyer could lay his hands was massacred in cold blood; the only crime laid against her being her adherence to her old ally Athens, to whose protection against Theban oppression she had, by the advice of Sparta herself, originally been induced to resort. Nor must it be forgotten that this act of atrocity was perpetrated on men who had signalised themselves by martial achievements in defence of their city, unsurpassed in the annals of Greek warfare, achievements

¹ III. 44. sqq.

which in better times would have secured for a conquered enemy, from a generous victor, not mercy alone, but admiration and honourable treatment. Such generous feelings seem to have been completely extinct among the warriors of Greece during this crisis of her history. No trace at least of their active influence appears in the page of Thucydides. Humanity was reserved for occasions when it could be made subservient to expediency. The garrison of Sphacteria was spared alive, owing to the advantage which the possession of three hundred Spartan prisoners of rank gave to the Athenians in their subsequent dealings with the enemy. In their conduct towards friends and allies, as towards rivals and opponents, self-interest was the ruling principle of both Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The few examples of disinterested devotion to a common cause under adverse circumstances, are on the part of inferior members of either alliance; and the apathy with which, in repeated instances, the humble but faithful confederate has been left to destruction by the protecting power, in the face of promises of support, forms another distressing feature in the character of the age.¹

The whole number of adult male Greek citizens thus deliberately massacred by their own countrymen, during the twenty-one years of the war described by Thucydides, can hardly be rated at much less than 15,000; to which about a fourth of that number may be added for the remainder of the contest; in all, from 17,000 to 18,000.² When we consider

¹ Appendix E.

² The passages from which this estimate has been made up are: I. 30., II. 5. 67., III. 32. 34. 50. 68. 70. 81. 111., IV. 46. 48. 57. 74., V. 32. 83. 116., VI. 61., VII. 3. 23. 53., VIII. 21. 65. 66. 70. 73.; Xenoph. Hellen. II. i. 31. 32., II. ii. 6. The principal items are the massacre of the whole

the veneration entertained, in theory at least, by the Greeks for their own race, as compared with other "barbarous" nations; its limited numbers, and the obvious expediency of maintaining them for the common safety, in at least their existing proportion to the foreign enemy and the slave population; it might have been supposed that motives of policy, if not of humanity, would have interfered to check a system by which, in a general war of any length, the free population of some districts was liable to be exterminated, and that of most others seriously reduced. The advantage derivable from the practice by either contending party could be but trifling. Where no quarter was given by either, the loss of troops or of partisans to each must have been nearly balanced. But the diminution of the Hellenic population at large was a calamity common to the whole confederacy.

The perpetration of such atrocities by rival Greek

adult male free population of Melos (5000?) and Scionë (1500?) by the Athenians; and of that of Hysis (1500?) by the Spartans. In these and other cases, where the exact numbers have not been given by the historians, the conjectural estimate has been taken on a moderate principle. Melos, for example, was probably as populous a state as Mitylene; and as the leaders alone of the aristocratical party in the latter (also slain by the Athenians) amounted to 1000, the whole adult population of the former may reasonably be rated at 5000. About 1200 in the list of Thucydides, and 3000 in that of Xenophon, are prisoners of war. The former number however, it must be observed, comprises scarcely a third of the whole slain; having been limited to the proportion which can fairly be assumed to have been Greek freemen. The number of Athenian captives slain by Lysander (Xenoph. II. i. 32.), after the action of Ægospotami, has been rated at 3000; taking the Athenian ships of the fleet at 100 only, and the Athenian freemen of each crew at 30. Were we to add the prisoners of war omitted on the ground above stated, the whole number of persons described by Thucydides and Xenophon as butchered in cold blood during the war, would be little short of 20,000. And this does not include any portion of the captives taken at Syracuse, unaccounted for by Thucydides, or the 2000 Helots mentioned by him in IV. 80.

communities seems to have been considered by themselves, or is at least represented by their Historian, as a sort of international privilege peculiar to their own quarrels; venial, if not meritorious, when kept within the proper conventional forms, but a scandalous abuse when usurped or irregularly exercised by alien intruders. This distinction is curiously illustrated by the indignantly pathetic strain, in which Thucydides enlarges¹ on the excesses committed by a band of Thracians in the pay of Athens, in the Bœotian town of Mycalessus, in a hostile country consequently, as contrasted with the tone of philosophical indifference in which he notices, as mere matters of fact, the comprehensive butchery by his own countrymen of their fellow-Hellenes of Melos and Mitylene.

That Thucydides partook of the prevailing insensibility to the value of human life, appears from the unconcerned manner in which he everywhere retails such ferocities, without moral reflexion or remark; still more perhaps from the cursory terms in which he notices, or rather suppresses, the ultimate fate of his own Athenian fellow-citizens in the Latomîe of Syracuse. After describing the brutal treatment which the whole body of prisoners had experienced from their captors, during the first three or four months of their confinement, he informs us that the survivors, at the end of that period, were sold as slaves, "with the exception of the Athenians, and of those belonging to the Hellenic States of Sicily and Italy." What became of these, comprising, it might be supposed, not the least interesting portion of the whole in the estimation of an Attic historian,—whether they were slaughtered,

¹ VII. 20.

or allowed to linger and die, one by one, the same miserable death as so many of their comrades before them,—we are left to conjecture. That Thucydides viewed the crime of murder even with indulgence, when committed for political purposes of which he approved, may be gathered, it is to be feared, from his character of Antiphon, whose multiplied acts of assassination were not inconsistent, in the Historian's opinion, with his being "second in virtue to no man of his age."¹

Contrasted
with its in-
tellectual
refinement.

14. There is no work of classical antiquity which conveys a less favourable impression of the Greek character than the History of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides. He not only presents us with the dark side of the picture, but presents it unrelieved by any of those softer or brighter touches which we habitually associate with the genius of Hellenism. His narrative is all but exclusively engrossed with political and military affairs. On the general state of society in Greece, on her science, art, and literature, he affords no information whatever. Not a word of the splendour of her public monuments, the brilliancy of her dramatic representations, the marvels of her sculpture and painting. In so far as Thucydides is concerned, we should never have known that such men as Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, or Aristophanes, as Phidias, Anaxagoras, Gorgias, or Socrates, ever existed. Yet with all these the Historian was contemporaneous. The sums expended by Pericles on the Propylæa are specified as a statistical fact, along with those bestowed on the construction of walls, or the equipment of ships. The statue of Minerva Polias is also mentioned; but merely with reference

¹ ἀπερὶ οὐδενὸς ὑστερον.—VIII. 68. See Arnold's note.

to the golden ornaments with which she was decked, and their convertibility into sinews of war.¹ This forms the sum total of notice bestowed by Thucydides on the fine arts in the Periclean age. Among men distinguished for literary genius, Antiphon alone is mentioned; not however as founder of the Attic school of forensic eloquence, merely as a political leader and sufferer.² Such topics had not yet been recognised by the custom of the age as proper ingredients of civil history; and the strictly practical genius of Thucydides did not lead him, like Herodotus, and other writers of more excursive style, even incidentally to discuss them. But in order rightly to appreciate the enormity of that foul stain on the Hellenic character to which attention has above been called, it will be necessary to divert our minds for a moment from the Historian's battles, sieges, and diplomatic intrigues, to the theatres, gymnasia, and Lycea of the Attic metropolis. We must remember that the age of Thucydides was that in which the moral and intellectual culture of Greece, in all its principal branches, attained its perfection. We must remember that the men by whom those atrocities were enacted at Melos and Mitylene, were the same who at Athens applauded the noble maxims of justice and humanity inculcated in the verse of Sophocles, or whose minds were elevated and softened by the inspiring images of human action and suffering traced by the hand of Phidias or Polygnotus; that the men who one day dissolved in tears of sympathy for the fabulous woes of Hecuba or Polyxena, were the same who next morning deliberately voted in council for the slaughter of thousands of innocent Hellenic fellow-countrymen,

¹ II. 13.² VIII. 68.

and for inflicting on as many Hellenic widows and orphans, in the cruelest forms of reality, the bereavement and degradation so feelingly deplored in the case of those mythical heroines.

From the rare mention of prisoners of war in the Historian's descriptions of battles, it may be inferred that, as a general rule, the soldiers of a defeated army who did not escape by flight were put to the sword; and that the occasions on which it is said that quarter was given and prisoners made, were the exceptions. In confirmation of this view it may be remarked, that on several of these occasions special motives are assigned, or obviously existed, for sparing life. The most remarkable cases are the capture of 250 Corcyræans of high rank by the Corinthians¹ in the Epidamnian war, and that of the 292 Spartiates by the Athenians at Pylos.² In both cases the prisoners are expressly said to have been spared for the purpose of being turned to political account, a purpose which in both they afterwards very effectually served.³

Athens and
Sparta.

The distinctive characteristics of the two leading republics remain substantially the same in the Thucydidean as in the Herodotean period; the common deterioration being more perceptible in Athens, es-

¹ I. 54. 55.

² IV. 38.

³ III. 70., IV. 41. The estimate of loss on either side in an action is everywhere confined to the slain or prisoners. The wounded, who, from the analogy of modern warfare, ought to have been many times more numerous than the killed, are never mentioned. The omission is the more singular, that the delivery by the victor, in whose possession the field remained, of the bodies of the slain enemy, "under a flag of truce," to the heralds of the defeated army, is one of the ceremonies of war everywhere most punctually performed and recorded. Nothing is ever said of the still living sufferers. It must, however, in charity be presumed, that they were not left behind, and that their removal to a place of safety is passed over unmentioned, as being a matter of course.

pecially in regard to that "humanity" of character, by which in earlier better times she was so honourably distinguished. Her policy, though no longer generous or disinterested, is still, like the temper of her citizens, comparatively open and unsuspecting. This quality strikes the more, from its contrast with the subtle spirit of intrigue for which individual Attic statesmen are remarkable. Careless of concealment in her designs, she is rapid, vigorous, and unscrupulous in carrying them into effect ; more easily elated by good fortune than discouraged by disaster, more apt to risk the success of her schemes by over-confidence, than by excess of caution. Animated by a boundless ambition, which she attempts neither to dissemble, nor to justify on any other ground than the right of the strongest, she allows no opportunity to escape of extending her power by whatever means and in whatever direction.

Sparta maintains her credit for a policy dark, double, and selfish, under a semblance of disinterestedness, which the simplicity of her social habits the better enabled her to affect. Glorifying in the narrowness of her home resources, she is the less inclined to lavish them, and her strength consists mainly in the tact with which she turns to account those of her allies. The same principle which in war withheld her from pursuing an enemy, led her to prefer an empire of political influence to one of territorial dominion. Hence it is, that in the political discussions reported in the Historian's text, we find it everywhere assumed by the orators on the Lacedæmonian side, and admitted or faintly denied by their opponents, that the Athenians were the usurpers, the Spartans the upholders, of Greek

constitutional liberty; and this, although the Athenians were the champions of democracy, and in so far, of popular rights, the Spartans of monarchy or oligarchy. The latter were however, in truth, in all cases of necessity or expediency, as peremptory as the Athenians in asserting their authority over the weaker members of their party, by the same sophistical arguments, and on the same paramount principle that might makes right.¹ But all they required was adhesion to the Lacedæmonian cause. They levied no tribute, were satisfied with good will and good service, and, so long as it was cheerfully rendered, cared little for forms of government. With the Athenians the exaction of money, in every age the most offensive mark of political supremacy, was also the most indispensable, and was carried to an excess but ill compensated, even to the popular party, by the ostensible enjoyment of the utmost amount of democratic privilege.

¹ See especially Brasidas to the Acanthians, iv. 85.

CHAP. IX.

THUCYDIDES: HIS WORK, AND ITS MATERIALS.

1. EPITOME OF THE TEXT.—2. HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THUCYDIDES. WRITTEN RECORDS. ORAL TESTIMONY.—3. HIS SPEECHES; HOW FAR AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.—4. HIS MYTHICAL OR TRADITIONAL MATERIALS. HIS MODE OF DEALING WITH MYTHICAL LEGEND; ITS RELIGIOUS ELEMENT.—5. EPISODE OF HIPPARCHUS AND HARMODIUS. CHRONOLOGY OF THUCYDIDES.—6. HIS WORK A MILITARY HISTORY.

BOOK I. 434—431.

1. THE Historian defines the subject of his work, as embracing the twenty-seven years' contention among the Hellenic states, commonly called the Peloponnesian war, with which he was contemporaneous, and of the vicissitudes of which he had been a careful observer. He points out the surpassing importance of this series of events, as compared with those of any other period of Grecian history; in further illustration of which opinion he concisely passes in review the more remarkable vicissitudes of the Greek race, from its origin to the close of the last great Persian war.¹

Epitome of
the text.

Reverting to his main subject, he traces the remote cause of the contest he had undertaken to describe, to the jealousy with which the growing power and ambition of Athens had inspired Lacedæmon; which latter republic had hitherto been recognised as the leading State of the Confederacy. The more immediate cause he attributes to a quarrel between Corinth and her colony Corcyra, regarding the affairs of Epidamnus, a city on the coast of Epirus, jointly founded by Corcyra and Corinth; to each of which States application had been made by contending Epidamnian factions, for aid in enforcing their several pretensions. The Corcyreans, who had not hitherto been connected with either the Athenian or the Spartan interest, solicit and obtain the alliance and support of Athens. Several engagements are fought with varied success between the Corinthian and Corcyraean fleets, in one of which an Athenian squadron takes part.²

¹ § 1—23.

² § 24—55.

In connexion with these events, Potidæa on the coast of Thrace, a Corinthian colony, but now dependent on Athens, renounces her allegiance, on the plea of oppressive treatment by the dominant state. Her cause is espoused by Corinth and by Perdiccas, king of Macedon. The Athenians defeat the combined Potidæan, Corinthian, and Macedonian force, and lay siege to the town. The part taken by Athens in these transactions, induces the Lacedæmonians, at the instance of Corinth, to convene a council of Dorian States at Sparta. It is there decided, that the "Thirty years'" truce between the rival Athenian and Dorian leagues, which had subsisted fourteen years, having been violated by Athens, is at an end.¹

In a retrospective narrative, the causes of the long existing jealousy betwixt Athens and Sparta, are traced from the capture of Sestus, the last stronghold of Xerxes on the Hellespont, to the outbreak of the now impending war. The more remarkable events of this period, the duration of which is rated by the Historian at fifty years, are, as concisely summed up in his narrative: the transfer from Sparta to Athens of the "Hegemonia," or leadership of the Greek colonial republics, owing to offence taken by them at the conduct of the Spartan commander Pausanias; their subsequent reduction by Athens, together with Eubœa, Ægina, Thasus, and other states, to the rank of tributaries; the successes of Cimon of Athens against the Persians, terminating in the great victory of the Eurymedon; the foundation of the Athenian colony of Amphipolis in Thrace; the revolt of the Messenian Helots, and their renewed subjugation by Sparta; the abortive expedition of the Athenians, in support of the native Egyptians in their efforts to shake off the Persian yoke; with several desultory wars among the Greek states, ending in the "Thirty years'" truce, the rupture of which was now at hand.²

The Lacedæmonians, in declaring war against Athens, tax her citizens with impiety, in permitting Pericles, member of a family affected by the "Cylonian bloodstain," to enjoy immunity in their city or territory. An account follows of the Conspiracy of Cylon, in which the imputed bloodstain originated. The Athenians retort on Sparta the charge of sacrilege, in her treatment of Pausanias, the victor of Platæa; whose treacherous correspondence with Xerxes, its discovery, and his subsequent

¹ 56—83.² 89—118.

death, form the subject of another retrospective episode. A third is devoted to the latter part of the life of Themistocles, as connected with the previous fate of Pausanias. Before commencing hostilities, the Spartans offer terms of accommodation; which, as involving humiliating concessions, are, at the instance of Pericles, rejected by the Athenians.¹

BOOK II. 431—428 B.C.

Six months after the battle of Potidæa, in the fifteenth year after the ratification of the "Thirty years' " truce, the city of Plataea, being then at peace with all her neighbours, is suddenly, with the connivance of factious citizens, occupied by a body of Theban men at arms. The Plataeans destroy the greater part of the intruders and expel the rest. Plataea being a steady ally of Athens, while Thebes was in the interest of Lacedæmon, this event forms, with the Historian, the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. Some account is given of the States composing each division of the confederacy.²

The Lacedæmonian army invades Attica. The Athenians, by advice of Pericles, affording refuge to the rural population within the city walls, and allowing the enemy to ravage their lands, devote their whole military resources to a vigorous prosecution of maritime warfare. With a fleet of 150 ships they make reprisals on the coast of Laconia and other hostile districts. They reduce Cephallene, and, ejecting the native population of Ægina, repeople the island with Attic colonists.

The Corinthians, with forty ships, after an abortive attempt on the coast of Acarnania, a country in alliance with Athens, are defeated with loss in a similar attempt on Cephallene.³

In the ensuing second year of the war, the Peloponnesians again invade Attica, and the Athenians again make reprisals. Athens is afflicted by a pestilence, which prevails during two years in more or less virulent form, and greatly cripples her resources.⁴

The city of Amphiloehian Argos, of which the Ambracians, a neighbouring people in the Spartan interest, had seized possession, is recaptured by the Athenian admiral Phormio, and permanently secured to the Athenian interest. Potidæa is also taken after an obstinate defence.⁵

¹ 118—146. ² 1—9. ³ 10—33. ⁴ 34—58. ⁵ 59—70.

In the ensuing third year of the war, the Lacedæmonians lay siege to Platæa. The citizens retire to Athens, with the exception of 480 men, by whom the place is garrisoned, and successfully defended.¹

Active hostilities are continued on the coast of Thrace, and at the entrance of the Corinthian gulf, between the Athenians, with their Acarnanian allies, and the Peloponnesians, Ambracians, and other confederates of Sparta. Several naval actions are fought, chiefly to the advantage of Athens.²

The Megarians, with a small naval force under the Spartan leader Brasidas, ravage Salamis, and capture three Athenian guardships stationed off that island.³

About this time Sitalces, king of the Odrysians, with an army rated at 150,000 men, invades Southern Thrace and Macedonia, ostensibly in support of the Athenian interest in those regions. After a long and abortive series of operations he returns to his own country.⁴

The Athenians attempt the conquest of Cēniadæ, the only Acarnanian city opposed to their interest; but their operations are obstructed by the overflow of the river Achelous.

Book III. 428—425 B.C.

In the ensuing summer, the fourth year of the war, the Spartans again ravage Attica. The isle of Lesbos revolts from the Athenians, who invest and blockade Mytilene. Desultory hostilities continue on the coasts of Acarnania and Epirus. The Athenians fail in a second attack on Cēniadæ, and in one on the coast of Leucadia.⁵

In a brilliantly conducted midnight enterprise, more than half the Platæan garrison break through the blockading Spartan lines, and effect their escape.⁶

In the ensuing fifth year of the war, the Lacedæmonians execute their customary invasion of Attica.

In Mytilene, hard pressed by the besiegers, and disappointed of relief from Sparta, the Democracy rise in arms against their leaders, and force a surrender of the place. The Athenians in council determine to put to death the whole adult male population of the city. This sentence, after a renewed debate on the ques-

¹ 71—78.

⁴ 95—101.

² 79—92.

⁵ 1—19.

³ 93—94.

⁶ 20—24.

tion, is restricted to a thousand of the citizens most hostile to the Athenian interest.¹

An Athenian force under Nicias, occupies the isle of Minoa off the port of Megara.²

The garrison of Platæa, now reduced to 225 men, enfeebled by hunger and sickness, surrender on terms, which, on casuistical pretexts, are violated, and the captives, at the instance of their old enemies the Thebans, are put to death.³

The Spartan commanders Alcidas and Brasidas, with a fleet of fifty-three sail, endeavour, by fomenting dissensions in Corcyra, to detach that island from the Athenian interest. After a fierce strife of factions, in which the Athenian and Spartan forces take part, the Athenians and the democratic party retain their ascendancy.⁴

Athens espouses the cause of the Sicilian republic of Leontini, in a quarrel with Syracuse; the Leontines being of Ionian origin, and supported by the kindred Sicilian colonies, while Syracuse ranked as head of the Siculo-Dorian interest. The Athenians send Laches with twenty ships ostensibly to the relief of their ally, but with the ulterior view of promoting Attic influence in the island. The plague reappears at Athens, and afflicts the city during another year.⁵

In the following sixth year of the war, a fleet of thirty sail is dispatched under Demosthenes, to cruise round the coasts of Peloponnesus. Another of sixty ships under Nicias, after a fruitless attempt on the isle of Melos, lands a force of several thousand men in Bœotia, where they engage and defeat the Thebans at Tanagra.⁶

Demosthenes, crossing from the Peloponnesian to the Acarnanian coast, undertakes an expedition into Ætolia, with the view of first reducing the hostile Ætolian states, and then carrying the war across the friendly territory of Phocis into Bœotia. After reducing several cities of the interior, he is overpowered by the natives, and with a small remnant of his army effects with difficulty his escape to Naupactus.⁷

The Peloponnesians, under the Spartan commander Eurylochus, supported by the Ætolians and other friendly tribes, make reprisals on the Athenian fortified positions on the Ætolian coast.

¹ 26—50.² 51.³ 52—68.⁴ 69—85.⁵ 86—90.⁶ 91—92.⁷ 94—98.

After an unsuccessful attempt on Naupactus, they concert measures with their Ambracian allies for an invasion of the Amphiloehian Argos.

The Athenians prosecute the war with partial success on the Sicilian and Italo-Locrian coasts. They purify the isle of Delos, and a digression of some length ensues on the early history of that island.¹

Euryloehus, reinforced by 3000 Ambraciotes, invades the Amphiloehian territory. The Acarnanians unite with Demosthenes in its defence. An engagement ensues, in which Euryloehus is defeated and slain. The Ambracians, betrayed and deserted by their Peloponnesian allies, are again attacked by the Acarnanians, and the greater part destroyed.²

The close of this year was signalled by an eruption of Mount Etna, after an interval, since the last recorded, of fifty years.³

BOOK IV. 425—422 B.C.

In the following year, the seventh of the war, the Lacedæmonians make their customary inroad into Attica. A reinforcement of forty vessels sails to the Attico-Sicilian fleet, under the joint command of Eurymedon, Sophocles, and Demosthenes, with instructions to attend also to the Athenian interests in Corcyra, again threatened by the Lacedæmonian party. Forced by stress of weather into the bay of Pylos, Demosthenes employs the ships' crews in fortifying a position on the Messeno-Laconian coast, and remains with five galleys for its protection. The remainder proceed to Corcyra.⁴

The Athenian commander Simonides obtains possession of the town and port of Eion, on the Thracian coast, but is again expelled from the place by the native powers.⁵

The Lacedæmonians, retiring from Attica, and directing their whole disposable force, naval and military, on Pylos, occupy the isle of Sphacteria in front of the Athenian position with a garrison of 420 chosen troops. Demosthenes, after repelling an attack by a greatly superior body of assailants, receives a reinforcement of forty ships. The Lacedæmonians are again defeated; the Athenians obtain command of the sea, and blockade Sphacteria. Disheartened by these reverses, the Spartan government sues for peace. The Athenians, no less elated by their success,

¹ 99—104.

² 105—115.

³ 116.

⁴ 1—6.

⁵ 7.

at the instance of Cleon propose terms so unpalatable, that the negotiation falls to the ground.¹

Desultory warfare continues, by sea and land, between the Athenian and Syracusan parties in Sicily, chiefly to the advantage of the Athenians.²

The prolonged resistance of the Sphacterian garrison creates discontent at Athens. After a warm discussion in the Council, Cleon is sent with a reinforcement of light troops, to share the command with Demosthenes. A landing is effected on the island; when, after a vigorous resistance, the survivors of the garrison, to the number of 292, surrender, and are carried prisoners to Athens. Pylos now becomes a rallying point for fugitive Helots and other Laconian malcontents, who, with the Athenian garrison, ravage the surrounding Spartan provinces.³

An Athenian fleet of eighty sail disembarks a body of troops on the Corinthian coast, who defeat the Corinthian army, occupy the bay of Methonē, and lay waste the Corinthian and Epidaurian territories.⁴

After the fall of Sphacteria, Eurymedon, sailing with his squadron to Corcyra, aids the government of that State in reducing the outlawed aristocrats, who, from fortified points in the island, carried on a destructive predatory warfare. On his departure for Sicily, the captive aristocrats are massacred by their opponents. The other Athenian enterprises on the coast of Acarnania, and elsewhere, are generally successful.⁵

In the ensuing eighth year of the war, an Athenian armament of sixty ships invades and conquers the island of Cythera; whence crossing into Laconia, the victors fortify convenient points on the coast below Sparta, and lay waste the neighbouring country. Sailing eastward, they ravage the territory of Epidaurus Limera; and destroy Thyrea, the frontier town of Lacedæmon, then held by Æginetes, on whom, when ejected from their own island by Athens, it had been bestowed by Sparta.⁶

In a general convention of Sicilian States held at Gela, it is resolved, on the proposal of Hermocrates of Syracuse, to merge their local quarrels in one bond of national defence, and renounce their foreign connexions, as injurious to the common country. On this resolution being communicated to the Athenian com-

¹ 8—23.² 24—25.³ 26—41.⁴ 42—45.⁵ 46—52.⁶ 53—57.

manders, they withdrew their force from the island; for which step they were visited with penalties by their government.¹

An Athenian force under Hippocrates and Demosthenes, aided by their partisans in the town, obtains possession, first of the long walls of Megara, afterwards of its port and castle Nisæa, and measures are taken for reducing the city. The Spartan general Brasidas, then on his way through Corinth with troops destined for Thrace, hastens to its relief. Supported by an auxiliary Theban force, he constrains the Athenians, by a skilful series of manœuvres, to abandon their late acquisitions, Nisæa alone excepted.²

After their retreat from Megara, the same two Athenian generals concert measures with the partisans of Athens in Bœotia, for the establishment of Attic influence and democratic government in the Bœotian States. The enterprise fails, through the treachery of a conspirator. Hippocrates, with the Athenian land force, succeeds in occupying and fortifying the sanctuary of Delium on the Attico-Bœotian frontier. But soon after, in a general action with the Bœotian army, he is defeated with heavy loss, himself slain, and the Athenians retire from the Bœotian territory.³

Simultaneously with these events, Brasidas, by forced marches, crosses Thessaly into the Thracian Chalcidicæ. Supported by Perdiccas king of Macedon, he obtains possession of several Athenian dependencies in that region, and ultimately of the flourishing Attic colony of Amphipolis. Thucydides (the Historian), then in command of the Athenian force in the district, hastens from Thasus to the relief of the place, but finds it already in the hands of the enemy. He anticipates however, and frustrates, the subsequent attempt of Brasidas on the naval station of Eion. The Lacedæmonian interest, under the able management of Brasidas, spreads rapidly; and many neighbouring towns are added to his conquests.⁴

In the ensuing ninth year of the war, a year's truce is agreed on between the belligerent powers; but proves only a nominal or partial suspension of hostilities. The defection of the Attico-Thracian States continues. The Athenians lay siege to Scionæ, one of their revolted towns. Brasidas, in conjunction with Perdiccas, attacks and defeats Arrhibæus, a barbarous prince of the

¹ 58—65.² 66—74.³ 76—101.⁴ 78—116.

interior. Overmatched by the combined native powers, he effects a skilful retreat. During his absence, the Athenians succeed in partially reducing their revolted Thracian vassals.¹

The Thebans capture Thespia, a Bœotian city in the Athenian interest, and raze its fortifications. In Peloponnesus a pitched battle is fought between the rival Arcadian States of Mantinea and Tegea, but without decisive result.²

BOOK V. 422—416 B.C.

In the tenth year of the war, the year's truce being now expired, Cleon takes the command of the Athenian force in Thrace, recovers several minor Athenian dependencies, and attempts the reconquest of Amphipolis. In a battle between him and Brasidas beneath the walls of that city, the Athenians are beaten, and both commanders slain.³

The Athenians, on the plea of protecting their old allies the Leontines, from the oppressive policy of Syracuse, endeavour to form a league among the Italian and Sicilian republics against the ambition of the latter State. Their overtures are favourably received in Agrigentum, Camarina, Locri, and some other smaller communities.⁴

During the winter of this year both Spartans and Athenians become more and more anxious for a permanent peace: the Athenians disheartened by their reverses in Thrace; the Lacedæmonians by the Athenian conquests on their southern coasts, and the consequent spread of desertion among the Helots. In the following spring accordingly, of the eleventh year of the war, terms were arranged between Nicias of Athens and Plistoanax king of Sparta, on the basis of each party ceding to the other all such acquisitions of cities or territory as had not been obtained by voluntary submission of the inhabitants. These terms were repudiated by four members of the Dorian league, the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megarians, as unfair to themselves or their dependencies. Upon this Sparta and Athens enter into a separate defensive alliance, "for fifty years;" and Sparta receives back her captive Spartiate warriors. This alliance continues nominally to subsist for upwards of six years; during which, though hostile feeling prevails, and hostilities are indirectly

¹ 117—132.

² 133—135.

³ 1—11.

⁴ 4—5.

carried on between the two States, no actual aggression is made by the one on the territory of the other.¹

At the instance of Corinth, the Argives, who had hitherto remained neutral, endeavour to form a counter-combination of Dorian states opposed to the Spartan ascendancy. This scheme is favourably regarded by the other malcontent powers; but, from disunion among its promoters, falls to the ground.² Scionē is taken by the Athenians, its adult male population slain, the women and children sold as slaves, and the forfeited lands are bestowed on Plataean refugees.

The Lacedæmonians, about the same time, make an incursion into the Mantinean territory.³

Disputes arise between Athens and Sparta, owing to the failure of the latter State to deliver up Amphipolis in terms of the late treaty. The war faction in Lacedæmon intrigue for a fresh alliance with Thebes and Corinth against the Athenians. Long and complicated negotiations ensue, with quarrels and partial hostilities from time to time between those powers, Argos, and some other States of secondary rank. In the end the war party of Athens, headed by Alcibiades, whose intrigues are opposed by Nicias, succeed in arranging, in the twelfth year of the war, "a Hundred years'" defensive alliance between Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea; the previous treaties with other rival interests still continuing nominally to subsist.⁴

Early in the ensuing thirteenth year of the war, Alcibiades, at the head of a force of Athenians, Argives, and other allies, invades and ravages Northern Peloponnesus. The Argives, at his instigation, make similar incursions on the Epidaurian territory.⁵

In the following fourteenth year of the war, the Spartans and their allies, under king Agis, march against Argos. The Argives offer battle under the walls of their city; but in a conference between Agis and two Argive commanders in the Spartan interest, a four months' truce is agreed on as the basis of a future more permanent alliance. Alcibiades, remonstrating with the Argives on their fickleness, induces them to take part in an expedition of the powers hostile to Sparta against Orchomenus, an Arcadian city in her interest. Orchomenus is reduced, and Tegea, another Arcadian ally of Sparta, is attacked. Agis, with the forces

¹ 18—26.² 27—31.³ 32—38.⁴ 34—52.⁵ 52.

of the Lacedæmonian league, hastens to its relief, and in a general action fought near Mantinea, the Athenians and Argives are defeated.¹

The Eleans and Athenians occupy the territory of Epidaurus, and lay siege to the city. The Spartans again succeed in detaching Argos from the Athenian interest; and a treaty is concluded binding the two States to unite in expelling the Athenians from the Epidauris. This treaty is soon after extended into a "Fifty years'" alliance. The Athenians in consequence retire from Peloponnesus. The newly allied powers establish aristocratical government in Argos and Sicyon.²

Early in the ensuing fifteenth year of the war, the Argive democracy once more acquires the ascendancy, and repudiates the Spartan connexion. The Lacedæmonians conquer the frontier Argive town of Hysia, and massacre its adult male inhabitants.³

In the sixteenth year of the war, Alcibiades, sailing with twenty ships to Argos, carries off three hundred of the citizens most favourable to the Spartan interest, and confines them in the neighbouring small islands dependent on Argos. An Athenian armament invests the Dorian isle of Melos. Terms of submission are proposed, but rejected by the Melians; who, after a gallant defence, disappointed of succours from Sparta, surrender at discretion. The adult male population are slain, the women and children sold as slaves, and the island is repeopled with Athenian colonists.⁴

BOOK VI. 416—414 B.C.

During the winter of this year, the Athenians mature their plans for the conquest of Sicily. Some account is given of the island and its population, Greek, Carthaginian, Sicilian, and Sicanian; the Hellenic states being divided, as in the mother country, in origin and interest, between the Ionian and Dorian races.

The immediate pretext for interference was an application by the friendly republic of Segeste for protection against the Syracusans; who, after depriving the Leontines, allies of Athens, of their territory, were now, under colour of supporting the Selinuntians in a quarrel with Segeste, extending their career of usurpation into more distant parts of the island. Athenian

¹ 57—75

² 75—81.

³ 82, 83.

⁴ 84—116.

commissioners are dispatched to Sicily, to inquire and report on the prospects of local aid in the proposed enterprise.¹

Desultory warfare continues on the Argive and Lacedæmonian frontier, also in Macedonia and Thrace, on the whole to the advantage of Athens.²

Satisfied with the report of their Sicilian envoys, the Athenians in the seventeenth year of the war fit out an expedition under the joint command of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus; with instructions to support Segeste against Selinus, and to deal generally with Sicilian affairs as to them may seem expedient. Nicias, convinced from the first of the impolicy of this enterprise, argues strongly against it in the Athenian Assembly. His remonstrances are overruled by the zeal and eloquence of Alcibiades. While the armament, appointed to consist of a hundred and thirty-six galleys, with a land force of above 6000 men, was preparing for departure, the sculptured stone Hermæ, or sacred way-posts, in the streets and porticoes of the city, were, in the course of a single night, broken to pieces or defaced. No trace existed of the offenders, but suspicion fell on Alcibiades, who lay under the charge of having been formerly concerned in similar acts of sacrilege. He declares his readiness, before sailing for Sicily, to submit his case to investigation. It is however decided that he shall for the present follow out his official duties, under liability to return and take his trial at some more convenient time.³

The Syracusans, under the leadership of Hermocrates, prepare for a vigorous defence, and solicit aid from Sparta and Corinth. The Athenians, on their passage along the Italian and Sicilian coasts, are coldly received by the States professing to favour their interests, and the promises of money and supplies are found to have been delusive. Nicias, upon this, endeavours to prevail with his colleagues in command to restrict the objects of the enterprise to confirming and extending, where opportunity offered, the existing Attic influence in the island, and to return home in winter. His proposal is disapproved by his colleagues, and it is determined to prosecute the war against both Selinuntians and Syracusans.⁴

The armament meets with a friendly reception at Catana, whence predatory incursions are made into the Syracusan territory. In the meanwhile an order arrives from Athens for Al-

¹ 1—6.

² 7.

³ 8—29.

⁴ 30—50.

cibiades to return home and answer the charge regarding the Hermæ. In connexion with this affair, the Historian narrates at some length the Conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogiton against the Pisistratidæ. Alcibiades, feigning deference to the order, sets sail in his own ship; but, landing at Thurium, absconds; and soon after takes refuge in Lacedæmon. The three hundred Argive nobles confined by Alcibiades in the islands are, with the sanction of the Athenians, massacred by the Argive democracy.¹

After some desultory operations on other parts of the Sicilian coast, the Athenians disembark their land force near Syracuse, and defeat the Syracusans in a pitched battle. They then return to Catana to await reinforcements of cavalry from Athens. Many Sicilian States of the interior espouse their cause.²

The Lacedæmonians, at the instance of Alcibiades, who points out the danger with which the Athenian schemes of conquest were pregnant to all Greece, dispatch Gylippus with immediate succours of men and ships, and promises of more.³

In the early part of the ensuing eighteenth year of the war, the democracy of Thespia rises and obtains the ascendant in that republic; but is put down by the Thebans, and its leaders take refuge at Athens.

The Athenians establish their naval station at Thapsus. With their land force they attack and carry the heights of Epipolæ, a strong position close to Syracuse, and commence the investment of the city by lines of circumvallation from sea to sea. The Syracusans, endeavouring to obstruct their project by counter-entrenchments, are worsted in several engagements, in one of which the Athenian general Lamachus is slain. The fleet now takes up its station in the inner harbour of Syracuse.⁴

Gylippus, when off Leucadia with his squadron, hearing that Syracuse was invested beyond the hope of relief, turns his attention to the Spartan interests in Italy.

The Lacedæmonians invade Argolis, and the Athenians make reprisals on the northern frontier of the Spartan territory. This was the first formal breach of the "Fifty years'" peace between the two republics; the previous hostilities on each side having been carried on under circumstances not precluded by the terms of the treaty.⁵

¹ 50—61.² 8—38.³ 88—98⁴ 94—108.⁵ 104—105.

Book VII. 414—413 B.C.

Gylippus, on receiving more certain intelligence that the defence of Syracuse was not yet hopeless, continues his voyage in that direction. Through the remissness of Nicias he sails unmolested up the straits of Messina to Himera, collects auxiliaries from that city, Gela, and other friendly republics, and, marching across the island upon Syracuse, appears before the place with 3000 men, at the moment when the citizens, hard pressed by the besiegers, were about to negotiate terms of surrender. On the day after his arrival he storms the Athenian post of Labdalum, and effects a vigorous cooperation with the besieged in obstructing the work of circumvallation. Nicias fortifies the headland of Plemmyrium on the opposite side of the harbour, and transfers thither his fleet and stores. After two land battles, in the former of which Gylippus, in the latter the Athenians are beaten, the Syracusans force the Athenians to abandon their lines of entrenchment. Fresh Peloponnesian succours arrive from time to time, and Gylippus collects further reinforcements from the Hellenic-Sicilian States, who, from the epoch of this new turn of affairs, make common cause with Syracuse.¹

Nicias urgently requests large reinforcements from Athens, as indispensable to the prosecution of the siege; also that he may himself be relieved from his command, as unfit, from continued weak health, for the adequate fulfilment of his duties. The Athenians decide on a strenuous prosecution of the war, and dispatch ten ships as forerunners of an armament little less mighty than the first, about to follow under the command of Demosthenes, who is appointed colleague of Nicias. The resignation of the latter is not accepted.²

Early in the ensuing spring, the nineteenth year of the war, Agis, with a strong force, occupies and fortifies the port of Decelea in the Attic territory.³

Gylippus by land, and the Syracusans from the sea, simultaneously attack the fleet and lines of Nicias. The Athenian fleet is victorious; but Gylippus storms the Plemmyrium, and captures the stores and provisions of the enemy.⁴

Demosthenes sails from Athens with nearly a hundred galleys, and an armed force of proportional strength. A body of Thracian mercenaries, who reached Athens too late for embarkation, on

¹ 1—7.² 8—17.³ 18—19.⁴ 19—25.

their voyage back to their own country, land on the coast of Bœotia, seize on the town of Mycalessus, and massacre its inhabitants. They are themselves attacked by the Theban cavalry, and the greater part cut to pieces, or drowned in attempting to reembark. Demosthenes, after ravaging the Peloponnesian coast, and leaving part of his fleet to strengthen the Athenian squadron in the gulf of Corinth, sails into the Syracusan harbour, with seventy ships and 5000 troops, just after a general action in which the fleet of Nicias had been defeated.¹

A drawn battle is fought between the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets in the gulf of Corinth.

After a vain attempt, by a renewal of siege operations, to penetrate the enemies' lines, the Athenians endeavour, by a midnight assault, to reoccupy their former position on the heights of Epipolæ, which by a sudden and vigorous effort are surprised and carried. But the victors advancing, flushed with success and in disorder, on the Syracusan inner defences, are in their turn routed and driven back with heavy loss on their own camp.²

This disaster, with the prevalence of epidemic disease in the army, decides Demosthenes in favour of an immediate return home. His opinion, though backed by his second in command Eurymedon, is opposed by Nicias, who feared the displeasure of his government, were the much cherished enterprise to be abandoned while a hope of success remained. Soon after, powerful reinforcements having reached the enemy, Nicias acquiesces in the view of his colleagues. Their intention is frustrated by an eclipse of the moon, which induces Nicias, on religious grounds, to insist on their departure being postponed for a lunar month.³

The Syracusans, in another action, destroy a portion of the Athenian fleet, and take measures for blockading the remainder. The Athenians attempt, in a last desperate assault, to break through the hostile barrier, but are again totally defeated. The alternative of a retreat by land alone remains. After vainly attempting to force their way among the friendly barbarous tribes of the interior, they are dispersed and in great part destroyed. Nicias and Demosthenes, with a portion of the survivors, are made prisoners; when both commanders are put to death, the latter in violation of his terms of surrender. Seven thousand captives are confined, and subjected to much cruel treatment in the Latomæ or Stone-quarry prisons of Syracuse.⁴

¹ 26—42.² 42—45.³ 46—50.⁴ 51—87.

BOOK VIII. 413—411 B.C.

The Athenians determine, with their diminished resources, manfully to prosecute the war. Eubœa, Lesbos, Chios, and Erythræ secretly apply to Sparta for assistance in shaking off the yoke of Athens. The application of the Chians is backed by Alcibiades, and by Tissaphernes, Persian satrap of Ionia, who espouses the cause of Sparta, the better to extinguish Athenian influence among the Hellenic dependencies of his own province. Overtures for a friendly connexion with Lacedæmon are also made by Pharnabazus, satrap of Æolis.¹

Early in the spring of the twentieth year of the war, the Athenians attack and disperse, near the Isthmus of Corinth, a Peloponnesian fleet destined for an attempt on Chios. Alcibiades upon this, with a small squadron, hastens to Chios, and concealing what had happened, persuades the islanders to revolt, in anticipation of the promised succours. Their example is speedily followed by the Erythræans, Clazomenians, and Milesians. A treaty of alliance for the joint prosecution of the war, is concluded between Tissaphernes and the Spartan admiral Chalcideus. The Peloponnesian fleet is subsidised by the Persian king; to whom are conceded in return all the rights formerly exercised by him over the Hellenic Asiatic republics. Lebedos, and shortly after, Methymna, Mytilene, and other Lesbian towns, renounce their allegiance to Athens. Desultory war is carried on upon the coasts and islands of the Ægean, chiefly to the advantage of Athens.²

The Samian democracy, supported by a small Athenian force, rise against the dominant class, of whom 200 are slain, 400 banished, and their lands confiscated. Samos, under democratic government and Athenian protection, now becomes the head-quarter of the Athenian naval and military force in those seas. The brunt of the war is concentrated around the isle of Chios, which is blockaded by the Athenians. They engage the Perso-Lacedæmonians with varied success in several actions by sea and land. The isle of Rhodes, overawed by a Peloponnesian force of ninety-four galleys deserts to the Spartan interest.³

The treaty contracted between Tissaphernes and Chalcideus, and renewed with his successor Therimenes, is submitted by him to "the eleven" war commissioners, sent by the Ephori to watch

¹ 1—8.² 7—24.³ 21—44.

over the Spartan interests in Asia. They refuse to ratify the clause restoring the seignorial rights of Persia over the Greek republics; and decline receiving Persian support on such humiliating terms. About the same time Alcibiades, having quarrelled with the Lacedæmonians, attaches himself to Tissaphernes, and foment the Satrap's dissatisfaction with his Spartan allies, as a means of procuring his own restoration to his country, and former influence in her affairs. He accordingly makes overtures, which are favourably received at Athens, and by the army at Samos, for an accommodation; on condition of his bringing over Tissaphernes to the Athenian interest, and of the establishment of aristocratic government in Athens. After a long series of intrigues, on the part of Alcibiades, his confederates, and his opponents, the aristocratical party, though distrusting his intentions, complete (in the ensuing twenty-first year of war) the change of government; which consists in lodging the power of the state in an oligarchy of Four hundred.¹

In the same twenty-first year of the war, the Athenians, after an indecisive action with the Chian fleet, raise the blockade of Chios. The Athenian oligarchy establish their own form of government in their dependencies, among which Thasus immediately revolts, preferring the new constitution under the protection of Sparta, rather than that of Athens. They also, among other measures for strengthening their interest, make proposals of accommodation to king Agis, then in command at Decelea, which are coldly received.²

In the Athenian head-quarters at Samos, the democratic party, headed by Thrasybulus and Thrasyllus, reassert their superiority, repudiate the authority of the home-government, pass a decree absolving Alcibiades from all past penalties, invite him to the camp, and, on his promising his influence in obtaining a transfer of the Persian satrap's pay and alliance from the enemy to themselves, appoint him their commander-in-chief. Indignant at the proceedings of the oligarchal party at home, they meditate a descent on Athens, and a forced reestablishment of democracy; but abstain, convinced by Alcibiades of the impolicy of such a course.³

The Athenian fleet stationed at Eretria, for the protection of the Eubœan coast, is destroyed or dispersed in an action with

¹ 36—68.² 61—71.³ 72—86.

a nearly equal Peloponnesian force ; and the island revolts to the Lacedæmonians. In the panic created at Athens by this disaster, the oligarchy of Four hundred is abolished, a council of Five thousand substituted in its place, and a mission is sent to Samos with proposals for a reconciliation with Alcibiades and the army on their own terms.¹

On Tissaphernes withholding his subsidies, the Spartan Admiral Mindarus negotiates for the same amount of pay and support from the rival satrap Pharnabazus ; the Lacedæmonians agreeing to procure the revolt of the remaining Athenian dependencies in his satrapy. While engaged with his fleet in prosecuting this object, Mindarus is attacked and defeated by the Athenians near Cape Cynossema, in the Hellespont. Tissaphernes, the better to watch his own interests, sets out from the interior of his province for the seat of war, and on reaching Ephesus offers sacrifice to Diana.²

Historical
sources of
Thucy-
des.

2. In a former part of this work it was observed, that the materials, or elementary data, for the composition of history, range themselves under the two general heads of written document and oral testimony ; and that, in order to secure the highest degree of authenticity which any historical work can possess, those materials ought, in both cases, to be derived, directly or indirectly, from contemporaneous sources. But even where an abundance of this better class of data exists, much must depend on the art of the historian who undertakes to deal with them. Testimony may be contemporaneous, without being veracious. Another indispensable requisite, therefore, of an authentic history is, that the historian, with diligence in collecting his materials, should exercise judgement in discriminating, where doubt or discrepancy exists, the more trustworthy among the mass collected, and impartiality in availing himself

¹ 91—98.

² 99—109.

of those preferred. In these several respects, whether as regards the value of its component elements or the talent of its author, a high standard of authenticity may justly be claimed for the work of Thucydides. The original data at his disposal, while belonging, with few exceptions, to the class of oral testimony, were also, with equally little exception, contemporaneous. Those bearing on his main subject, the Peloponnesian war, were necessarily of this description; the twenty-seven years over which that contest extended having coincided with the best years of his own life. Similar is the case, more or less, with his preliminary retrospect of the fifty years' interval between the defeat of Xerxes and the outbreak of the war. Thucydides was himself coeval with the latter half of that interval, and must have possessed opportunities of conversing with men whose active lives extended over the previous half.

It is abundantly clear, both from his own testimony and the internal evidence of his text, that the written authorities available for any part of his work were scanty. The half-century comprised in his retrospective narrative had, he informs us, been treated by but one previous historian, his own elder contemporary Hellanicus. But so little advantage had he derived from this author, that he assigns the imperfection of his work as an apology for having himself presented his readers with so detailed a summary of the same series of events. The only other literary data, in the proper sense, of which notice is extant, either for that period or for the Historian's own immediate subject, were the biographical memoirs of the Attic statesmen, Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles, by Ion and Stesimbrotus; to which may be

Written
records.

added the incidental allusions by popular poets to public transactions of general interest. No reference, however, is made by Thucydides to any of these sources. Records of a public or official, as distinct from a literary character, were in those days confined chiefly to treaties of peace, many of which he has quoted in full¹, and to dedicatory or sepulchral inscriptions. Gazettes were unknown, and diplomatic dispatches unusual; confidential intelligence being commonly conveyed by the mouth of a confidential messenger. Thucydides mentions the sending of a written dispatch to the Athenian government by Nicias², when in command of the Syracusan armament, as an extraordinary expedient, only resorted to in momentous emergencies. Private memoranda, or epistolary communications, of such a nature as to possess historical value, were proportionally rare. A few documents of the latter kind are referred to by Thucydides³, but he nowhere alludes to any of the former.

Oral testimony.

He was therefore chiefly dependent for his knowledge of the events which he records, on his own personal participation in them, or on the verbal statements of others who had been more favoured with such opportunities than himself. From the commencement of the war he had formed the intention of becoming its historian, and been diligent in collecting accounts of its vicissitudes.⁴ While his talents eminently qualified him for such researches, his facilities of access to the best sources were of no ordinary description. Connected by blood with Athenian families distinguished for generations by

¹ I. 132. 134., III. 57., v. 18. 23. 47. 56., VI. 54.

² IV. 50., VII. 8., VIII. 50: conf. I. 130. 133. 137.

³ VII. 8.

⁴ I. 1., v. 26.

activity and influence in public affairs, he possessed a hereditary title to the best information which Athenian official experience could supply. He had also himself been actively engaged in the earlier operations of the war, on other occasions probably besides that which led to his disgrace. After his exile, the diminution of his opportunities at home was compensated, as he himself assures us¹, by perhaps still more varied means of observation and inquiry, which were opened to him abroad. Among the hostile or neutral republics, a distinguished Attic refugee would not fail to meet with sympathy as well as hospitality; and he seems, in several passages of his work, indirectly to intimate, that his exile had been the means of procuring him access, as a spectator, to every part of the theatre of war not immediately under Athenian influence.

The knowledge derivable from eyewitnesses, or persons immediately cognisant of events, was, for reasons elsewhere more fully stated², greater in amount and more readily acquired in those days than now. In an age when written memorials were scanty, there was greater inducement to those engaged in important enterprises, accurately to observe and carefully record the result of their observations, than in times when all that is said and done is circulated in print a few days after the event, and permanently recorded in the page of an annual register in the course of the year. Those desirous of information on transactions of public interest, rarely nowadays take the trouble of discovering some one who has borne a part in them. They are content with the written accounts. In the age of the Peloponnesian war the case was

¹ I. 22., v. 26.

² Vol. IV. p. 314. sqq.

different. The Athenians, after their Syracusan disaster, had no such documentary data to refer to for its particulars. They had nothing but the verbal reports of the survivors, who thus themselves became objects of an interest and notoriety, which would induce them sedulously to maintain and profit by their advantage. This state of things also, it is true, held out great encouragement to the spirit of fiction and exaggeration, at all times rife among the popular depositaries of rare or valuable knowledge. The task which would thus devolve on the critical inquirer, of eliciting truth from such authorities, would be much the same as now, in the parallel case of conflicting written memorials.

These considerations are necessary, to explain the singular minuteness of detail in which transactions of the most complicated nature are frequently narrated by Thucydides, not only in their outward management, but in their most secret springs and motives. Less importance here attaches to the more tangible facts which he records, to the operations of fleets and armies, or the debates of public assemblies, than to his accounts of political intrigues and negotiations, the particulars of which could not be matters of general notoriety. As examples may be quoted, the complications of diplomacy among the Dorian republics after the Treaty of Nicias¹; and the still more subtle series of similar negotiations among the Hellenic states generally, in their subsequent relations, as well to each other as to the Persian king and his satraps.² A modern historian, with the whole body of confidential correspondence, notes, and protocols, from the Foreign office, of each negotiating

¹ v. 27. sqq.

² VIII.

power, at his disposal, could hardly have presented his public with a more elaborate detail of conflicting views, difficulties, plots, and counterplots, than are here provided from private and personal communication.

Thucydides, while intimating that he had access to information from each contending interest, has nowhere specified the sources to which, in any particular case he has been indebted. There is one however which, in respect to the latter part of his narrative, suggests itself, both on grounds of probability, and from the internal evidence of his text, as more immediately within his reach, and of which, from its great value, he would the more readily avail himself. It may be presumed, that two such distinguished Athenian exiles as Thucydides and Alcibiades, were, during their banishment, on habits of intercourse or even of intimacy. They could hardly have been unknown to each other at Athens, in their earlier prosperous days; and their common disaster would promote friendly relations between them, both being members of the same moderate party in the State. Coupled with these considerations, it is remarkable that the portion of the Historian's work which contains the most copious details of political intrigue, is that descriptive of the efforts of Alcibiades to undermine the Peloponnesian interest with the Persian satraps, to substitute Attic influence in its stead, and turn this service to account in re-establishing his own sway in the Athenian councils. Many of these details are such as it is scarcely possible could have been learnt from any other than the original source, exhibiting, as they do, so thorough a familiarity with the inmost thoughts and intentions of the illustrious intriguer.

His
speeches,
how far
authentic
documents.

3. That the Historian's "speeches" were not, with rare if any exception, actually spoken in a form resembling that in which they now appear, that they cannot therefore rank as genuine historical documents, might be assumed in regard to most of them, even on their internal evidence. But the Historian himself assures us that he claims for them no such character. In his preliminary exposition of his method of historical research, he remarks ¹ that, with regard to the conferences held from time to time between rival interests, he had found it difficult, either to remember exactly what was said where he happened to be present, or to collect accurate reports from others; that he had therefore, on the basis as nearly as possible of what he knew or believed to have actually passed, worked up each address in the mode which seemed best adapted to the occasion. This amounts to a virtual admission that the speeches, in their present form, are supposititious. The utmost degree of reality which they can in any case claim, is that of comprising the substance of what was said, or may have been said, on some occasion where a certain business was discussed. But many of them can hardly pretend even to this more limited authenticity; and are probably mere rhetorical substitutes for those summaries which modern historians, Hume more especially, are accustomed in parallel cases to offer, in their own words, of the opinions or designs, of the leading personages or parties who figure on their scene of action.

The speeches of Thucydides, as the historian of contemporary events, differ from those of some of his principal imitators, in so far, that they are

¹ I. 22.

placed in the mouths of real persons, and have reference to a real state of things; so that, if no proof exists of their having been spoken, it is quite possible that they might have been. They may thus, as compared with those of some other standard antient historians, be likened to fable founded on fact, as distinct from pure fiction. The speeches ascribed by Livy to the Roman kings, or by Herodotus to Candaules, Gyges, and other early heroes of his narrative, are obviously mere specimens of their own rhetorical art. This half-historical character of the Thucydidean orations is however but a questionable merit. The fictitious matter of Herodotus or Livy cannot well be taken by any intelligent reader for more than it is worth; while the mixture of real and fictitious in Thucydides often perplexes the judgment, in the absence of any criteria for distinguishing between the two. On one occasion he makes an Athenian orator ascribe the secession of the Ionian States from the Spartan interest at the close of the Persian war, to a cause different from that elsewhere assigned by himself in his own words.¹ It is therefore fallacious to cite, as commentators are apt to do, statements contained in his speeches, as expressing his own opinions; especially where, as in the case here referred to, they seem to convey the popular tradition of the State or city to which the speaker belonged. When, in another place², the same Athenian orators describe the Attic ships at Salamis as more numerous in proportion to the rest of the fleet than they are described by Herodotus; or when we find the Theban orators³ giving a more favourable version of their conduct in the Persian war than was

¹ I. 75. 95.² I. 74.³ III. 62.

generally current in Greece, we may fairly assume, no doubt, that such was the tradition in Athens or Thebes, but not that Thucydides himself subscribed to that tradition.

The fact that many of these harangues, while dressed up in all the conventional unities of composition and delivery, as single orations, are yet described as spoken not by a single orator, but by commissions of diplomatic agents, "Athenian envoys," "Corinthian envoys," in their collective capacity, is itself conclusive proof of their unreality. It is further remarkable, that these anonymous orations, nine in number, all belong to the first seven years of the war. In those of the ensuing fourteen years, the name of the orator is mentioned. This creates the suspicion, that the introduction of orations into the text may have been an afterthought of the Historian, which first occurred to him at a late period of his undertaking; and that, in allotting an appropriate share of such matter to the earlier parts of his narrative, it may not have been easy to ascertain the name of the individual who, many years before, among some three or four Athenian, Corcyraean, or Corinthian commissioners, had acted as chief spokesman on any particular occasion. He has therefore been content, in drawing up the rights or reasons of the deputation, to ascribe the exposition of them to the whole body; whereas in more recent instances he has been able to give the name of the officiating orator.¹

¹ The Plataean defence against the Thebans (III. 52.) is placed in the mouths of two advocates, who are both mentioned by name.

Attention may also be directed to the care with which Thucydides when ushering in his speakers, seems to avoid the use of terms indi-

4. Although the main subject of the Historian's work was either contemporaneous with his own lifetime, or so recent as to admit his availing himself, in great part, of contemporaneous materials, his narrative also comprises illustrative episodes of considerable bulk, in regard to which few or no such substantial data were available. The most remarkable of these digressions are the preliminary disquisition on Hellenic antiquity, commonly entitled by antient commentators the Archæologia of Thucydides; the episode on Hipparchus; and that on the Conspiracy of Cylon. The ostensible purpose of the "Archæologia" is to prove the superior importance of his own subject, the Peloponnesian war, over any other derivable from the previous history of Greece. In order to establish this position, he examines at some length the early vicissitudes of the Greek states, with the progress of society among them prior to his own time; and arrives at the conclusion, that no former war or enterprise, either in regard to its objects or the resources brought into action, was at all to be compared with the Peloponnesian war. To the logic of this conclusion, or of his arguments in support of it, attention will be directed hereafter. For the present

His mythical or traditional materials.

cating that he gives their own words, preferring such as imply that he merely reports the substance of what was said. Those he employs are (ἔλεγον, εἶπον) τοιάδε, τοιαῦτα, τοσαῦτα; "(they spoke) in this manner, to this effect:" never *τάδε, ταῦτα*, or others equivalent to our own expressions "in these words," or "as follows."

Add to this the prophetic import of some of the earlier speeches; that of Archidamus for example (I. 80.); where the character and vicissitudes of the war about to be waged, its great length and obstinacy, the peculiar policy of Athens as prescribed by Pericles (I. 140., II. 13.), and the alliance between Sparta and Persia against Athens, are alluded to in terms plainly reflecting the experience rather than the mere foresight of the orator: compare I. 33—36., iv. 60. sqq.

we confine ourselves, in illustration of his method of research, to the value attached by him in this remarkable dissertation, to the fabulous records of early national history.

His mode
of treating
mythical
tradition.

It is evident that the strictures pronounced at the close of the "Archæologia," on the uncritical preference awarded by preceding historians to mythical tradition over real history, are directed not so much at the intrinsic value of the traditions preferred, as at the mode in which they were treated. The tenor of this whole introductory chapter shows Thucydides to have been himself a believer in the fundamental truth of those traditions. What he censures in the logographers is their want of discrimination in separating the kernel of real fact from the mythical husk in which it is enveloped. A great part accordingly of his "Archæologia" is occupied with speculative distinctions between these two component elements of mythical history. The principle on which he proceeds differs from that sanctioned by the sounder research of our own age. He neither believes in the preternatural ingredient of fable, nor attempts, like the more subtle interpreters of his own time, to convert fiction into fact by the allegorical mode of exposition. He discards the supernatural ingredient altogether. But here his rational scepticism ends, and he lapses himself into the credulity which he censures in others, by assuming the possible or human element, when relieved of its mythical appendages, to be necessarily real or historical. The more cautious modern inquirer is content, in the first instance, with conceding the possibility of such reality. Its positive existence he only assumes, where sustained by the test of other collateral evidence, the nature or value of

which, in the rare instances where it exists, we have endeavoured in another place¹ to define.

For example, the modern speculative critic admits the Trojan series of poetical legend to possess reality, in so far as shadowing forth a great contest between the races of the eastern, and those of the western shore of the Ægæan, with the conquest and colonisation by the latter of a portion of the hostile territory. This much he assumes to be true, or at least probable; because the fact of Greek tribes being found in historical times settled in those regions, as conquerors among alien races, coupled with the inveteracy of the tradition itself, and the relation in which it stands to the subsequent course of more authentic history, form as strong a body of speculative evidence as can reasonably be required in any such case. With regard to the individual persons or events of the *Iliad*, the rape of Helen or the ten years' siege, he commits himself to no positive decision how far they may have been real, how far the creations of poetical fancy.

The method of Thucydides is different. His scepticism is limited to the superhuman element of the legend. The human or possible element he adopts as fact, reserving to himself the privilege of moulding that fact into forms which appear to him more consistent with probability, than those in which it has been shaped by the popular authorities. He believes not only in a conquest of the Troad by Hellenic warriors, but that Agamemnon (allowance being made for poetical enlargement) besieged Troy during ten

¹ See Vol. I. B. i. Ch. ii., Vol. iv. p. 318. sqq.; and the author's "Remarks on two Appendices to Grote's History, &c.," Longmans, 1851; also in Appendix N. to Vol. III. 2nd edit.

years with the amount of force described in the *Iliad*. Homer's 1200 ships are with him as genuine an armament as the 300 that sailed under Nicias to Sicily; and he estimates the number of warriors conveyed, by striking an average between the maximum and minimum strength of the several ships' companies, as given by the poet. But he differs from Homer as to the real cause of the war. He questions the fact of the expedition having been undertaken by the Greeks from personal regard for the Atridæ. He considers it more likely to have been forced on them by Agamemnon, as head of a great federal empire which he was desirous of extending. He doubts the possibility of so large an army having been in that age able to procure, from ordinary sources, the supplies necessary for carrying on siege operations during ten years. He assumes that a part of the host was employed in agriculture on the opposite Thracian coast, raising annual crops for the subsistence of the camp; while another part was engaged, for the same object, in piratical adventure. A similar method is applied to other chapters of mythology. Minos is a genuine Cretan king, the first founder of a naval empire in the Mediterranean¹, by the colonisation of the Ægæan isles, and the extirpation of the pirates by whom they were infested. The legends of Theseus and the Cecropidæ are in like manner converted into authentic histories. Nor does he appear to recognise any lines of distinction between the more or less fabulous or poetical, and the more or less historical or real, in the tradition of different periods; such as later authors have established in the several epochs of the Theban and Trojan wars, the Dorian conquest of

¹ I. 4; 8.

Peloponnesus, and the Olympic solemnity. Pelops, Minos, Theseus, Agamemnon, Aminocles the Corinthian shipbuilder, Pisistratus, Themistocles, are all equally, in so far as the acts or adventures recorded of them are of a real or possible nature, themselves admitted to rank as historical personages.

Thucydides has nowhere explained the nature or amount of the evidence which he considered necessary, in any particular case, to entitle popular legend to rank as history. The only authority cited by name regarding mythical times is Homer; and slightly as he speaks of poets and mythographers where their own historical criticism is in question, it is certain that to the same poets and mythographers he must have been indebted for the whole, or by far the greater part, even of such reality as he claims to have extracted out of mythical legend. On one occasion alone he seems to appeal, though vaguely, to another class of data. The concise abstract which he gives, in the "Archæologia," of the history of the Pelopidæ from the settlement of Pelops in Greece to Agamemnon, is said to be borrowed from "the more accurate organs "of Peloponnesian tradition."¹ Who these "more accurate" authorities were he does not inform us. Nor does it appear in what the greater accuracy ascribed to them may have consisted. But the remark shows that he found room for critical discrimination even in such purely legendary matters.

Thucydides has not thought it necessary to extend his speculations on fabulous tradition to its more strictly theological element, to the influence exercised by the national deities, through oracles, omens, or otherwise, on the conduct of human affairs, either in

Religious
element of
mythology.

¹ I. 9.

mythical or historical times. The rare and brief allusions to religious matters in which he anywhere indulges, imply that if not an actual atheist, as seems to have been a common opinion with his native public¹, he was at least a thorough freethinker. He nowhere directly intimates either belief or disbelief in a deity. But he does not disguise his indifference to, or contempt for, the modes in which the deity was personified, or his power supposed to be exercised, in the popular Pantheon. Such being his own views, his mode of dealing with religious topics is creditable both to his judgement and his taste, and is marked by the same impartiality which pervades his general narrative. The more eccentric his opinions, the less he has been at pains to obtrude them on his readers. The gods or goddesses are seldom named at all. In mentioning oracles or prophecies, when his subject happens to force them on his notice, he treats them at times very plainly as impostures, or as delusive.² But nowhere does his tone of incredulity amount to actual scoffing. He allows indeed in one case that a prediction had proved true, that regarding the twenty-seven years' duration of the Peloponnesian war.³ In other instances he seems to admit, if not so palpable a fulfilment as was claimed by vulgar interpreters, a certain coincidence between the prophecy and the event.⁴ He remarks however, in reference to such cases of partial fulfilment, on the ambiguity of terms by which the framers of oracular edicts endeavour to secure their verification.⁵ He contrasts in a sarcastic tone⁶, the cala-

¹ Antyllus ap. Marcell. § 22.

² v. 16., v. 103., II. 21., II. 47., II. 8., I. 126.

³ I. 118., II. 54.

⁴ II. 17., II. 54.

⁵ v. 25.

⁶ VIII. 1.

mitous result of the Syracusan expedition with the brilliant prospects of success held out by the soothsayers at the time of its departure. He evidently considers eclipses, and other natural phenomena, which the habit of the age turned to superstitious account, to be owing to natural causes. While showing no sympathy with the notion of their exercising, either as warnings, or omens of impending occurrences, influence on the course of events, he yet remarks, in guarded and ambiguous terms, on the number of such phenomena during the Peloponnesian war, as a fact which might almost seem to justify the belief, otherwise "so little borne out by experience," of some connexion in this particular instance, between them and the more striking vicissitudes of human destiny.¹

5. The most important chapter of historical, as distinct from mythical legend, in his narrative, is the episode of Hipparchus and his destroyers. Thucydides here differs from the popular Attic tradition, in denying the two friends to have been instigated to their vaunted tyrannicide by patriotic devotion. He describes it as a simple act of assassination from motives of personal resentment. The main object however of the digression, is to point out what he considers the vulgar error regarding the order of primogeniture, and consequent succession to tyrannical power, in the usurping family.² This is the only case in which he appeals in support of his views to

Episode of
Hipparchus.

¹ I. 23. : conf. Ch. viii. p. 61. *supra*. The other kinds of prophetic agency, Dreams, Prodigies, Aruspicy, &c., which occupy so large and honourable a place in the pages of Herodotus and Xenophon, find none whatever in those of Thucydides.

² VI. 54. On the validity of his argument see Appendix B.

inscriptions on contemporaneous public monuments. His account of the Cylonian conspiracy is the same in substance as that given by Herodotus. The difference in the details reflects probably a variety in the popular tradition, with each, it may be presumed, the only source of information on the subject.

Chrono-
logy of
Thucy-
dides.

The work of Thucydides labours under the defect, common to the historical literature of his time, of being unprovided with any standard chronological era for the adjustment of dates. In regard to his own subject he has endeavoured to make good this want, by a system of computation of a simple and intelligible nature as far as it goes, that by years of the war which he describes. It is one however, the benefit of which is limited to the vicissitudes of his narrative in their relation to each other. It affords no help in connecting their dates with those of previous history. For this purpose he resorts occasionally to other remarkable epochs. He informs us, for example, that the occupation of Plataea by the Thebans, which event forms with him the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, took place in the fifteenth year of the Thirty years' peace contracted between Sparta and Athens after the Athenian conquest of Eubœa; in the fifty-first year after the taking of Sestus by the Athenians, which with him, as with Herodotus, forms the close of the Persian war; in the forty-eighth official year of Chryseis, eponyme priestess of Juno Argiva; under the ephorship of Ænesias in Sparta, and the archonship of Pythodorus in Athens.¹ The epoch of the peace of

¹ II. 1.: conf. I. 118. The notices of Olympiads and Olympic victors in III. 8. and v. 49., are introduced not as chronological dates, but merely in their incidental connexion with historical facts.

Nicias (421 B.C.) is also specified by reference to the ephorship and archonship of that year.¹ The destruction of Plataea by the Spartans in the fifth year of the war, is placed ninety-three years after the first formation of the alliance between that State and Athens.² Other more widely retrospective dates are that of the foundation of Melos³, seven hundred years prior to its destruction by the Athenians in the sixteenth year of the war; that of Aminocles the Corinthian ship-builder⁴, three hundred years prior to the close of the war, or in 704 B. C. ; that of the first recorded Greek naval action, fought between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, two hundred and sixty years prior to the close of the war, or 664 B.C.⁵; that of Lycurgus, or at least of the existing Spartan constitution, upwards of four hundred years prior to the same epoch⁶; and that of the Sicilian migration into Sicily, three hundred years prior to the first settlement of Greek colonies in the island.⁷ The date of that settlement, laid down as 736 B.C. in the received chronology, is not specified by Thucydides. Of the principle on which these wider computations proceed, the Historian has given no explanation. The epochs of the first colonisation of Melos and of Sicily carry us back into the remote mythical age.

6. The work of Thucydides has been justly entitled by its author "A history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians." The narrative, with rare exception, is devoted either to martial enterprises, or to civil affairs so nearly connected with them, as to render a certain knowledge of the

His work
a military
history.

¹ v. 25.² III. 68.³ v. 112.⁴ I. 13.⁵ I. 13.⁶ I. 18.⁷ I. 2.

one class of transactions indispensable to a right understanding of the other. To the home politics either of Athens or Sparta no attention is paid purely on their own account. The modifications of constitutional government in either republic, affecting the democratic principle of the one or the aristocratic principle of the other; the influence which political faction exercised on the general course of events or the condition of society,—matters which the modern historian esteems not less important than wars waged between rival powers,—are passed over unnoticed, or mentioned but incidentally, in their connexion with military undertakings or foreign diplomacy. The Historian's silence on such subjects is perhaps more remarkable in his introductory retrospect of the fifty years prior to the outbreak of the war, than in his principal narrative. The changes which the Athenian constitution, and with it the temper and habits of the citizens, underwent during that half-century, chiefly through the agency of Pericles as head of the democratic party, were among the fundamental causes of the state of things which led to the war, and which it is the object of the retrospect to explain. Here however, as elsewhere, he is content with recording the jealousies and quarrels of the separate States among themselves, or with the common Persian enemy. The two most eminent statesmen of the age, Cimon and Pericles, who during that period in their turn swayed the destinies of Athens, are mentioned but rarely, and solely with reference to their military achievements. Of their relative position and conduct as rival leaders we hear nothing. A long episode is devoted to the closing years of the life

of Themistocles; but this mark of distinction is limited to his foreign adventures. Of his political position at home, nothing more is said than that, at the date when the episode commences, "he was residing under the ban of ostracism at Argos." Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides, much as they were interested in the fortunes of this illustrious Athenian, have explained the cause of his exile.

The notices from time to time of political revolutions in the secondary States of the Confederacy, in Corcyra, Samos, Argos, form no real exception to the general rule; the transition from democratic to aristocratic government in those States, being in every case either the cause or the consequence of the fluctuating fortunes of the war, of the alternate ascendancy of Spartan or Athenian influence. Another more valid case of exception might seem to be the detailed account, in the eighth book, of the overthrow of democratic government at Athens. But here also, the whole series of intrigue and revolution originated with the army, anxious, amid the increasing difficulties of their foreign service, to restore Alcibiades to power, as the only means of breaking up the coalition between the Lacedæmonians and Persians, which had turned the tide of success against them. And throughout the ensuing narrative, the vicissitudes of military enterprise and political intrigue are inseparably connected. Had the same changes been originally planned and carried into effect in the Council of Athens rather than in camp at Samos, and had the army, as in ordinary times, acquiesced in them, they would not probably have been honoured with any similar share of attention.

This restriction of the principal subjects of historical narrative to military enterprise and foreign politics, is a feature not peculiar to the historical art of Thucydides, but common to that of his age. Herodotus enlarges no doubt at times on the internal government and statistics of the countries which he describes; but these portions of his text are devoted alone or chiefly to foreign regions, and are hence of a geographical rather than a political character. Such notices, where bestowed on Grecian politics, are with him, as with Thucydides, brief or inexplicit. The student of Grecian history would look in vain to either author for even a general outline of the Athenian or the Spartan constitution. The cause of this deficiency in early historical literature is to be sought, partly in the origin of that branch of composition, partly in the political state of Greece. Narratives of events are in every age more congenial to the taste of popular readers than commentaries on laws and institutions. It must also be remembered that a History of Greece at this period was not that of a single State, under a single central government, but of a number of rival communities, each with its own separate constitution. To have given even an abridged account of these numerous forms of polity, would have gone far to convert a history from a narrative of facts into a collection of commentaries on the theory of government. An exception, it may perhaps be thought, might with propriety have been made in the case of Athens and Sparta, as constituting, especially during the Peloponnesian war, each with its separate league of States, integral bodies politic, similar to the great powers of the modern European system. This con-

sideration would no doubt have its weight with the modern critical historian. With the native author, the superior distinction of those two republics, by rendering their institutions matters of more general notoriety, especially to the contemporaneous public for which Thucydides wrote, seems to have diminished rather than augmented their claim to particular attention. But although this element of historical research was overlooked by historians in the proper sense, it does not seem to have been altogether neglected in the literature of the time. There can be no doubt that the notices of internal Athenian politics during the Cimonian and Periclean periods, by Plutarch and other later authorities, were derived from original sources, partly from treatises on civil government, partly from other miscellaneous branches of historical composition, which attained a certain stage of maturity in the time of Thucydides.

What has here been said of forms of government, applies also to the state of social culture generally in art, literature, and science. The importance of these subjects was undoubtedly well appreciated in Greece from the Periclean age downwards. None of them had however as yet established a claim to even an episodical share of notice in the higher departments of historical composition.

CHAP. X.

THUCYDIDES: HIS WORK, ITS COMPOSITION AND STYLE.

1. PLAN OF THE NARRATIVE. ITS POWER, SPIRIT, AND TRUTH. DEFECTS OF ITS EPIC ECONOMY.—2. CAMPAIGNS OF DELIUM AND AMPHIPOLIS. PYLIAN CAMPAIGN OF DEMOSTHENES. INTRODUCTORY PART OF THE WORK.—3. ITS EPISODES. HARMODIUS AND HIPPARCHUS.—4. THE "ARCHÆOLOGIA" OF THUCYDIDES.—5. HIS DELINEATION OF CHARACTER. PERICLES.—6. NICIAS. ALCIBIADES. BRASIDAS. CLEON.—7. HIS SPEECHES, AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF CHARACTER. SPECULATIVE OR DIDACTIC ELEMENT OF THE WORK.—8. STYLE OF THUCYDIDES IN THE NARROWER SENSE.—HIS NARRATIVE STYLE. EPISODE OF THEMISTOCLES.—9. HIS RHETORICAL STYLE. ITS DEFECTS. ITS MERITS.—10. HIS SUPPOSED DISCIPLESHIP UNDER GORGIAS AND ANTIPHON. HIS DIALECT. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS ORATORY.—11. FUNERAL ORATION OF PERICLES.—12. OTHER SPEECHES. RHETORICAL STYLE IN THE NARRATIVE PARTS OF THE TEXT. HIS DESCRIPTION OF BATTLES. OF THE PLAGUE AT ATHENS. CONCLUSION.

Plan of the
narrative.

431 B.C.

421 B.C.

1. THE Peloponnesian war, while defined and treated by Thucydides as one great epic subject, to the unity and grandeur of which he has everywhere shown himself alive, has with equal propriety been divided by him, or may rather be said to divide itself, into three parts or periods. The first period comprises ten years of continued hostilities, extending from the invasion of Plataea by the Thebans to the so-called Peace of Nicias. During the seven years which ensued, negotiations interrupted or accompanied, but never entirely superseded, military action. Some of the States, discontented with the terms arranged for them by their leaders, evaded the suspension of arms, or quarrelled afresh among themselves. Nor was the nominal

peace between Sparta and Athens attended by any mitigation of unfriendly feeling. Both were, during the whole time, not only engaged in plotting against each other, but were habitually brought into collision in the field, in the great battle of Mantinea for example, fighting on opposite sides, as partisans of their belligerent allies. Still, as no actual breach occurred of the strict letter of the treaty between the two leading powers during this septennial period, it was not in their case considered a state of war. Another ten years of undisguised warfare followed, making up the whole twenty-seven of the Historian's reckoning, and terminating with the fall of Athens. But the narrative of Thucydides breaks off with the battle of Cynossema, in the twenty-first year. He designates the whole twenty-seven years "The war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians." The more concise and now familiar term of "Peloponnesian war" has not been used by him. The first ten years of continued hostilities are occasionally called the First war.¹ The ensuing seven years are characterised as the period of Respite.² The subsequent decennial course of continuous warfare is styled generally the Latter war.³ He has also designated certain more remarkable portions of each decennial period by separate names, as the Epidaurian, Mantinean, Sicilian, Ionian wars.⁴

¹ v. 20. 24. 26., vi. 6., vii. 18.

² v. 26.

³ v. 26. : conf. iv. 81.

⁴ v. 26., vii. 27. 85., viii. 11. The first decad is called by Lysias the Archidamian war, as having been declared by Archidamus king of Sparta; the last decad, by Isocrates, Demosthenes, and commonly by antient writers, in its integrity the Decelean war. Other separate names have been given to separate parts or campaigns of each; such

Its power,
spirit, and
truth.

This memorable series of events has been treated by Thucydides with a precision, a penetration, and an impartiality, which have justly obtained for him the highest rank, not only among the more critical historians of antiquity, but among those of our own more enlightened age. In our remarks on the materials of his work, full justice has already been done to the extent and value of his research. The testimony borne by the native public to his fidelity and impartiality, which has been cordially seconded by modern critics, has been well summed up in the words of the antient grammarian who has given the most elaborate analysis of his work, and by whom the less favourable points of its composition have been most severely censured. "It is agreed," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "among critics of all classes, if not unanimously, by at least a great majority of voices, that "Thucydides possesses in an eminent degree that "highest quality of a historian, a strict regard for "truth; that in his statements he neither adds to, "nor subtracts from, the genuine substance of facts "or events; is never drawn by personal feeling or "prejudice to give a false colouring to their details; ". . . that in regard to every practical end or object "of historical research his method is excellent, and "worthy of all imitation; but in this, above all, that "he never wilfully deceives his readers, or tampers "with the purity of his own conscience."¹ Passages have already been noticed, which appear to form

as "Pachetian" war to the campaign under Paches against Mitylene. See the ingenious essay of F. W. Ullrich, *Beyträge zur Erklärung des Thucydides*, p. 12. sqq.

¹ Dionys. Hal. *De Thucyd.* Jud. § 8.

partial or venial exceptions to the terms of this unqualified encomium; but in its justice, as a general rule, every critical student of his work must cordially acquiesce.

While the approbation bestowed on the matter of the work has been as universal as well merited, the manner of its composition, whether in regard to the general conduct of the narrative, or to special peculiarities of style, has furnished commentators of every age with an ample arena for exceptional criticism.

The narrative is throughout sustained and vigorous, often brilliant and powerful. But in its mechanical arrangement, or, as styled by the old critics, its "economy," he has hardly done justice to the intrinsic value of his materials. The order which he has preferred may be defined the chronological, as distinguished from the epic or historical order; the narrative being distributed, not so much with regard to its principal groups or masses of events, as to the years or other conventional periods of time in which those events happened. This method has, no doubt, its advantage in some cases. It is well adapted to historical compendia, drawn up for the purpose of reference rather than continuous perusal, as affording more immediate facilities of access to particular facts or dates. But the vicissitudes of a great and united epic action, such as the Peloponnesian war, to be rightly appreciated, require to be freely treated in their own just connexion of cause, effect, and influence, not in any servile dependence on conventional divisions of time. Nor has Thucydides been content with the more simple form of

Defects of
its epic
economy.

annalistic arrangement, where entire years suffice as the common measure of time and action. He enforces a further subdivision by semestrial seasons, summers and winters¹; involving a further sacrifice of unity in the principal masses of the narrative. Where, for example, some remarkable enterprise happens not to be completed within a single season, instead of being followed out either to its close, or, when of great length, to some appropriate stage of its progress, it is brought with the close of the season, perhaps in the very acme of its interest, to a standstill, until the author has led up to the same point of time the arrear of other transactions, however unimportant, which had been in like manner commenced and broken off. He then, with the opening of the ensuing season, reverts to the first in the previous order of interruption, and brings it down either to its own conclusion, or to the point where the end of that season again cuts it asunder; and so on with the remainder. This process, in the parts of the work where it is carried to excess, not only mars the epic unity of the narrative, but tends, by distracting the mind of the reader, to defeat the object which the Historian seems to have had in view, that of securing distinctness to the parts of his subject. It would be unreasonable to insist that each integral portion of a long narrative should in all cases, when once commenced, be carried on in uninterrupted continuity to its close. That would be

¹ The more minute specification of dates, by reference to days of the month, seems not to have been customary in the historical works of this period; although it occurs in the treaties of peace quoted by Thucydides, and in contemporaneous inscriptions.

an error in the opposite extreme, converting history into a disjointed series of historical memoirs. All that is here required is, that the author, unfettered by any formal restraints, should give free scope to his own discretion, in working up every part of his subject in the manner most conducive to its own effect, and that of his whole composition.

2. In illustration of this defect may be cited the account of two remarkable undertakings which signalled the eighth year of the war: the attempt of the Athenian commanders Demosthenes and Hippocrates on Bœotia, ending in the defeat and death of the latter at Delium¹; and the campaign of Brasidas in Thrace, ending in the conquest of Amphipolis.²

Campaign
of Delium
and Am-
phipolis.

In the early part of the year, the two Athenian generals concert measures with malcontent States of Bœotia, for the invasion of that country. The plans of attack are arranged, the troops and ships collected at appropriate points, and their destinations fixed. But before operations commence the summer ends. We are therefore transported to Thessaly, where we find Brasidas ready with his force to cross that country into the Thracian Chalcidicæ. Thither accordingly we accompany him; and his conquests of Acanthus and other fortresses of that district are described. But here again his summer operations terminate, and we are carried back to Bœotia, where the Athenian enterprise is, with the winter, resumed and concluded. After disposing of some subordinate business in other quarters, the Historian returns

¹ IV. 76. sqq.

² IV. 78. sqq.

to Brasidas, and brings down his campaign to the achievement which forms its climax of success. Every reader must be sensible how much the narrative of these two enterprises would gain in interest as well as elegance, had each been described from beginning to end without interruption. Both are of moderate length; each is united and compact in its own epic integrity, and quite independent of the other. There is therefore no conceivable reason for so much travelling backwards and forwards between the two, except the rigid law imposed on himself by Thucydides, of carrying no portion of his subject in connected order beyond the term of a single summer or winter season.

The Ætolo-Ambracian campaign of Eurylochus, the most striking enterprise of the sixth year of the war, offers another instance of a similarly united historical action, similarly cut in twain, and with like detriment to its just historical effect.¹

Pylian
campaign
of Demo-
sthenes.

This over-subtle sense of chronological exactness manifests itself at times even within the limits of a single season. The Pylian campaign of Demosthenes², certainly one of the most compact, as well as striking enterprises of the war, and which, setting aside the defect here in question, has been admirably described, was begun and brought to a close in the course of the seventh summer. The Historian therefore was, in so far, free from his self-imposed obligation to chequer its details with those of other contemporaneous events. Yet no sooner has he thoroughly fixed our attention and warmed our interest by informing us, that so great was the alarm

¹ III. 100. sqq.

² IV. 2. 8. 26.

created in Lacedæmon by the boldness and energy of the Attic commander's measures, as to cause the sudden recal of the Spartan army from before Athens for the defence of the home territory, than we are transported to Thrace, to attend to another extraneous and little important matter. We then resume the interrupted narrative, with the arrival of the Spartan troops at Pylos. But on its reaching another momentous stage, it again breaks off, and gives place to a long report of desultory naval operations on the coast of Sicily; after which, we are at last permitted to follow out the Historian's brilliant account of Athenian success and Lacedæmonian disaster, in uninterrupted continuity to its close.

With the siege of Syracuse, the narrative assumes a greater degree of epic unity; all other events being made subordinate to the progress of that fatal catastrophe.

This defect in the "economy" of his work, shows Thucydides to have been comparatively wanting in that finer epic faculty, by which Herodotus was distinguished. His preference however of the strictly chronological mode of treatment has been limited to his main subject. To his introductory narratives, where that mode, if judiciously applied, might have been really desirable, he has endeavoured to impart epic relief, by the expedient which grammarians define as "plunging in medias res." This expedient consists in opening the account of a series of events, not with its proper commencement, but at some more or less advanced stage of its progress; in carrying it on from that point to some convenient halting-place; in then reverting to the early part of the series, and

Introductory part of the work.

bringing it down, in the mode of retrospect, to the middle point whence we originally started. Whatever may be the merit of this device, when applied in the proper place and manner by Homer, Herodotus, or other skilful masters of the epic art, it has not been successful in the present instance. The ostensible object of the Historian's fifty years of preliminary narrative¹, is to trace the causes of the great contest which he had undertaken to record. He divides those causes into two classes: the more immediate and obvious, and the more remote and less apparent causes.² He limits the operations of the former class to the four years from the outbreak of the Epidamnian quarrel to the Spartan declaration of war; the operation of the latter he extends from the taking of Sestus (or close of the Persian war), to the Epidamnian quarrel. He treats each class separately, but reverses the order of time in the order of treatment. We have first an immediate retrospect to the main narrative, describing the events from Epidamnus to the Declaration of war³; and then another retrospect, supplementary to the previous retrospect, describing the events from Sestus to Epidamnus.⁴ The advantage of this division and transposition of preliminary matter we have never been able to perceive; while its disadvantages, in disturbing the course of a naturally simple and united story, are very obvious. The impropriety is the greater, that the retrospect from Epidamnus to the Declaration of war (the last in order of time, the first in order of arrangement), is treated in as ample detail as any subsequent part of the principal subject. We

¹ I. 23—117.² I. 23.³ I. 24—88.⁴ I. 89—117.

are hence led to imagine ourselves already engaged in the full stream of events, to be carried on with like fulness in the sequel. The more out of place and out of date appear the sudden spring backwards in i. 89. to the history of Greece fifty years before, and the sudden transition from the previous detailed narrative to a meagre summary of transactions with which, in so far as involving the primary causes of the state of things already described, we ought to have been made acquainted in the first instance.¹ Had Thucydides, after informing us (i. 23.) that the Peloponnesian war originated in the steady increase of Athenian power during the previous fifty years, and the consequent jealousy and alarm of Sparta, described in its natural order the progress of Attic aggrandisement and Spartan mistrust, down to the

¹ There is here an evident analogy, it can hardly be called resemblance, between the method of Herodotus and that of Thucydides, in the preliminary parts of their works. Each has an introductory "Archæologia," and two retrospective narratives. The opening disquisition by Herodotus on the origin of the national enmity between Hellene and Barbarian which resulted in the Persian war, tallies with the opening disquisition by Thucydides on the mythical enterprises of the Hellenes, as compared with the Peloponnesian war. The two Retrospects of Herodotus, the one on the affairs of Lydia prior to the reign of Croesus (which reign he defines as the commencement of his main subject, i. 5.), the other on the history of Central Asia prior to Cyrus, correspond to the double Retrospect of Thucydides on the affairs of Greece prior to the commencement of his main subject. In epic propriety of effect these passages of Herodotus have the advantage. Unlike the single series of events, unnecessarily cut in twain and complicated by Thucydides, they form two separate historical streams, originating in different sources, and pursuing each its independent course to its confluence with the affairs of the Hellenic world. The parallel therefore is not complete in the details. It is however such in all the main features of the two cases, as to warrant the suspicion that Thucydides may here have emulated, however imperfectly, the method of Herodotus; and adds consequently to the evidence elsewhere adduced, that he knew the work of his predecessor.

actual outbreak of hostilities, augmenting the precision of his narrative as the plot thickened and the sources of animosity increased, this whole portion of his work would have gained both in distinctness and elegance. Other examples might be adduced of undue complication of the natural course of the narrative in its introductory stages.¹

Episodes. 3. The Episodes of Thucydides, if not always strictly to the purpose, or introduced in the happiest manner, are yet among the most valuable parts of his work, as well from their historical interest and spirited style, as from the light which they reflect on the genius of their author.

There are in all seven passages of the History which can properly rank as episodes, or, in other words, digressions of a certain length, on topics extraneous to, but connected with, the principal narrative. These are: I. On the Conspiracy of Cylon²; II. On the last days and death of Pausanias³; III. On the last days and death of Themistocles⁴; IV. On the institutions of Theseus and early statistics of Athens⁵; V. On the festival of Apollo at Delos⁶; VI. On the settlement of Alcmaeon in Acarnania⁷; VII. On the death of Hipparchus and the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ.⁸

The purposes for which episodes are commonly introduced, are: first, that of extending and illustrating, secondly, that of adorning the principal subject. They may also, it is obvious, combine both these objects, and in so far as the one or the other predominates, may be classed as Historical or as Ornamental. Another less legitimate purpose, which

¹ Appendix F.² I. 126.³ I. 128.⁴ I. 135.⁵ II. 15.⁶ III. 104.⁷ II. 102.⁸ VI. 54.

in the case of Thucydides requires to be noted, is that of inculcating favourite opinions of the author on points in which he happens to take a peculiar interest. These episodes might be classed under a third denomination, of speculative or controversial.

Of the Episodes in the above list, the first four are of the properly historical order. The fifth and sixth partake more of the ornamental, the seventh largely of the controversial character. With the exception of the sixth, they are all, whatever the object of their introduction, in so far historical, that they illustrate events of historical interest. All possess great merit of literary composition; comprising most of the beauties and few or none of the defects of the author's style. Those on Pausanias and Themistocles supply from the most authentic source, what would otherwise have been serious blanks in the biography of these two remarkable men. The detailed account of the Cylonian conspiracy is also a welcome supplement to the brief notice of that adventure in Herodotus. The digressions on the antient state of Attica, and on the isle of Delos, if less apposite in a historical point of view, possess their own share of interest, as specimens of the antiquarian research of their author. The joint notice in No. VI. of the physical and poetical geography of Acarnania, while appropriate in itself, also claims attention as one of the rare occasions on which Thucydides has deigned to dwell on purely mythical subjects, or on which, as the antients by a quaint figure were used to express it, "the Lion has deigned to laugh."

The most defective Episode of the seven, if judged by what must always be a primary test of merit,

Episode of
Hipparchus and

Harmodius.

the aptness of its connexion with the main subject, is that descriptive of the death of Hipparchus, and the subsequent dethronement of his brother Hippias. In historical value or interest, this digression is no way inferior to those concerning Pausanias and Themistocles; being the earliest detailed account which we possess, and from the most critical source, of that notable crisis of Athenian history. It is also most agreeably and effectively narrated. But in regard to the special purpose for which the narrative professes to be introduced, it is quite out of place. The real motive for its introduction was evidently, not so much to illustrate this part of the main text, as to give expression to some peculiar feeling connected with the transactions described, or the leading persons engaged; and to enforce that particular version of those transactions, and that particular view of the character and motives of those persons, which Thucydides here and elsewhere so keenly advocates. As the natural course of his subject offered no opening for his purpose, he has made one for himself, at the expense of a serious flaw in the consistency both of his text and his argument. The subject had already been noticed in his preliminary chapter, and in terms plainly indicating a sensitiveness in regard to it. It has in fact supplied material for two episodes; the shorter passage of the "Archæologia"¹ being but an abridgement of the more detailed account in book sixth.

¹ I. 20. Its entire treatment would, it is evident, have been better disposed of at once in the former place, and such may probably have been the Historian's first intention. But the space it would there have occupied may have appeared an undue extension of that already copious series of digressive commentaries; and he has reserved it for the present, not certainly more apposite, occasion.

In noticing the charge against Alcibiades, of being concerned in the mutilation of the Hermæ, Thucydides accounts in the following terms for the intense excitement which prevailed in Athens on that occasion:

“For the Athenians, knowing by tradition the harshness which had marked the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons towards its close, and also that its abolition was not the act of the people, or of Harmodius, but of the Lacedæmonians, had been ever since, on occasions of this kind, peculiarly open to suspicion and alarm.” Then follows, in closer illustration of the cause of this feeling, the episode in question, narrating the transactions preceding the extinction of the Pisistratian dynasty; and in particular, how the murder of Hipparchus by the hand of Harmodius had been committed during the Panathenaic festival, the ceremonies of which had been turned to account by the conspirators in disarming suspicion and effecting their purpose. After following out the results of their act of tyrannicide to the deposition of Hippias, the Historian resumes his previous narrative, by the subjoined application of the case of Harmodius and the Panathenaïca to that of Alcibiades and the Hermæ: “The remembrance of which things having been deeply imprinted at the time, and constantly renewed by tradition in the minds of the Athenians, rendered them keenly alive to any tampering with their sacred ceremonial, and rigorous in calling to account those suspected of such practices, which were inseparably associated in their thoughts with plots to establish oligarchal or tyrannical government.”¹

¹ VI. 60.

There can hardly be imagined a less conclusive line of argument than that embodied in these passages. In the first place, what has the circumstance, so pointedly urged, that "the Athenians knew their country not to have been liberated by their own efforts, or by those of Harmodius, but by Lacedæmonian intervention," to do with the matter? The statement appears also at variance with other parts of the author's text; where he seems to impress on his readers, and justly, that the popular Athenian public, whatever more critical inquirers might believe, entertained a conviction that they were mainly indebted to Harmodius and Aristogiton for the recovery of their liberties.

But, allowing this to pass, what analogy is there between the case of the tyrannicides and that of Alcibiades; between the jealousy felt by the Athenians on account of a breach of religious ceremonial committed by the two patriots in the cause of national liberty, and the jealousy inspired by the intrigues of Alcibiades in the cause of despotism? How can it with any propriety be said, that the act which caused the tyrannicides to be idolised by the democracy as the champions of popular rights, had caused the same democracy ever since to view the measures taken for the success of that act as only available for the purpose of destroying those rights? The Historian's reasoning, if disembarrassed of its historical illustrations, and reduced to its simplest syllogistic form, amounts to this: "Harmodius took the opportunity of a religious ceremony to assert (as vulgarly believed,) the liberties of Athens against her tyrants; therefore the Athenians have ever since looked upon all tampering with religious ceremonial as evidence of plots to

“establish tyranny.” It is difficult to comprehend how so acute a writer should have been blind to what must strike every intelligent reader as a palpable inconsistency.

The same disposition to enlarge on matters of special interest to himself, seems also to betray itself in portions of what is strictly speaking his main narrative, but which, being excrescences on its just dimensions, assume in so far an episodical character. His Thracian predilections appear in the bestowal, in frequent instances, on the transactions of that remote corner of the theatre of war, an amount of space in his text out of proportion, either to their connexion with his principal subject, or to any interest which they possess. Such are his accounts of the campaigns, of Sitalces against the Macedonians¹, and of Brasidas against the Thracian potentate Arrhibæus.² A like profuseness of detail is bestowed on the reduction by Brasidas, and afterwards by Cleon, of Toronë, Leczythus, and other petty Athenian dependencies.³ These enterprises, while offering few if any features not common to similar assaults, surprises, or surrenders, are described with a minuteness, equal to any bestowed on the most exciting parallel incidents of the Platæan, Pylian, or Syracusan sieges. Other motives beside mere local interest may here have operated. The capture of these towns took place

Thracian
campaigns
of Sitalces
and
Brasidas.

¹ II. 95. sqq.

² IV. 124. His compendium of Thracian geography and statistics in the former digression, for to such in fact amounts his elaborate description of the Odrysian king's territory and resources, the more it proves his own intimate knowledge of those regions and personal interest in their affairs, the less appropriate the place which it occupies in his text.

³ IV. 100. sqq., v. 2. sq.

shortly after that of Amphipolis, the loss of which city was the immediate cause of the Historian's disgrace. Their conqueror was the same Brasidas by whom he had himself been out-generaled, and whose success is here represented as due, as much to the supineness of the Athenian commanders as to their adversary's skill. It was natural that Thucydides, smarting under the punishment for what he may have considered a venial offence, should have been anxious to prove that the Athenian interests in the district had not greatly profited by his dismissal, or the zeal of his successors in office.

The
"Archæo-
logia" of
Thucy-
dides.

4. Another portion of his work which demands notice in this place, is the introductory dissertation on the early state of Greece, called by the antients his "Archæologia." While this whole disquisition is in some sense a digression from the main object of the History, several of its parts also stand to its own integral substance much in the relation of episode to principal subject. It displays throughout extensive research and acute criticism; and comprises in a small space many valuable facts and speculations. But the argument to which they are subservient is ill-arranged, and in many points illogical. The over-subtlety of the author's genius, and his desire to magnify the importance of his own undertaking, have tempted him not only to cumber his text with irrelevant or unsound reasoning, but to sully his usual dignity of historical style by controversial acrimony.

The ostensible purpose of the "Archæologia" is to show the superiority of the Peloponnesian war, in grandeur and importance, to all former enterprises of the Greek nation; and hence the superiority of his own subject to those treated by all former histo-

rians. In support of this position he dwells on the great power and resources of Greece at the outbreak of the war, in comparison with what she could have possessed at any earlier time, as both the cause and the evidence of the unparalleled magnitude of that national movement. He remarks however that, "owing to the obscurity in which *the immediately preceding* events of her history, as well as those of remoter ages, were involved, it was not possible, on other than mere speculative grounds, to form a clear judgement regarding them." This passage bears closely on the question treated in a former chapter, as to the relation between Thucydides and Herodotus. Either we must assume Thucydides to have been ignorant of the work of his predecessor, or that, if he knew it, he rejected its claims to any distinction above the common stock of half-mythical chronicles, for which in the sequel of the passage he expresses so great a contempt. Satisfactory reasons have already been given for preferring the latter explanation. Nor can anything be more uncritical or untrue, than the latitude of terms in which¹, not only the great Persian war, but the whole train of events between that war and his own time, the whole career of Cimon with the greater part of that of Pericles, are indiscriminately consigned to the same mythical darkness which envelopes the legends of Thebes and Troy. This sweeping stigma, which admits of no qualified explanation, being repeated in equally emphatic terms in several places, is not only unreasonable in itself, but at variance with the subsequent tenor of the Historian's text, where transactions of the periods here described as dark beyond

¹ I. 1. 20.

the possibility of elucidation, are everywhere mentioned as facts of universal notoriety.¹

Taking the case however as Thucydides here shapes it, we are led to expect that, in following out his argument, he would in the first instance have shown, by aid of the imperfect data to which he refers, wherein consisted the great superiority of the Peloponnesian war, in its adaptation to historical treatment, over the Persian war, against which his depreciatory remarks are chiefly directed. But, instead of this, he transports us, by a leap over eight or ten centuries², to the infancy of the Greek race, and enters on an elaborate proof that, "before the Trojan war," barbarism and poverty of resources must have incapacitated the nation from any combined enterprise. After sketching off with good effect the characteristics of this primeval state of society, he dwells on the obstacles interposed by the nature of the country and its population, to the first advances in civilised life. He then passes in review the stages of their subsequent progress; their transition in name and character from Pelasgian to Hellene, on which his commentaries are sound and critical; the suppression of piracy in the Ægæan by Minos, and the substitution of industrial pursuits for the predatory and migratory habits that had hitherto prevailed. With these general remarks are interspersed notices of early changes in dress, and other minor points of social economy; notices which have been censured, not perhaps undeservedly, by antient critics, as beneath the dignity of historical style.³

¹ See above p. 25. sq., and compare Thucyd. i. 97.

² i. 2. sqq.

³ i. 6. : conf. Dionys. Hal. De Thuc. Jud. 19.

His application of these commentaries to his main argument, the want in early Greece of good subjects for historical composition, is limited to the siege of Troy. The magnitude of the Trojan war as a common national effort he does not dispute; but in a subtle disquisition endeavours to show, how greatly it was surpassed by the Peloponnesian war. His logic however is here little compatible with the faith which he places in Homer's account of the former enterprise. If we admit, with Thucydides¹, that, in round numbers, 1200 ships conveyed a force of 100,000 fighting men, collected from every part of Greece, to the coast of Asia Minor; that the armament maintained a position on that coast, and carried on during ten years, with ultimate success, an exterminating war against a little less powerful confederacy of Western Asia; it may confidently be asserted, that the ten years' Trojan war was a greater common effort of the united Greek nation, than the twenty-seven years' hostilities among the several States of that nation, comprised under the general title of Peloponnesian war. For there is another obvious fallacy pervading this whole argument of Thucydides. He has staked his case throughout very distinctly, not on the simple magnitude of each undertaking selected for comparison, but on its being a combined or common undertaking of the Hellenic tribes. But the Peloponnesian war was in no proper sense of the phrase a combined national undertaking. It was all along the very reverse; a civil war among the Greek states themselves, animated by the fiercest spirit of division and contention against each other.

¹ See p. 107. sq. supra.

Having thus disposed of the barbarous period of Grecian history, and its standard martial enterprise, he resumes in a more critical tone, his general survey of the progress of social life, settled habits, and regular government, in the interval between the return of the Greeks from Troy and his own times.¹ He then at length touches on the great Persian war of Xerxes, slightly however, and without any notice of its claims to rival, as a common national enterprise, his own selected subject, which, as already remarked, can in no sense be properly so characterised.

The Historian's episodes are all, except the longer one on Hipparchus, comprised in the first three books of his work. The exception in the case of "the Hipparchus" may best be explained, by the difficulty of finding an appropriate place for its insertion; and but for its length, it might also probably have been connected in full, as it has been in part, with the opening stage of the narrative.² It may hence be conjectured that the Historian, in his original design, had contemplated imparting greater variety to his text, by interspersing a larger amount of such illustrative matter. But as he advanced in the full stream of his narrative, the increasing number and more exciting character of the events which his proper subject forced on his attention, may have checked any

¹ It is remarkable that Thucydides, in this review of the leading vicissitudes of early Greek history, makes not the least allusion to the long and virulent wars between the Spartan and Messenian sections of the Dorian race in Peloponnesus, or to the conquest of the Messenian territory by Sparta. Yet this conquest has been considered, and justly, by all later authorities, as the most important event of the period between the Dorian settlement and the Persian war; and the one which first secured the ascendancy of Lacedæmon in the affairs of Greece.

² See note to p. 130.

further inclination to wander beyond its immediate limits.

5. Attention has already been drawn¹ to the advantage which, in their common art of narrative composition, the poet possesses over the prose historian. The former can not only create his own heroes, but can freely give prominence to every kind of position or circumstance tending to add finish to their portraits. With the historian the case is different. His first duty is a strict adherence to truth. He can neither, without sinning against the fundamental law of his office, invent characters, nor occasions for their display; neither attribute to them actions which they never performed, nor words which they never spoke. The practice of Herodotus is here, as in some other respects, a mixture of the poetical and the historical. There can be no doubt in the mind of any critical reader, that he has both introduced imaginary characters, and ascribed to his real heroes actions which they never performed. He may however be acquitted of that wilful fiction which is the privilege of the poet, to this extent, that he probably himself believed in the reality of all the persons or events described in the strictly historical part of his narrative. But he has certainly supplied his heroes largely with words which he well knew were never spoken, unless in so far as placed by himself in their mouths. Thucydides here follows a middle course between Herodotus and the modern critical historian. His characters all belong to real life; and in no case is there ground to suspect that he has attributed to them actions which

*Delinea-
tion of
character.*

¹ Vol. IV. p. 471.

they never performed. But he has as little scruple as Herodotus, in attributing to them language which they never spoke. This license is exercised by him solely in the mode of rhetorical address. In the more familiar mode of dialogue, in which Herodotus delights, Thucydides never indulges.¹

The personages of greatest note in his main narrative are Pericles, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Cleon, on the Athenian, and Brasidas on the Spartan side. To these may be added, in the episodical part of his work, the Athenian Themistocles, and the Spartan Pausanias. The list comprises men unsurpassed in the greatness or variety of their qualities. There can be no doubt that their characters were all thoroughly understood and appreciated by Thucydides. But he can hardly be said to have turned to full account the materials for ethic portraiture which they supply. It would seem indeed, from the mode in which this indifference to their value is manifested, that a careful delineation of character did not enter into his scheme of a complete historical work. There could hardly be a finer subject for ethic study than Pericles. Even the crudely digested forms which the portrait of the great Athenian statesman presents in the page of his later biographers, enable us to judge how striking might have been its effect, as worked up by the master-hand of Thucydides, with all the aids which, from personal or contemporaneous sources, were so largely at his disposal. He has however been content

Pericles.

¹ The Melian controversy (v. 87. sqq.), with a few words of the same kind of rhetorical altercation between the Spartans and Platæans (ii. 71.), and the brief interchange of question and answer in iii. 113., the only exceptions to the letter of this remark, cannot be considered as exceptions to its spirit.

with sketching out the few more prominent features that forced themselves on his attention. His birth, parentage, and education are unnoticed. The brilliant course of earlier policy at home and abroad, by which he established so paramount an influence over his countrymen, and secured for them an equal influence over their fellow-Hellenes, form the subject of but a few casual remarks. His presence, even on that part of the Historian's scene of action over which he presides, is neither frequent nor prolonged. The only part of his career to which any justice has been done, is where, on the outbreak, and during the first two years of the war, he is engaged in organising his plan of martial operations for the Athenians. The narrative here certainly conveys a vivid impression of the force of his genius, and the power which it exercised over that wayward democracy; first in swaying their wills to his wise but unpalatable measures; afterwards, in restoring their shaken confidence in his policy, when the privations which it entailed were aggravated tenfold by the horrors of pestilence. The Historian's commentary on the extent and value of his influence, and on the fatal results of its removal, is also sound and critical. The more disappointing is his sudden dismissal of this guardian genius of the Republic from the scene of action, at the moment when he had resumed the supreme direction of affairs, with the dry remark¹ "that he survived" (the commencement of the war) "two years and a half." Regarding the last, and if we may trust later authorities, not the least interesting portion of his life, we are thus left without any information whatever. Not

¹ II. 65.

a word of the cause or mode of his death ; of his private and domestic habits ; of his munificent encouragement of art, science, and letters ; of the splendour of his public edifices ; materials for eloquent enlargement, which in a parallel case no historian of the present day would have left unnoticed.

Similar to the case of Pericles, are those of other leading actors in the Historian's drama. The knowledge of them which he himself supplies is limited to the part they act on his own immediate stage. This reserve may be owing partly to their being contemporaneous. He seems to assume that his readers possessed a competent knowledge of characters of so great notoriety as Pericles and Alcibiades. Hence perhaps how it happens that in his episodes on Pausanias and Themistocles, on the latter more especially, men of the past generation and extraneous to his proper subject, he has bestowed a greater fulness of ethic portraiture than on any living personage. The longest and most effective passage of its kind is that in which he sums up the intellectual qualities of Themistocles.¹ Yet even here the description, though precise as far as it goes, is defective ; the moral attributes of the original having been entirely overlooked.

Nicias.

6. Of the other Athenian characters, Nicias, though introduced at once a ready-made statesman and warrior, is perhaps the one whose qualities have been most fully portrayed. This is owing chiefly to the circumstance, that Nicias is the principal actor in the greatest catastrophe of the war ; with which the particulars of his last days and death are so inseparably interwoven, as to render their detailed description essential to the spirit of the narrative.

¹ I. 138. See Vol. IV. p. 496.

Nicias also, while without pretensions to the brilliant qualities of Pericles, offers perhaps, in the conflicting variety of his own, a study as original in itself, and better adapted to the Historian's imperfect mode of delineation. The narrative accordingly here conveys, through its dramatic details, with little or no aid from descriptive commentary, a vivid impression of his primitive Hellenic virtue and pure patriotism; of his sterling honesty of intention, warped at times by spirit of party or natural obstinacy of temper; of his good sense and clear judgement in the visible affairs of life, so fatally counteracted by degrading superstition in regard to the world unseen and invisible. In the disastrous Sicilian campaigns, his valour and skill in the ordinary operations of war contrast painfully with his want of energy, foresight, and comprehensive military genius. The confidence reposed in him by his fellow-citizens, even at the moment when rejecting, with characteristic levity, his mild lessons of moderation, is strikingly shown in their having intrusted him with the command of that enterprise, in spite of his declared condemnation of it¹, and having continued him in the command after a succession of errors and reverses, in spite of his urgent request to be relieved, on the well-founded plea of incapacity from disease for the performance of his functions.² During this distressing part of his life, the fluctuations of his mind between hope and despair, resolution and vacillation, anxiety to fulfil his duty and dread of responsibility, are shadowed forth by Thucydides with a truthfulness and feeling, the more effective from the absence of all effort to produce effect.

¹ VI. 24.

² VII. 15, 16.

Alcibiades. As neither the earlier nor the latter days of Alcibiades fall within the range of the Historian's narrative, and as he there appears chiefly in his capacity of intriguer, the interest of his character is proportionally limited. The details of the eighth book suffice however to convey a lively impression of the power which this political Proteus possessed, of accommodating himself to men, times, and circumstances; of becoming a Spartan to the Lacedæmonians, a Persian to the Asiatic satraps, and of deluding and outwitting all in their turn, the better to resume his original position as the Athenian Alcibiades at Athens. We obtain however no insight into the sources of these powers of political fascination. Alcibiades, like Pericles and Nicias, appears at once on the scene in the full maturity of his public character. The only introductory notice vouchsafed, is the enigmatical remark, that he was "a man who "in another State might have been considered young, "but was honoured for his illustrious ancestry."¹ In the brief commentary afterwards bestowed on his defects², the Historian points out, with force and precision, the illustration which his character, in common with that of Pericles, supplies of his own political dogma: that the prosperity of democratic government depends on the voluntary subjection of the popular energies to some master mind³, qualified to unite them on beneficial objects. "Occupying," he remarks, "a high position in the eyes of the "citizens, he displayed his ambitious temperament "in habits of ostentatious and lavish expenditure, "which afterwards proved among the chief causes of

¹ v. 43.² vi. 15.³ II. 65. λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρός ἀρχή.

“ruin of the state of Athens. For the jealousy ex-
 “cited in the minds of the people by his luxurious
 “course of life, and the aspiring tendency of all his
 “thoughts and designs, led them to regard him as a
 “common enemy, whose ultimate aim was to usurp
 “tyrannical power. Hence, overlooking his unri-
 “valled abilities as a public leader, in their indig-
 “nation at his conduct as a private citizen, they
 “preferred placing the management of the war in
 “less competent hands: an error, the fatal results of
 “which became manifest at no distant interval.”

Next to Nicias, the Spartan Brasidas is the hero Brasidas.
 of the Peloponnesian war most fully portrayed by
 Thucydides. Nor is there any one of his characters
 for whom he seems to entertain greater respect, or
 on whose acts he enlarges with more evident satis-
 faction. Brasidas certainly appears in his page a
 very admirable person; combining the normal Spartan
 virtues of patriotism and valour, with the best quali-
 ties of the tactician and diplomatist; judicious and
 comprehensive in his designs, able, energetic, and
 rapid in their execution, and possessing an extraordi-
 nary share of that faculty, more or less common to
 Spartiate officers, of influencing the will and directing
 the action of dependent States to the ends of Lacedæ-
 monian policy. The exercise of this faculty in Bra-
 sidas was the more honourable to himself, as well as
 the more successful, that the confidence he inspired
 was due as much to his humanity and good faith as
 to his talents.

This friendly feeling on the part of Thucydides,
 towards the adversary by whom he had been out-
 manoeuvred at Amphipolis, and to whom he hence
 indirectly owed his exile, has been adduced by some

commentators among the proofs of his rigid impartiality. Others would explain it in a less creditable manner, as a mark of favour to the author of the defeat and death of Cleon, the Historian's supposed political persecutor. There is little plausibility in either conjecture. It was certainly the interest of Thucydides, apart from any personal feeling, to exalt rather than depreciate the military qualities of an opponent, whom he had combated, according to his own account, with at least partial success. On the other hand, the folly and cowardice of Cleon would have been more effectually set forth, could the enemy who beat him have been shown to be a blunderer like himself, rather than an able commander.

Cleon.

The remarks suggested by the Historian's character of Cleon have been partly anticipated in a previous page. It is the only one in his treatment of which he has shown a disposition to enlarge on defects. In other cases he dwells rather on the bright than the dark side of the picture. His best vindication from the charge of having, in this single instance, been actuated by malicious motives to swerve from the truth, is the fact already noticed, that the defects stigmatised are the same, both in kind and degree, which with singular unanimity have been ascribed to Cleon by all other authorities. Another evidence of impartiality is the circumstance, that while those authorities represent the whole career of the Demagogue as one unmitigated course of folly or mischief, Thucydides gives him credit for a conduct in some of his undertakings, not very easy to reconcile with the incapacity displayed in others. The apparent inconsistency implies at least a disposition to award him such merit as he really possessed. In his campaign of

Amphipolis, Cleon certainly figures in a contemptible light, both as a soldier and a general. But his other military operations are not represented as open to censure. Thucydides indeed withholds from him the merit of having made good his "insane promise"¹ to capture the Spartan garrison of Sphacteria. He describes² Demosthenes as having already matured his measures for the success of that enterprise, and as the director in chief of their execution. But there is no hint of Cleon, as the honorary commander in chief on the occasion, having shown any want of capacity or courage. In the early part of his ensuing Thracian campaign his operations are represented not only as successful, but as well planned and vigorously executed. He even on one important occasion outmanœuvred the formidable Brasidas by whom he was afterwards defeated; and, by a curious coincidence, much in the mode in which Thucydides himself had been discomfited not long before by the same able adversary.³

7. The language in which the Historian's characters give dramatic effect to their qualities, is limited, all but exclusively, to set speeches delivered on public occasions. It has already been shown that these passages possess no solid pretensions to be the genuine orations of the persons in whose mouths they are placed; that they are, as the Historian virtually admits, his own compositions, worked up, possibly on some basis of original matter, into the form which appeared to him best adapted to the occasion or the genius of the speaker. Nor can it be denied that such adaptation is perceptible in some cases; that there is for example a dignity in the orations of

Speeches,
as illustra-
tive of
character.

¹ IV. 39.² IV. 29. sqq.³ V. 2.

Pericles which is wanting in those of Cleon, and a gravity and simplicity in those of Nicias which broadly contrast with the self-sufficient pomp of Alcibiades. But while any such individuality of character is chiefly confined in all the Speeches to these general features, all are pervaded by a common mannerism, and seasoned by common peculiarities of thought and expression, reflecting a corresponding community of origin. The same moral and political maxims, the same flowers of sophistical rhetoric, reappear, often in identically the same terms, in the mouths of different persons. When we further observe, that many of these idiomatic passages also recur in the parts of the Historian's text where he speaks in his own person, the inference becomes unavoidable, that they reflect the genius of Thucydides rather than that of the officiating orator. It might perhaps by a stretch be assumed, that some of his favourite rhetorical phrases may have been really common to his fellow-Athenians; to Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades, and the nameless "Attic envoys." But they could hardly have been equally so to a number of speakers, not only of different characters, but of different tribes and dialects; Spartans, Syracusans, Bœotians, Mytilenæans.¹ His method may be illustrated by the practice of modern painters, accustomed to design their principal female figures after some favourite living model, whose original form and features everywhere reappear, under the several attributes of a Minerva or a Madonna, a Herodias or a Lucretia. No less discernible in all the specimens of oratory which Thucydides has bequeathed, are the fundamental cha-

¹ See Appendix G. No. i.

racteristics of his own eloquence, whether reproduced in the person of an Athenian Pericles, a Spartan Brasidas, or a Syracusan Hermocrates.

While, with these common evidences of non-originality, there may still be observed in some cases, a general harmony between the orator's own character and that of his Speech, in others there is a no less obvious uncongeniality. Several long orations, remarkable for rhetorical casuistry, are placed in the mouths of Spartans, and of Spartans who, as judged by their actions, were distinguished by the blunt simplicity of temper and demeanour proper to their nation. If the addresses, of Brasidas to the Acanthians¹, and of the Spartan envoys to the Athenian council², are to be considered as genuine, either the popular notions of Laconian eloquence must be founded on error, or these particular Spartan orators must have formed their style in the school of some Attic or Sicilian rhetor.

Apart from the supposititious character of these orations, or the intrinsic value of their contents, they are in principle vicious excrescences on the body of a historical work. Even were they genuine, they would, with rare exception perhaps, where spoken by celebrated orators on memorable occasions, appertain properly to the original sources or raw material of history; to be founded on, or quoted, only in so far as consistent with a judicious use of documentary evidence. As mere exercises of the historian's rhetorical art, they become doubly objectionable. An author is as little justified in imposing on his readers an imaginary oration, as an imaginary battle. These strictures may seem to apply

¹ IV. 85.; conf. II. 87.

² IV. 17.

as well to the taste of the public which sanctioned, as to Thucydides who availed himself of, this privilege of Greek historical art.¹ The leaders of the public taste are however responsible for its defects; and Thucydides may here certainly rank as a master rather than a disciple. But even as referred to the more indulgent standard of his times, his Speeches are an abuse of his privilege. They encroach too largely on the narrative text; are too long and laboured, and are condemned as such by the best native critics. That this unfavourable judgment dates from the Historian's own age, appears from the reason assigned by Cratippus, how far correctly matters little to the present point, for the want of Speeches in the eighth book, that the author had himself become aware, that those passages in the previously published parts of the work had proved wearisome to his readers.

Speculative or Didactic element of his work.

History, in its earlier stages little more than a dry detail of facts, comprises, when cultivated as an art, two elements; a purely narrative, and a speculative or didactic element. The first contains the simple record of acts and events; the second examines their relative merits or importance, and draws from the conduct and motives of those engaged, lessons applicable to other times and circumstances. As historical literature advances, the larger, as a general rule, the didactic ingredient becomes; and has at times been carried to an excess, tending to convert history into a mere vehicle for moral or political disquisition. Herodotus indulges but seldom in purely speculative discussion; Thucydides, in that part of his text where he speaks in his

¹ On its origin see Vol. IV. p. 127. sqq.

own person, even less than Herodotus. His few moral or political reflexions are embodied chiefly in the form of summaries of the more striking general characteristics of the times. Such, for example, is his elaborate description of the unwonted virulence with which the strife of faction raged during the Peloponnesian war. In those speculations, common with modern writers, on the eventual possibilities or probabilities of history,—how far any one transaction may have stood in the relation of cause or effect to any other, or what the cause of events might have been, had a different conduct been pursued,—Thucydides rarely indulges. The nearest approach to an example is his commentary on the beneficial influence of Pericles on the destinies of Athens; where the successes achieved by the Athenians, even after his death, are attributed¹ mainly to the energy and resources bequeathed by him, their reverses to their own bad management. A somewhat parallel passage is that already cited, on the mode in which the moral defects of Alcibiades counteracted the influence of his brilliant talents in maintaining the fortunes of the republic.

In one sense it may however be said that the speculative element of history abounds in Thucydides; inasmuch as his Speeches, which occupy nearly a fifth of his entire text, comprise disquisitions not only on the questions immediately under debate, but often on such others as the several orators may think fit to introduce. Considered in this light the Speeches are no doubt instructive documents, affording, on the conduct and motives of political parties, much information essential for the reader to possess, and

¹ II. 65.

on the correctness of which, with rare exception, as full reliance may be placed as if it had been imparted in the Historian's own words. Through this medium it is, that we are made to apprehend the cause of the general leaning of the smaller Greek States towards Sparta, and of their dislike and mistrust of Athens. The unblushing candour with which the Athenian orators everywhere admit their national policy to be founded on the right of the strong to govern, and where expedient, to oppress the weak, however fictitious that admission may be in their own mouths, conveys as faithful an impression of the political principles of the ruling democracy, as could have been derived from the Historian's own definition of them. In the same way we learn, in reality from Thucydides ostensibly from Nicias and Alcibiades, the grounds on which the war party promoted, and the peace party condemned, the Sicilian expedition. But this very fulness and impartiality with which the contending interests are permitted to enforce their views and rights, seems to have been considered by Thucydides as relieving him from any obligation to interpose his own judgement. On no occasion has he, at the close of a debate, hazarded a remark on the merits of either side, or the relative strength or weakness of the arguments used.

Literary
style
of Thucy-
dides in
the nar-
rower
sense.

8. Among the characteristics of the Attic historian, the one which in every age has afforded the favourite theme for criticism is his literary style in the narrower sense; the general tone and structure of his language. Nor has this special tribute of attention been unworthily bestowed; there being undoubtedly no feature of his art of composition, in which the idiosyncrasy of his genius is more vividly reflected.

It is essential to a right judgement of the style of Thucydides, that a distinction be drawn between its historical or narrative, and its rhetorical element. To the latter belong, together with his set speeches, certain other passages among the few where his speculative remarks are delivered in his own person, and where they are also apt to assume a rhetorical tone.

His narrative style is distinguished by great and varied excellence. It is vigorous, lucid, and unaffected, teeming with pith and substance, and combining in just proportions amplitude and conciseness, brings home events and objects in the most distinct and effective manner to the senses. It has been censured by the antient critics as occasionally harsh or rugged ; and doubtless its exuberant fulness of matter and conciseness of expression, may render it less palatable at first to the ordinary reader than the easy excursive simplicity of Herodotus. His syntactic arrangement, a medium, like that of Herodotus, between the sententious brevity of the old logographers and the expansive fluency of the Sicilian rhetors, represents the natural flow of ideas in a clear head, with a tendency at times to the undue prolongation and involution of periods, common to the best of the early Attic prose writers.¹

His
narrative
style.

The narrative style of Thucydides is however superior to that of Herodotus, in adapting itself with greater versatility to the spirit of different subjects. In his accounts for example of vigorously conducted naval and

¹ See for example vi. 64., iv. 73. In some cases the prolixity and confusion are greatly owing to the false punctuation of modern editors.

military enterprises, the Attic historian surpasses his Ionian rival in the graphic power and spirited flow of his language. In no other author do we find the same combination of fluency and compression, of copiousness and clearness of matter with rapidity of manner, which distinguishes many of these passages. Thucydides often dispatches in a few sentences a course of action which might have supplied most other writers with materials for pages. Yet, on pausing to look back on the train of events through which we have been so speedily conducted, we find nothing wanting to complete the picture, and are only left to wonder how it could be so distinctly spread out within so small a space. Where a more circumstantial minuteness is required, as in the complications of diplomatic or political intrigue, the diminution of fluency is compensated by increased precision of statement. Where, on the other hand, the subject possesses some warmer ethic or pathetic interest, as in the episodes of Pausanias and Themistocles, the Athenian pestilence, or the great Syracusan catastrophe, without relaxing his habitual vigour, he indulges in a greater amplitude of descriptive detail. Owing however partly to his characteristic conciseness, partly to the absence of dialogue, those portions of his text rarely attain to the full poetical effect of the parallel descriptions in Herodotus.

Episode of
Themistocles.

As a fair general specimen of his narrative style, we here subjoin his account of the last days and death of Themistocles.¹

“The Lacedæmonians then sent envoys to Athens, accusing Themistocles of complicity with Pausanias in his traitorous in-

¹ I. 135. sqq.

tercourse with the Persian king, the proofs of which their late proceedings against Pausanias had brought to light ; and urging the Athenians to bring Themistocles also to justice. The Athenians, satisfied of his guilt, appointed officers to accompany the Lacedæmonians who readily joined in the pursuit, with orders to arrest and bring him back wherever he might be found. Themistocles at this time, being under the ban of ostracism, was resident at Argos, but in the habit of making excursions in other parts of Peloponnesus. Forewarned of his danger, he fled to Corcyra, of which republic he had been a benefactor. The Corcyræans, pleading alarm lest his presence in their island should give offence to Athens and Lacedæmon, conveyed him to the opposite coast of Epirus. Hard pressed by his pursuers, who followed steadily in his track, he was reduced, as a last extremity, to seek refuge with Admetus, king of the Molossians, a man actuated by no friendly feeling towards him. Admetus happened to be from home ; but his wife, moved by the stranger's supplications, instructed him, taking her infant son in his arms, to seat himself on the hearth, and in that position await the return of her husband. On Admetus coming in soon afterwards, Themistocles revealed himself, and besought him not to allow resentment, on account of a former opposition to his claims on the Athenian government, to influence him against one who was now an exile, and reduced to so defenceless a condition ; that revenge was a generous impulse only among equals in fortune ; and that while their past quarrel involved considerations of mere pecuniary interest not of personal safety, to abandon him now to his pursuers would be equivalent to taking his life. At the close of this address, Admetus raised him from the ground, on which he had remained sitting with the child on his lap, that being the most solemn form of supplication ; nor, on the arrival of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, could he be induced, by their most earnest solicitations, to deliver him up. He then, Themistocles having expressed a wish to proceed to the Persian court, sent him across the Thracian continent to the Macedonian port of Pydna ; whence, embarking in a merchant vessel bound for Ionia, he was driven by a storm on the naval station of the Athenians, then engaged in the siege of Naxos. Having been hitherto unknown to all on board, he now informed the master of the vessel who he was, and what the cause of his flight ; and threatened, unless effectual measures were taken for his safety by preventing any one

from leaving the ship so long as she lay at Naxos, to denounce him as having been bribed with money to favour his escape. He promised at the same time, that if his instructions were obeyed, the service rendered should be held in grateful remembrance. The master complied; and after riding at anchor a day and a night aloof from the Athenian fleet, they continued their course to Ephesus. This man was afterwards handsomely rewarded by Themistocles, on his receiving from Athens and Argos the property intrusted to friends in those cities.

“Proceeding into upper Asia, in company with a Persian of the lower provinces, he addressed a letter to Artaxerxes, who had lately succeeded his father Xerxes on the throne, in the following terms: ‘I, who now approach you, am the same Themistocles who, when under the necessity of resisting your father’s invasion of my country, among all the Greeks inflicted the greatest evils on your family; and who afterwards conferred on it no less signal benefits, when, fortune having turned in my favour, I aided in delivering Xerxes from danger.’ (Alluding to his conduct at Salamis, and in regard to the bridge over the Hellespont, the preservation of which he had falsely represented as owing to his interference.) ‘I now therefore, driven from my own country on account of my friendly feeling towards you, appeal to your good offices in return, with a promise of still greater services than those formerly rendered. It is however my wish that a year’s delay should elapse, before I make you acquainted with my schemes for the future.’ The king, it is said, greatly wondered at this proposal, but readily granted his request. During the year of interval, Themistocles occupied himself in acquiring as complete a knowledge as possible of the Persian tongue, and of the institutions and habits of the country. On its expiry, he presented himself to the king, with whom he obtained a favour and established an influence, such as no Greek had hitherto enjoyed; partly on account of his former services, and in the hope which he held out of effecting the future conquest of Greece, but chiefly from the admiration of Artaxerxes for his talents, of which he had given so many proofs. For Themistocles was distinguished above all other men, by the vigorous exercise of a naturally vigorous understanding; by the faculty of deciding on the spur of the moment, and with the least aid from previous knowledge or present reflexion, on the course to be taken in any pressing emergency, and of turning the

experience of the past to account in prognosticating or providing for the future. To sum up his character in a few words, he may be pronounced the man of his age most remarkable for the extent and variety of his intellectual powers ; for fertility in expedients ; for rapidity and sagacity in choosing the wisest measures, and energy and success in carrying them into effect. His life was brought to a close by disease ; or, as some reported, he died a voluntary death by poison, despairing of being able to make good his promise to the king. His monument may be seen in the marketplace of Magnesia in Asia Minor, the government of which city the king had conferred on him. . . . His bones are said to have been brought home by his friends, and buried secretly in his native soil, his right of sepulture in which had been forfeited by his treason."

The less favourable points in the Historian's narrative composition, being connected with anomalies of taste more broadly exemplified in his Rhetorical style, will be reserved for consideration under that head of our present subject, to which we now direct attention.

His
rhetorical
style :

9. The principal defects in the genius of Thucydides are an oversubtlety of the Intellectual faculty, and a deficiency in the faculty of Taste ; or at least in that more delicate ingredient of the latter, which acts as a safeguard against popular mannerism and affectation in literature or art. These defects are chiefly observable in the parts of his work here designated by the term rhetorical, especially in the speeches ; also at times in his own illustrative commentaries. The passages in which they prevail may be said, with nearly as much literal as figurative propriety, to reflect the dark side of his art of composition, as contrasted with the light and spirit of his narrative style. Many of those, on the working up of which he has evidently bestowed the greatest pains, are

its defects.

so laboured, sophistical and obscure, that it may be doubted whether any reader can honestly say, that he has read them with feelings of satisfaction. Some we can hardly be said to read at all, in the familiar sense of the term. We study, decipher, interpret them. But continuous fluent perusal is out of the question. Here again the contrast with Herodotus naturally offers itself. The perusal of his work has been compared to a journey along a good road, through a pleasant country, with scarcely a jolt to disturb the ease of the traveller, or an object to offend his eye. The study of Thucydides may be likened to the progress of a sportsman through a picturesque region, consisting partly of open plain, over which he gallops swiftly and joyously, partly of tracts of dense forest, deep morass, or rugged ravine, to be traversed at best with difficulty, at times requiring to be avoided altogether by a deviation from the direct course. Some of the passages illustrated by these figures are either unintelligible, or intelligible in so many ways, as to preclude any general agreement as to their import. In some the meaning is apparent, the construction an enigma; in others the construction is clear, but the sense a mystery to any common understanding.¹

The more defective peculiarities, in sentiment or language, from which the Historian's rhetorical style derives its tone, are: a studied antithetical arrangement of opinions and arguments²; the unseasonable inter-

¹ Of the judgement of the antient critics regarding these peculiarities of Thucydidean style, see Dionys. Hal. Jud. de Thuc. 24. 29.; De Thuc. idiom. 2.; Cicero, Orator, 9.; Brutus, 7. 83.; Hermogen. De formis Orat. p. 400. sqq. ed. Porti; and the curious metrical scholion of Tzetzes, appended to Bekker's stereotype edition: Berolin. 1846.

² Appendix G. No. ii.

spersion, or undue accumulation, of abstract and at times farfetched maxims¹; subtle definitions often of the most obvious things; wire-drawn distinctions between the most palpably different things; and elaborate demonstrations of propositions which no reasonable man would ever think of disputing.² These subtleties of statement or reasoning are still further subtilised by parallel refinements of grammatical structure, either peculiar to Thucydides, or so largely exemplified in his text as to assume in his case the character of idiomatic phraseology. Such are the substitution of neuter verbs, participles, adjectives, pronouns, often of complex syntactical combinations, for single substantive nouns³; of definitions for simple predicates⁴; of metaphysical for physical agencies; of attributes for the persons by whom they are exercised.⁵ The tendency of these expedients is to produce epigrammatic point, by quaint parabolic turns of expression, and generally, by extreme conciseness, or, as the old grammarians define it, by compressing the greatest quantity of sense into the smallest number of words. Some of the condensed categories may be compared, in the art of literary composition, to short hand in that of writing. As in the one case a number of words are contracted into a few ciphers or flourishes, in the other a number of statements are indicated rather than expressed, by a few enigmatical sentences. These artifices of structure are combined with kindred artifices of sound; the antithetical response or jingle in the sense being brought home with a corresponding jingle

¹ Appendix G. No. iii.

² Appendix G. No. v.

³ Appendix G. No. vii.

⁴ Appendix G. No. iv.

⁵ Appendix G. No. vi.

to the ear, by the expedients technically termed by the antients, *Parisosis*, *Paromœosis*, *Homœoptosis*, &c. The effect of these figures, which ought to be, with rare if any exception, the exclusive privilege of poetry, is, partly to secure a certain uniformity of compass or cadence, similar to metre in blank verse, to the sentences composing each pair of antithetical categories¹; partly to produce the reiterations of sound known as alliteration or rhyme in modern metrical composition.²

These reiterations however are not confined to sound. They extend also to the substance of the text; certain distinctions or definitions, which have obtained a special hold on this morbid corner of the Historian's intellect, being reproduced in different parts of his work with a frequency which constitutes them a species of rhetorical commonplace³, analogous to the epic commonplace of the Homeric poems. There is however this difference in the method of the two authors, that while with Homer such conventional forms are used for the purpose of illustrating individual character, or peculiar modes of thought and feeling, and are hence restricted to particular heroes or occasions, with Thucydides they recur on all sorts of occasions, in the mouths of all sorts of men, and are accumulated at times to a vicious excess, which it is surprising could ever have been sanctioned or tolerated by so critical a genius as Thucydides.

This broad difference between his narrative and his rhetorical style, must reflect a corresponding ano-

¹ Appendix G. No. viii.

² Appendix G. No. ix.

³ Appendix G. No. x.

maly in his own genius. The transition from the ease and freedom of the one style to the studied artifice of the other, is indeed often so marked, that had specimens of each been preserved as miscellaneous fragments of classical Attic prose, instead of authenticated parts of a continuous text, it would have been difficult to believe them the production of the same author. The anomaly is explained by the influence to which the Historian's genius was exposed from the genius of his age. Thucydides flourished in the very acme of that period of his native literature, in which the faults exemplified in his pages chiefly prevailed; when, in the early progress of intellectual culture, subtlety of doctrine and sentiment was accompanied by rhetorical artifice of style.¹ While he was thus peculiarly exposed to these sophistical influences, the peculiarity of his own genius rendered him the more susceptible of their power. But, although prose composition among the Greeks was, in all its branches, and at every period, seasoned to a greater extent than now with the forms of public oratory, rhetorical style in the proper sense was, in the time of Thucydides, as now, restricted, as a general rule, to rhetorical subjects. To these subjects accordingly, to his set speeches, with a few other kindred portions of his text, it has, with rare exception, been confined. In the purely narrative parts of his work he has followed the dictates of his own sense of propriety, uncontrolled in any serious degree by other influences. The excellence therefore of his composition, the graphic precision of his narrative, his spirited descriptions, and penetrating judgements

¹ See Vol. IV. p. 121.

on men and things, are the fruit of his own better genius. His rhetorical mannerism reflects the vicious taste of his age, working on his own natural turn for nice distinctions and logical refinements.

Its merits. In dwelling however on the defects of his rhetorical style, as forming in truth the most striking feature of his work, we must not overlook the merits by which those defects are counterbalanced, and to an exaggeration of which they may be traced. Laboured and artificial as are his speeches, they are not all equally so, nor is there in all the same disproportion between the sophistical and the sound argumentative ingredients. With much that is far-fetched and out of place, they contain also much sound, acute, and powerful reasoning ; many valuable lessons of moral and political wisdom, many just and original maxims, and penetrating views of human nature. These, if interspersed in reasonable quantity and in less artificial forms, would have served but to enliven and adorn the pages which they now too often obscure or disfigure.

His relation to Gorgias and Antiphon.

10. The antients describe this mannerism as borrowed in part from the Sicilian school of sophistical eloquence, especially from Gorgias, its most celebrated master¹; and even the scanty remains of that rhetor's oratory supply evidence of close correspondence with Thucydides, both in their general tone of subtlety, and in particular figures of speech.² The Historian's discipleship appears however to have been confined to the argumentative, as distinct from the decorative element of Gorgian style. Of that florid diction, those elaborately rounded periods, that high-flown imagery, and other meretricious graces by which

¹ See above, p. 49.

² Appendix G. No. xi.

the Sicilian school of rhetoric was distinguished, no trace is observable in Thucydides. Nor must it here be overlooked, that so many of the Historian's favourite forms of rhetorical expression are common to his countryman and elder contemporary Antiphon¹, the earliest Attic prose author of whose works any portion has survived, founder of the proper Athenian school of rhetoric, and the master under whom Thucydides is himself reported to have studied.² It is probable therefore that Antiphon also had partially formed his taste on that of Gorgias, the novelty and brilliancy of whose eloquence, from the epoch of his first appearance at Athens, led to its adoption as a standard by her popular orators.

The dialect of Thucydides, also common to Anti- His dialect. phon, is the earliest form assumed by their native Attic in its adaptation to prose literature, after its final separation from the Ionic, with which it was once identical, and continued to be nearly connected down to the time of Solon. The circumstances under which the separation took place have been examined in other parts of this work.³ The dialect so formed is commonly called by grammarians the old Attic, as distinguished from the more refined classical standard of Atticism, established in the next generation by Isocrates, Plato, and their disciples. The distinction scarcely suffices to constitute a specific difference.⁴ It consists, in regard to what can properly be called dialectical usage, in little more than a few unimportant nicetes of pronunciation and orthography, of which critical editors, antient and modern, make so little

¹ Appendix G. No. xi.

² See above, p. 8.

³ Vol. IV. p. 117. sqq.

⁴ Marcellin. in Vit. 52. : conf. Poppo, pt. i. Prolegom. vol. i. p. 207.

account, that the alleged peculiarities of each period constantly alternate in the manuscripts and editions. The properties in which the language of Thucydides has been supposed to differ from the later Attic, are not so much peculiarities of dialect, as of his own usage, resorted to for the sake of imparting zest and pungency to his style, and appertain in great part to that rhetorical mannerism examined in the previous pages.¹

Other
character-
istics of
his oratory

The oratory of Thucydides, even when free from casuistry, is marked by the characteristic subtlety of his intellect. It is an oratory of analytical exposition rather than integral combination. Its effect consists less in giving prominence to the broader features of an argument, than in the close sifting of its details. His attempts at prolonged argumentative periods commonly result but in an accumulation of pithy detached sentences.² Hence that abundance of connecting particles, pointed out by the ancient grammarians as a distinguishing feature of his syntactic structure. We look in vain for those torrents of eloquence with which Demosthenes overpowers the convictions of his audience; and examples are rare even of that sustained flow of emphatic language which varies at times the habitual placidity of Xenophon's rhetorical style. His appeals are to the head rather than the heart; to the judgment rather than

¹ Much has been said of the partiality of Thucydides for obsolete, or properly poetical idioms. Dionys. Hal. de Thuc. idiom. § 3.; Marcell. in Vit. § 52. But the examples of such usage which have been or can be fairly substantiated against him, are very few; fewer than may be found in Xenophon, or probably most other standard contemporary prose writers. See Poppo, vol. I. pt. i. p. 252. sqq.

² See for example in the speech of Pericles (II. 62), the argument commencing with *ὡς τε οὐ*, and ending in *καταφρονήματα*.

the sympathies; scarcely ever to the fancy or imagination. But although undue stress may often be laid, or undue space bestowed, on details, the strong points of a case never fail to be well and fully brought out. At times indeed his acute perception of their value leads to their overstatement or needless repetition.¹ The argument, where scope is given for such precision of method, appears at times to resolve itself into the four parts of Proœmium, Exposition, Demonstration, and Peroration, into which Aristotle divides a perfect rhetorical composition.² How far this arrangement may, in Thucydides, indicate a knowledge of such technical rules as already developed in his day, how far it represents merely the natural order in which a skilful reasoner treats his subject, is a question which we have no means of deciding. In other cases other modes of distribution have been preferred according to the orator's sense of the relative importance of the several parts of his argument, and his consequent desire to bring one or other more prominently before his audience.

The antient critics divided rhetorical figures into two classes: I. Figures of speech, where the effect lies in the sound or arrangement of the words; II.

¹ As in the address of the Plataeans (III. 58. sq.) where the reiteration of appeals to Spartan justice, piety, generosity, or humanity, damages the real power and pathos which the passages individually possess.

² In the speech of the Corcyreans (book I.) for example, the first part of § 32., down to ἀρχαίω may be considered as the Proœmium; the remainder of that section, as the Exposition; from § 33. to συμπολιτῶν ἴστω in § 36., as the Argument or Demonstration; and the rest as the Peroration. In the first speech of Pericles (I. 140.), the Proœmium ends with the word αἰτιάσθαι; the Exposition with ἐπιτασσομένη (in § 141.); the Argument with διανοίας (in § 144.); the rest being the Peroration. Similar resting-points might be pointed out in other speeches.

Figures of thought, where the effect is in the sense or meaning. The precise limit between the two classes is not very easy to define; but the figures employed by Thucydides may be described as belonging in part to each class. In his case however the second class requires a further subdivision, into Intellectual and Imaginative figures. His figures of thought are exclusively of the intellectual order. Those of the imaginative order are, where the orator, under the influence, real or assumed, of strong mental emotion, anger, contempt, surprise, incredulity, varies or interrupts the equable tone of his discourse, for the purpose of bringing those emotions more forcibly home to his audience, by dramatic appeals, direct or indirect, to their sympathies. Such, for example, are the triumphant or taunting Interrogatory (*Erotema*), addressed to the adversary, the court, or the audience; the sudden breaking off and dismissal of a course of argument or statement (*Aposiopesis*), as if the point were too self-evident to require proof, or the subject too much for the orator's feelings, or beyond his powers of expression; the *Simulatio*, or Affectation of impartiality, of a fear of overstating his own case, or undervaluing that of the opponent. These, and other similar devices, ethic or pathetic, for influencing an audience, so familiar in the later schools of rhetoric, are as foreign to the practice as to the genius of Thucydides.

Funeral
oration of
Pericles.

11. In illustration of these remarks on the Historian's rhetorical style, it may be desirable to submit to a closer analysis some one of those speeches in which its distinctive attributes are most broadly exemplified. The one which here more immediately presents itself, is the funeral oration pronounced by Pericles over the Athenian warriors slain in the first

year of the war. It is the longest, and to all appearance the most carefully finished in the collection; contains many fine passages, and certainly its full proportion of subtle distinctions, and quaint antithetical turns of sentiment and language. The prevalence of these less agreeable features contrasts the more with the solemnity of the occasion, and with the dignity, tempered by suavity, for which the eloquence of Pericles was commended by Plato and Aristophanes, and to which he owed his surname of "the Olympian."

While no speech in Thucydides can, in its present form, rank as genuine, it is yet probable that some of those attributed to remarkable persons on memorable occasions, may embody the substance of their line of argument, and even some of the more striking passages of the original address. This remark appears to admit of being verified, partly on historical, partly on internal data, in the funeral oration. There can be no doubt that Pericles delivered an address on this occasion. It seems however equally certain that neither this nor any other genuine speech by him was preserved in writing.¹ Yet it would appear that passages of the original had been preserved in the tradition of the Greek public; one being cited by Aristotle²; which, it must also be remarked, does not appear in the version of Thucydides. It was indeed natural that there should be drawn up, from the memories of those present, reports of so memorable an

¹ Quintil. XII. ii. 22.: but conf. III. i. 12., and Cicero, Brut 7., De Orat. II. 22., Orat. 9. There can be little doubt that the specimens of Periclean eloquence here vaguely alluded to by Cicero, are the speeches in Thucydides.

² De Rhetor. I. vii. 34., III. x. 7.

address, more or less accurate in substance, though differing in detail from each other. As one of these the "epitaphian" speech in Thucydides may perhaps be permitted to rank. He would hardly have ventured to publish a purely fictitious report of a harangue by so celebrated an orator, on so remarkable an occasion, which had been heard by thousands of still living persons, and the general tenor of which must have been familiar in the literary circles of Athens. It may be presumed therefore, if the Historian was present, that he has given from his own memory; if he was not present, that he has borrowed from others, the main line of argument, with some of the more striking passages. On the other hand it is equally certain, from the abundance of palpably Thucydidean matter which it contains, and much of which is common to other speeches in his collection, that Thucydides himself is responsible for the form in which the address now appears, and the mechanism with which it has been put together. An attempt to distinguish these different classes of component elements, if not productive of positive results, may not be devoid of interest. Subjoined is the opening passage:

"Many of those who have here formerly addressed you, commend the framer of the law prescribing this oration, as an honour justly due to the memory of citizens slain in battle. To me it would rather appear, that it were better to confer honour on men who have acted nobly, by our acts alone, in the mode which you now witness around this public monument, than to stake the renown of many brave warriors on the imperfect eloquence of a single orator."¹

This declaration he follows up in the sequel by announcing, that while deferring in all reasonable

¹ II. 35.

respects to the received usage, he will endeavour to vary and improve it in accordance with his own view, by discoursing, not so much on the glorious services, already so well appreciated by his audience, of those whose loss they deplored, as on the common source of every virtue which adorned the Attic citizen,—the excellence of the country which gave him birth, and of the institutions in defence of which the heroes, whose ashes were strewed before them, had so nobly died.

The sentiment which gives the tone to this exordium, and supplies in fact the text of the whole oration, is a noble one. To originality it can advance little claim; reducing itself very much to the trite doctrine, that, “Deeds are a better test of human character and conduct than words.” It must however be remembered that maxims which, like that here in question, become, from their very truth and universality of application, stale and trite in the more advanced periods of intellectual culture, were viewed in a different light in its earlier less fastidious stages. There seems therefore no reason to doubt that we have here the original text or theme of the Periclean address, and one hitherto so little hackneyed as to have told with good effect on the audience.

The same indulgence cannot be extended to the subsequent course of argument, where this fundamental key-note, the contrast between Words and Deeds, is harped upon with tasteless tautology, and moulded into every conceivable form of antithetical quibble. Were its repetition limited to this address and others allotted to the same speaker, there might be room for supposing that it really was a favourite figure of Periclean oratory. This explanation how-

ever is precluded by its recurrence, in the same or similar profusion, throughout the Historian's text. It forms in fact the most copious ingredient of what has above been characterised as his rhetorical commonplace; being reproduced in his work, under different modifications about eighty times. This oration alone supplies, inclusive of the introductory paragraph, some eighteen examples¹; and in several places they are accumulated to an excess, which it is scarcely conceivable how Thucydides himself, and altogether incredible that Pericles, could have tolerated.

In a subsequent passage the panegyrist, when enforcing his remark, that "the renown of illustrious men was better secured by their own acts than by other men's oratory," delivers himself of another strongly marked sentiment, with better claims no doubt to originality than that above cited, but with less title to rank as Periclean. "For," he tells us, "the praise bestowed on others is palatable to an audience, in so far only as each man present feels conscious of being himself qualified to perform the deeds commended; where it exceeds that measure, the feelings inspired are those of envy and incredulity."² Even were this maxim true, it is one with which an orator of so fine tact as Pericles would never surely have insulted the ears of his fellow-citizens. When reduced to plain language, it amounts to telling them, that so narrow were their minds and envious their tempers, as to disqualify them for appreciating virtue of the highest order. But the doctrine is as untrue as it is invidious. There may no doubt be minds so morbidly constituted as to be susceptible of

¹ See Appendix G. No. x.

² § 35. in fine.

the imputed influence. But of the mass of mankind it may confidently be said that the reverse holds good ; that while the public admiration for truly great characters, is enhanced by the reflexion that they are placed by their very excellence beyond the reach of envy, few things are more likely to offend a popular assembly, than the bestowal of undue praise on ordinary merit. The orator follows up this curiously conceived compliment to his audience, by a eulogistic commentary on the Athenian constitution and character, as contrasted with the opposite peculiarities of the Spartan commonwealth. This part of the address may, in substance, emanate from Pericles ; being an ingenious, and on the whole just, though partial parallel of the rival representatives of Hellenism. But its form of expression everywhere betrays the defects of the Thucydidean rhetoric, teeming with enigmatical sentences, abstract propositions, and antithetical commonplaces, familiar in other specimens of the Historian's eloquence. The whole is wound up by another fine passage ;

“ Such is the commonwealth, in defence of which, and of their right to its enjoyment, these men fell nobly fighting ; in the belief that they left not one behind, but was equally ready to suffer in the same cause. Hence it is that I have so greatly extended my remarks on our common country ; as well for the purpose of convincing you, that the contest cannot be an equal one between yourselves and others to whom the same blessings are denied, as in order to give greater reality of effect to my panegyric on those whose loss we deplore. For the highest has already been pronounced : that by their virtue, and that of others like them, the national privileges which I have now commended, have been maintained and adorned.”¹

Here again we can imagine the orator to be Peri-

¹ § 41. in fine.

cles. But in the sequel this dignified tone gives place to a series of poor conceits, ensconced in a scarce penetrable mystification of terms ; where the chief happiness of an Athenian citizen, instead of being centred, as we were just before told, in his love and pride of country, is suddenly found to consist in the possession of riches :

“ For neither was the rich man among them withheld from facing danger by reflecting on the pleasures of his wealth, nor the poor man by the hope of becoming rich if he survived. But esteeming revenge on their enemies an object still more desirable than these, they willingly, in so noble a cause, risked their lives, both to secure that revenge, and in the future prospect of those enjoyments ; committing to hope the unseen chance of success, but trusting to themselves for the execution of the work which they saw before them ; and for its sake preferring rather to combat and suffer, than to yield and escape, they shunned dishonourable report, while with their bodies they did justice to the work, and in one momentary turn of fortune, passed from this life, in the acme of their glory rather than of their fears.”¹

It is difficult to believe that such tasteless subtleties could have proceeded from the mouth of Pericles. The same strain of antithesis, after being continued through an additional half-page, is wound up by another noble sentiment, marred however, both in perspicuity and dignity, by the parenthetical interpolation, for such we would fain consider it, of the perpetually recurring contrast between words and deeds. This superfluity therefore we shall venture to omit, as non-Periclean, in our version of the passage :

“ For the tomb of illustrious men is the whole earth ; nor is the record of their acts to be sought on the graven monuments of their native soil alone, but in the uninscribed memorials of their fame, spread abroad into distant lands.”²

¹ § 42.

² § 43.

The latter part of the address, consisting chiefly of advice and consolation to the surviving citizens, though not exempt from the pervading casuistry, contains fine images and touching appeals to the feelings of the bereaved parents, wives, and children. In addressing the female members of the assembly, the orator is made the organ of the celebrated rule of Athenian domestic life, "that the best woman is she "of whom the least is said for good or for evil."¹ This maxim has since accordingly been ascribed to Pericles. But the merit, either of invention or promulgation, may with better reason be awarded to Thucydides himself. It is not likely that Pericles would so solemnly inculcate in theory a rule of life which he seems in practice, more than any other Attic citizen, to have systematically violated, and done his best to abrogate.²

12. The most effective of the longer speeches is the address of the Plataean captives to the Spartan war commissioners.³ It has however the fundamental defect, common to most of its fellows, of being diffuse and laboured, especially in a case the merits of which lay within so narrow a compass. The appeals in the peroration to Spartan generosity and humanity, while full of eloquence, forfeit much of their effect by the undignified frequency of their repetition. The reply of the Thebans is also more closely to the point than most of the speeches in the collection. While it makes the most of its miserable case, its casuistry, however misplaced in the mouth of a Bœotian, is the more excusable from the difficulty of finding sound pleas in support of such an indictment.

Other
speeches.

The Pla-
tean cap-
tives.

Their
Theban
accusers.

¹ § 45. in fine.

² See Vol. IV. p. 43.

³ III. 61.

Last
speech of
Nicias.

Of the remaining orations, the first of Pericles and those of Nicias are the most practical and least prolix or sophistical.¹ The last short address of Nicias to his troops², when setting out on their calamitous retreat, is the most faultless specimen of eloquence in the collection, whether the merit be due to Thucydides or to the ostensible speaker. It is not only dignified and appropriate, but contains more genuine pathos than any other passage of the whole work. The orations of Hermogenes and of Alcibiades are also to the purpose and well argued.; those of the Sicilian chief being however too long and laboured. The speech of Cleon on the Mytilenæan massacre³, is perhaps the one of the whole which has most the appearance of studied adaptation to the genius of the orator, in the effrontery with which, under the mask of frank sincerity, he stigmatises the vices and follies to which he habitually panders. With more immediate reference to this speech, as a specimen of pure demagogue eloquence, may be noticed a highly meritorious feature common to the Historian's oratory, its entire freedom from vulgarity; a defect into which authors, who undertake to exhibit in detail the manner of popular speakers, are peculiarly apt to fall.

It is also worthy of remark, that the eccentricity of his rhetorical style diminishes as the narrative advances. It is confined in its greatest excess to the earlier books. In the sixth and seventh, as if his stock of such matter had been gradually exhausting, the speeches become more practical, and in the eighth book cease altogether.

Rhetorical
style in the
narrative

The examples of rhetorical mannerism beyond the limits of the speeches are comparatively rare. This

¹ I. 140., VI. 9. sqq.

² VII. 77.

³ III. 37.

was to be expected from the habitual disinclination of Thucydides to embark, on his own account, in those speculative discussions which he is fond of placing in the mouths of others. It is therefore the more remarkable, that the most exaggerated piece of antithetical subtlety contained in his work, his elaborate exposition of the modes in which party bitterness displayed itself during the Peloponnesian war, has been delivered in his own words. It would be difficult, in a translation, fully to convey either the letter or the spirit of this passage; the subjoined attempt is limited to its commencement.¹

part of the
text.

“The customary sense of words was perverted in their application to deeds; reckless daring was esteemed trusty valour; provident delay, plausible cowardice; prudence, a cloak for timidity; wise caution in everything, good for nothing; maniac fierceness, a manly spirit; conspiracy in present security, a legitimate safeguard against future danger; the merciless partisan, true to the death; the advocate for mercy, of doubtful fidelity; the successful plotter, a wise man; the detector of plots, a still wiser;” . . .

and so on through the greater part of an octavo page.

The defects of the Historian's narrative style, to the merits of which ample justice has already been done, consist chiefly in the occasional interspersions of the same figures of speech which abound in his rhetorical passages. His love of conciseness, a main source of obscurity in the latter, has been turned to valuable account in imparting vigour to his narrative, and only in rare instances carried to excess. Examples also occur of the opposite faults; the undue prolongation of periods, accompanied by involution or paren-

¹ III. 82.

Descriptions
of
battles.

thetic complication; defects common to other great Attic writers, and the origin of which, with such apology as they admit, has occupied attention in a former chapter. In his description of striking events, he is too apt to aim at effect, rather by an accumulation of details, than by the more truly effective mode of bringing out strongly the bolder features. As examples may be noticed his accounts, of the night battle of Epipolæ¹, and of the last great sea-fight in the harbour of Syracuse.² In both these descriptions, the particulars which every intelligent reader would figure to himself as more or less common to all battles fought under like circumstances; the ardour with which both officers and men were animated; the exhortations of the former; the mode of their reception by the troops; the shouts with which the combatants encouraged each other; the tactics of the pilots; the exertions of the mariners and soldiers in the execution of their several duties; the cheers of the victors and the cries of the vanquished, are recapitulated with a scrupulous minuteness, detrimental to the object which it is meant to serve. The excitement among the spectators who witnessed the battle from the Athenian camp is similarly described.³ A certain prominence might with propriety be given to an episode of this nature; but the specification of the modes in which the assembled crowd displayed its

¹ VII. 43. sqq.

² VII. 70. sqq.

³ § 71. As a natural consequence of this greater effort at precision of descriptive effect, these passages show a greater tendency to antithetical jingle of structure and sound than other parts of the narrative text; for example:

*πλείσται γὰρ δὴ αὐταὶ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ ἰναυμάχῃσαν.
οἱ ἐπιβάται ἐπειρῶντο, . . . ταῖς ἀλλήλων ναυσὶν ἐπιβαίνειν.
οὗς σαφῶς ἴσασσι προθυμούνους . . . διαφυγεῖν, τοὺτους αὐτοὶ φεύγοντες
φεύγουσι.*

emotions; of the exact position of the groups of which it consisted; of the precise amount that each saw and heard, with the vicissitudes of their feelings and gestures, even to the nervous "bobbing" or "ducking" of their heads or bodies, in sympathetic response to the critical turns of the combat, are overstated to superfluity or triviality.

These passages have been much commended by the old commentators as specimens of the Historian's power of poetical description. But the term poetical can hardly here be interpreted in the sense which it now familiarly bears, as indicating ideal beauty or grandeur of thought or expression; rather in that of "highly coloured," or "elaborately finished." True poetical effect does not consist in exaggerating details; and a wholesome taste derives more gratification from the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, as sketched out by Herodotus, than from the overcharged pictures of Epipolæ or Plemmyrium.

There is more propriety in the application of this method to the pestilence at Athens.¹ The Historian's immediate object in this case was to bequeath to posterity an accurate description, physical as well as historical, of that memorable epidemic; and the first sentiment inspired is one of gratitude for the admirable manner in which he has executed his purpose. It could not obviously have been attained at a less cost of circumstantial detail. Here too the aid of poetry, in the better sense, has been successfully called in to heighten the general tone of the picture; in the apostrophe, for example, from the bewildering influence of the disorder on its human victims, to its por-

Of the
plague at
Athens.

¹ II. 47. sqq.

tentous effects even on the birds and beasts of prey, usually the only gainers by such dire calamities. The description of the conduct and feelings of the relatives of those infected is also worked up with much truth and nature.

Conclu-
sion.

In drawing this memoir to a close, one remark yet remains to be added, in which it is believed few practised students of Thucydides will refuse to concur, and which may go far to palliate any apparent harshness of the judgements passed in these pages on his literary style: the longer his work is known and the more it is read, the more it is liked and admired; the less sensible we become of its faults, the more highly we prize its merits. This "improvement on better acquaintance," to use a familiar phrase, is a common if not an infallible test of excellence in literature and art. In poetry and prose, as in painting, music, architecture, the works which command the most durable admiration are seldom those which have produced the most favourable first impression. As the conceptions of genius, especially of eccentric genius, necessarily range at times in an eccentric sphere, it seems but natural that a certain effort should be required, to enable other minds fully to apprehend or appreciate them. The form in which the eccentricity of Thucydides is chiefly displayed, is the contrast between the enigmatical subtlety of thought and expression that pervades one large portion of his text, and the clear common sense and sound judgement which animates the remainder. His rhetorical passages may indeed be said to be composed in a language of his own; a language so different from that of ordinary men, that to ordinary men much appears hard to comprehend, and, even where intelligible, grates at first harshly on

the ear and the understanding. But on a more complete familiarity with the whole idiomatic vocabulary in which his equally idiomatic ideas are embodied, the difficulties at first experienced are gradually smoothed down, and in great part sooner or later vanish altogether. The intrinsic worth of the matter is more thoroughly felt and valued, the harshness of the manner is forgotten or overlooked.

Something no doubt in this change of impression may be attributed to the self-satisfaction we are apt to experience in overcoming, or fancying we have overcome, difficulties; something to the pleasure afforded by the study of rare or curious traits of character; much even to the force of habit, which often renders what is familiar in the end agreeable. The case may be compared to that of acquired tastes in diet; of viands which at first prove nauseous, owing to some strange or pungent flavour, but by continued use become both easy of digestion and grateful to the palate.

CHAP. XI.

XENOPHON: HIS LIFE AND TIMES (435—350 B.C.)

1. HIS BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND EARLY LIFE. EPOCHS OF HIS BIRTH AND DEATH.—2. ENTERS THE SERVICE OF CYRUS.—3. MARCH FROM SARDIS TO BABYLONIA IN SPRING, 401 B.C. BATTLE OF CUNAXA IN AUTUMN, 401 B.C. DEATH OF CYRUS.—4. POSITION OF THE GREEKS AFTER THE BATTLE. MURDER OF THE FIVE GENERALS.—5. XENOPHON APPOINTED TO COMMAND A DIVISION.—6. TAKES THE LEAD IN CONDUCTING THE RETREAT. MARCH UP THE TIGRIS. CARDUCHIAN MOUNTAINS. CONTINUED HARD FIGHTING. WESTERN ARMENIA. THE ARMY OVERTAKEN BY WINTER.—7. FORDS THE EUPHRATES. ITS SUFFERINGS. CONTINUED HARD FIGHTING. VIEW OF THE SEA. ARRIVAL AT TRAPEZUS IN SPRING, 400 B.C. ATTACK ON THE DRILÆ. CERASUS. THE MOSYNCEANS. COTYORA.—8. XENOPHON'S SCHEME OF COLONIAL SETTLEMENT. DISSENSIONS IN THE ARMY. HARMENÆ. THE SUPREME COMMAND CONFERRED ON CHIRISOPHUS.—9. HERACLEA. MUTINY AND DISRUPTION OF THE ARMY. ITS REMUSTER AT CALPE. DISASTERS AT CALPE.—10. BYZANTIUM. TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF THE SPARTAN AUTHORITIES. SERVICE OF THE GREEKS UNDER SEUTHES IN THRACE.—11. SERVICE UNDER THE SPARTAN HARMOST THIMBRON IN ASIA. SENTENCE OF EXILE PASSED ON XENOPHON. HIS RETURN TO GREECE WITH AGESILAUS. HIS SETTLEMENT AT SCILLUS. RESTORATION TO HIS CIVIC RIGHTS. HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS. CLOSE OF HIS LIFE.—12. CAUSE OF HIS BANISHMENT. ANTIENT AUTHORITY. MODERN THEORY.—13. BEARINGS OF THE QUESTION ON HIS MORAL CHARACTER. HIS SPARTAN CONNEXIONS. WITH AGESILAUS AT CORONEA.—14. HARSHNESS OF HIS SENTENCE.—15. HIS CHARACTER, LITERARY GENIUS, AND HABITS OF LIFE.—16. HIS PARTIALITY AS A HISTORIAN. HIS DEFECTIVE PATRIOTISM.—17. HIS RELIGIOUS BELIEF. HIS PHILOSOPHY. HIS LITERARY STYLE. HIS WORKS.

1. THE materials for a Life of Xenophon, derived from secondary sources, are, as in the case of his two distinguished predecessors, limited in amount, and of slender authority. The information, on the other hand, which he has transmitted concerning himself is so abundant, as to constitute an ampler fund of authentic biographical data than is extant in the case of any previous or contemporary man of letters. For

this advantage we are indebted to the prominent part acted by him in some of the principal transactions which he records, and hence the greater opportunity for allusion in his narrative to his own concerns. Herodotus is only known to fame as a historian; and Thucydides was indebted for such celebrity as he enjoys in any other character to a single event, which, had it not been recorded by himself, might barely have sufficed to secure for his name its present, not very honourable place in the military fasti of his native republic.

All that we learn from Xenophon himself regarding his birth and original condition in life is, that he was an Athenian. His biographers are further agreed that his father's name was Gryllus, of the Demus of Erchē. This statement is partly confirmed by the better attested fact, that the Historian had a son also named Gryllus¹, the custom of calling children after their grandfathers being common in Athens. Diogenes Laertius, whose *Life of Xenophon* is our most copious source of subsidiary information², describes him as distinguished for manly beauty. Of the date of his birth no specific notice has been preserved. Stesiclides, a professional chronologer of uncertain age, places his death³ in 360 B.C.; and according to Lucian he attained the age of ninety.⁴ These data would carry his nativity as far back as 450 B.C. It is certain however that he survived the year 360 B.C., from his own allusion to events long subsequent to that date. In the *Hellenica*⁵ he mentions the death of Alexander, tyrant of Phæræ in

Birth,
parentage,
and early
life.

Epochs of
his birth
and death.

¹ Aristotle, Ephorus, alii, ap. Dion. Laert. in *Xenoph.* § 48. sqq.; Lucian. *Amores*, 49.

² § 48.

³ Ap. Diog. § 56.

⁴ Macrob. 21.

⁵ vi. iv. 36.

Thessaly, which happened about 357 B.C.; and his treatise on Athenian finance contains evidence of having been composed not sooner than 355 B.C.¹ He may further be supposed to have survived the lowest of these two dates by a few years, to enable him to complete the works in which they are introduced. Assuming him therefore to have died about 350 B.C., the epoch of his birth would depend on the degree of credit to be attached to Lucian's account of his length of life. Although the letter of that author's statements on such points may not deserve implicit belief, the general harmony between his testimony and that of Xenophon's biographers, with the data supplied by his own writings, can leave no reasonable doubt that he lived to a great age. Allowing him from eighty to ninety years, his birth may have taken place about 435 B.C. This computation is also in unison with the notices of his early life contained in his *Convivium* and *Memorabilia*. In the former of these works, he describes himself as having been present at the banquet given in 420-421 B.C. by Callias son of Hipponicus, in honour of Autolycus, "Victor among the boys" in the Panathenæa of that year. From his account of that festivity, compared with parallel notices in the *Memorabilia*², it may be gathered that Xenophon was about the same

¹ Namely, after the close of the Social war, alluded to in the text of that treatise, iv. 40., v. 12. See Boeckh, *Staatsk. der Ath.* iv. 21.; who however, on grounds not stated, assumes that war to have terminated in Ol. 103. 1, or 356 B.C. Other standard authorities, Clinton, Thirlwall, Grote, adopt the more recent date here preferred. It is further obviously more probable that the treatise should have been published in the year after the Peace, to which, and to its effects, the above-cited passages refer (or 354 B.C.), than in the very year in which the Peace was concluded.

² Appendix H. § 1.

age as the juvenile athlete whose triumph he assisted in celebrating; and Autolycus must at this time have been under sixteen, that being the age at which youths passed from boyhood into puberty. Xenophon, upon this computation, would have been about thirty-five in the year 401 B.C., when, after the death of Cyrus at Cunaxa, and the murder of the principal Greek generals, he describes himself, in several passages of the *Anabasis*, as the youngest of the warriors chosen in their place to conduct the retreat homewards. These passages, it is well known to the reader conversant with this chapter of literary history, have supplied commentators with material for widely different opinions; some maintaining that, consistently with their import, the Historian could not at that time have been much above twenty-five; others arguing, with equal confidence, that he could not have been much under fifty. The intermediate estimate here preferred seems borne out, as well by a fair balance of the arguments urged in favour of each of the two extremes, as by the other chronological data to which attention has above been directed.¹

The only ascertained facts in the first part of Xenophon's life are, his having been from an early period of youth a disciple of Socrates, and his having been present with his master at the Banquet of Calias, if indeed his notices of that festivity are to be considered as strictly historical. The story of his preservation from death by Socrates at the battle of Delium², in 424 B.C., belongs to the mythological element of Attic literary biography. Xenophon is described as having on that occasion served in the

¹ Appendix II. § 2.

² Strabo, ix. p. 403.; Diogen. La. in Socrat. § 22.

Athenian cavalry; as having fallen from his horse during the flight, having been taken by Socrates on his shoulders, and carried about a mile, until they reached a place of safety. By reference to the foregoing adjustment of dates, this battle would have been fought in the Historian's twelfth year, nine years prior to the age at which an Athenian citizen was qualified by law for military service abroad. But apart from this objection, it happens that while, in the dialogues of Plato, the conduct of Socrates in this battle of Delium forms the subject of frequent and detailed allusion by his friends or pupils, the terms of those allusions are not compatible with the popular legend regarding it. Alcibiades and Laches both describe themselves as having accompanied their master in his flight; but neither of them, in his account of what took place, notices the presence of Xenophon, still less his preservation from death by Socrates¹. Alcibiades pointedly mentions having been himself on horseback, while Socrates retreated on foot; and that he rode slowly by his master's side, the better to protect him. Had Socrates had another man on his back all the time, his lively eulogist would hardly have omitted a circumstance calculated to add such pungent zest to his narrative. Nor, apart from this, in itself conclusive objection, is it likely that Plato, by whom these notices of the Delian action are introduced with a view of magnifying the disinterested valour of the Philosopher, would have omitted an episode of the battle better adapted to his purpose than any which he has recorded. In further proof of the fabulousness of this

¹ Plato, *Sympos.* 219—221. (conf. *Plutarch*, *Alcib.* 7.); *Laches*, p. 181.; *Apol. Soc.* p. 28. *alibi*.

adventure, it may be observed that Alcibiades, in one of the passages above quoted¹, describes his own life as having been saved by Socrates at Potidæa. It would be very remarkable if, in each of the two great battles in which he fought, the Philosopher should have had opportunity of performing this exploit in favour of one of his most celebrated disciples.

With the exception therefore of the Historian having been a favourite pupil of Socrates, nothing is authentically known of the first thirty-five years of his life²; prior, that is, to his entering the service of the Persian prince Cyrus. The events which led to this important crisis in his destiny have been described partly by himself³, partly by other, in some respects perhaps more trustworthy authorities.

2. Towards the close of the eventful year 404—403 B.C., the former part of which had witnessed Ly-sander's conquest of Athens, the latter, the restoration of her constitutional government by Thrasybulus, Darius Nothus, king of Persia, died, and was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus, the younger brother of the new monarch, had for some years prior to his father's death, held the office of satrap of the north-western provinces of Asia Minor. He was a man of varied talents, popular manners, and boundless ambition, deeply versed in the arts of po-

Enters the
service of
Cyrus.

¹ Sympos. p. 220. : conf. Plutarch, Alcibiad. 7.

² In the notice by Photius (Bibl. cclx. p. 486. Bekk.) of his having been a disciple of "Isocrates," the original reading may probably have been "Socrates." The school of Isocrates could hardly have been opened at Athens until after the banishment of Xenophon. He is also reported in another apocryphal tradition (Philostr. Vit. Soph. i. 12.) to have been a disciple of Prodicus, "during his captivity in Bœotia;" to which captivity no other allusion is extant. By Cicero (De Or. iii. 34.) Xenophon is himself described as the preceptor of Agesilaus.

³ Anabasis, i. i., iii. i. 4. sq.

litical intrigue, and unscrupulous in their employment. During the latter days of his father, he had endeavoured, in conjunction with the queen-mother Parysatis, whose favourite son he was, to induce the old monarch to declare him, in preference to Artaxerxes, successor to the throne, on the plea familiar to Persian political casuists, of his having been born after his father became king, Artaxerxes while Darius was yet a subject. Darius having been found proof against these influences, Cyrus took measures for usurping by force what he had failed to obtain by policy. Shortly after his brother's accession, a charge of treason was brought against him by Tissaphernes, satrap of a neighbouring province. He was summoned to Susa and placed under arrest; but, through the intercession of his mother, was restored to liberty and reinstated in his government. This act of clemency or justice, whichever it may have been, did but inflame the ardour of Cyrus in the prosecution of his ambitious designs; his indignation at what he considered humiliating treatment, superadding thirst of revenge to his other inducements to revolt. During the earlier part of his Asiatic viceroyalty, he had been at pains to ingratiate himself with the Spartan general Lysander¹, in the ulterior view of securing the aid of Lacedæmon in forwarding his schemes; and to the large subsidies with which he supplied her, that State had mainly been indebted for her triumph in the Peloponnesian war. He now accordingly, supported and encouraged by Sparta, occupied himself in enlisting Greek mercenary troops. Among the adventurers whom he had in this way attracted to his court, was one Proxenus, a Bœotian, commandant of about two

¹ Hellenica, I. v. 5. sq., II. i. 11-15.

thousand of these stipendiaries. This man was an old friend of Xenophon, who describes him as a person ambitious, from his boyhood, of distinguishing himself in life, and as having, in order to qualify himself for great performances, paid largely for a course of instruction to the celebrated sophist Gorgias. He had in so far succeeded in his object, that at the age of thirty, or less, he had acquired the favour of a munificent Oriental prince, and the command of an army of choice Hellenic warriors. He is further characterised by Xenophon, in graphic terms, as a man of integrity and honour, but of an easy sensitive disposition, which well fitted him for the management of followers as honest and single-minded as himself, but rendered him less competent to deal properly with such bodies of human beings as that over which he now presided.¹

From this adventurer, then in attendance on Cyrus at Sardis, Xenophon received a letter, inviting him to take service with the prince, a share of whose friendship he engaged to procure him; adding, that "he considered such a patron worth more to him than his native country was ever likely to be." Xenophon imparting the contents of this letter to Socrates², consulted him as to the course he should pursue. Socrates, fearing lest his accepting service with a foreign potentate who had proved a fatal enemy to Athens, might involve him in trouble at home, advised him to apply for counsel to the Pythian oracle. Xenophon proceeded accordingly to Delphi, and inquired of the god, not whether he should embark on the proposed adventure, but to which among the deities he should sacrifice, in order to propitiate

¹ Anab. II. vi. 18.

² Anab. III. i. 5.

its successful issue. Apollo, in reply, gave him the names of the requisite divinities. On reporting the result of his mission to Socrates, the Philosopher blamed him for not having first inquired whether the god approved of the project; but as the question had already been put in the other shape, he sanctioned Xenophon's acting on the answer vouchsafed. He sailed accordingly, after duly inaugurating his voyage by the proper rites. "On reaching Sardis," continues his narrative, "he found Cyrus and Proxenus preparing to set out on a military enterprise, which was described to him as directed against the Pisidians, a refractory vassal tribe, in a distant part of the satrapy. Both Proxenus and Cyrus expressed an anxious desire that he would accompany the army, the prince engaging that he should have full liberty to take his own course after the campaign was over." To this Xenophon consented, deceived by these false statements, for which, he adds, Proxenus was not responsible; for neither he, nor any other of the prince's Hellenic officers, with the exception of the Spartan Clearchus, who stood first in his confidence, had any suspicion that the armament was really directed against Artaxerxes. Nor was it until they reached Cilicia, on the eastern extremity of the peninsula, that this became plain to them all.¹

From the tenor of the above narrative it seems clear that Xenophon was, or believed himself to have been, invited to serve Cyrus in a civil rather than a military capacity. Had he from the first intended to bear arms under the prince, his description of Cyrus and Proxenus urgently requesting his presence on

¹ Anab. III. i. 4—10.

the proposed campaign, obviously as a step for which he was not prepared, would be unmeaning. It is probable therefore that he had not hitherto acquired reputation or experience as a soldier, beyond what he would naturally attain in the ordinary course of those military duties, from which no Athenian whose manhood extended over some ten or twelve years of the Peloponnesian war, could well have been exempt. And this view is confirmed by the sequel of his narrative, from which it appears, that neither during the six months' march on Babylonia, nor for many weeks after the battle with which it terminated, was he intrusted with any actual command, nor so much as entered on the muster-roll of his Bœotian friend's division. These facts seem to shed a few rays of additional light on the obscurity of his previous life. It may be inferred, from his introductory notice of his friend Proxenus, of that friend's discipleship with Gorgias, and of the importance attached by him to literary culture as a source of distinction in after life, that the original bond of connexion between the two was chiefly of a literary nature. This view is incidentally confirmed by the statement of Ælian¹ (the authenticity of which matters little to the question), that Xenophon, who was some years older than Proxenus, had acted as his preceptor. The Historian's previous life seems, therefore, to have been chiefly devoted to pursuits of a different nature from those in which he was engaged during its ensuing six or seven years. Cyrus would, no doubt, be desirous of securing the services of Greek civil officers, as well as Greek warriors, in his bold scheme of usurpation; and had that scheme been accomplished, Xenophon

¹ Var. Hist. XII. 25.

March
from
Sardis
to Baby-
lonia in
spring of
401 B.C.

might have looked for some high appointment better suited to his tastes and habits.¹

3. In the spring of 401 B.C. Cyrus advanced² eastwards from Sardis by leisurely marches, interrupted by long halts, at points convenient for collecting reinforcements. The army, when fully assembled and mustered on the plain of Babylonia, numbered 12,800 Greek and 100,000 Asiatic troops.³ The Greek contingent was made up of eight independent companies⁴, each under its own leader. But Clearchus, an experienced Spartan general of the Peloponnesian war, was, in all more critical emergencies, deferred to as commander-in-chief. The only serious difficulty experienced by Cyrus in his progress, was the discontent and threatened desertion of the Hellenic troops, on discovering the series of frauds by which he had managed to inveigle them into an enterprise contrary to their inclinations, or to the terms on which they were engaged. The discovery however was not made until it seemed too late with credit or safety to draw back; and, partially reconciled

¹ Here too we seem to have an explanation of the otherwise enigmatical expression of Cyrus in his first interview with his new retainer (III. i. 9.), which has above been freely translated, as intimating that at the close of the campaign "he would be at liberty to follow his own course." The letter of the original is, that Cyrus "would send him away;" which can hardly admit of a literal interpretation; implying nothing more, probably, than that his engagement to follow the camp should not extend beyond the campaign against the Pisidians.

² Anab. i. ii.; see sketch map at the end of the volume.

³ Anab. i. vii. 10. sq.: conf. i. ii. 8—9., i. iv. 3.

⁴ After the desertion of Xenias and Pasion, i. iv. 7. There is however some confusion in the notices of these Greek "Condottieri." Of the ten, inclusive of Xenias and Pasion, mentioned in i. i. and ii., Aristippus never appears; and after the battle of Cunaxa, another, Agias, is suddenly introduced, of whom no mention had been made in the previous narrative. II. v. 31.

to their lot by promises of higher pay, they continued their onward march.¹

It was not until Cyrus, crossing the river Euphrates, had penetrated into the heart of his brother's empire, that he encountered any serious opposition in the field. About ninety miles from Babylon he found Artaxerxes prepared to receive him², with an army rated by Xenophon at nine hundred thousand men, on a plain the name of which the Historian does not mention, but which later authorities call Cunaxa. The Greek force occupied the right of the Cyreian line, with its own right flank resting on the Euphrates, the river forming the key of the position, and securing the army against the risk of being surrounded by the enemy. For so greatly was the force of Cyrus outnumbered, that the centre of the royalist line extended beyond the left wing of the rebels; so that in fact more than one half of the king's army had no hostile force in front of it. The danger was the greater, from the king's superiority in cavalry, usually the best part of a Persian army, and with which Cyrus was ill provided.

Battle of
Cunaxa,
autumn of
401 B.C.

As the moment of onset approached, "Cyrus," says the Historian³, "called out to Clearchus to attack with his Greeks the centre of the enemy, where Artaxerxes commanded in person." It is difficult to understand how any general of ordinary judgement could, in the position of the two lines as described by Xenophon, have issued such an order. Its execution, if attempted, would have deprived Cyrus

¹ Anab. i. iii., iv. 11—13., III. i. 10.

² I. vii. 12. According to Ctesias (ap. Plutarch, Artax. 13.) he had but 400,000 men.

³ I. viii. 12.

of the only advantage which he possessed to counterbalance the numbers of his opponent, the superior valour and skill of his Greek warriors. Stationed as they were, at the extreme right of the Cyreian army, they would, before they could have reached, or even obtained a clear view of the proposed point of attack, have had to pass by an oblique movement in front of the whole remainder of their own line, and of great part of that of the enemy, for the distance of several miles.¹ The consequence would have been, had the Persian commanders possessed among them sufficient common sense to avail themselves of their opportunity, a scene of confusion, which ought at once to have secured the defeat of the rebel army. It would in fact, to use a modern military phrase, have been "clubbed" from one end to the other. The Greeks, during their oblique movement, would have been exposed in flank, and in marching order, to the attack of the whole imperial force, without any support from their Asiatic comrades, between whom and the enemy they would have placed themselves. Had Clearchus, on the other hand, attempted to execute the manœuvre by passing to the rear of the Cyreian line, its Asiatic portion would have been similarly exposed to the combined assault of the enemy, without a possibility of assistance from the Greeks, on whom they would have been thrown back in tumultuous rout. On the Greeks quitting their position, the right of the Cyreian line would at once have been cut off from the river, and then attacked both in flank and rear by Tissa-

¹ Polybius (xii. 19. 21.) rates the space necessary for drawing up an army of even 45,000 men at much more than two miles. Clearchus would have required, in changing his flank, to pass in front or in rear of an army of 100,000 men.

phernes, the ablest of the Persian officers, who was stationed opposite Clearchus, on the left of the king's force, with its choicest troops, consisting in great part of cavalry. A veteran Spartiate officer could have no scruple in disobeying such instructions, on grounds which the Historian specifies: the distance of the proposed point of attack, the imprudence of deserting the river, and thus exposing the flank of the army to be turned by the enemy. Clearchus accordingly answered drily, that "he would himself take care that all should go well."¹

As Artaxerxes advanced in battle order, Cyrus passed along his own line, watching the movements of the two armies, when Xenophon rode up to him, and inquired if he had any instructions. Cyrus ordered him to inform the Greeks that the rites were propitious. At this moment the prince's attention was arrested by a sound among the Greek troops, and he inquired what it meant. Xenophon answered, that it was the watchword of battle passing through the ranks. Cyrus, with an expression of surprise, asked who gave the word and what it was? "Jupiter the Preserver and "Victory," said Xenophon. "I, too, accept it," said the prince; "so let it be;" and rode off to his own position.²

¹ I. viii. 13. See Appendix J.

² I. viii. 14. sqq. There can be little doubt, from the account of this dialogue, from his previous order to Clearchus, and from the subsequent folly and rashness of his conduct, that Cyrus on this occasion, in the excitement of the moment, and in the fury of his vindictive malice against his brother, had lost his head. How could one who had for years been familiar with Greek military service, and for months in command of some twelve thousand Greek troops, be ignorant of, or surprised at, their custom of passing the word before an engagement? even supposing the same custom not to have been common to the Persians, as

On the Greeks charging at a run, the enemy turned and fled. So complete was the rout of this wing of the imperial army, that the attendants of Cyrus, considering the battle won, already saluted him King. The force under the immediate command of Artaxerxes, when attacked by Cyrus at the head of his body-guard, was also broken and put to flight. A moderate exercise of judgement would now have secured his victory, with the throne to which he aspired. But his vindictive rage against his brother deprived him, a few minutes afterwards, with his life, of that long-cherished object of ambition. Observing Artaxerxes, with his chief officers, in the centre of one of the routed masses, he exclaimed, "I see the man," and rushing at him, with a small body of cavaliers, he struck a blow at his breast; but the weapon, owing probably to the blind fury with which it was aimed, inflicted but a trifling hurt. At the same moment he was himself wounded under the eye with a javelin, by one of the king's party. A fierce hand to hand conflict ensued between the brothers and their attendants, ending in the death of Cyrus and eight of his principal officers.¹

Death of
Cyrus.

This catastrophe was the signal for a break up of the slain prince's Asiatic force, his life being its sole bond of union. The only part which kept together was the left wing under the Ionian satrap Ariæus, who, on being informed of the prince's death, quitted

Xenophon elsewhere (*Cyrop.* III. 58.) describes it to have been. It is clear that the prince's mind must have been wandering during his dialogue with the Historian. From the care with which the latter has recorded the, in themselves, trivial details of the dialogue, it may also be inferred, that he was himself struck with something strange in his patron's demeanour.

¹ I. viii. 21. sqq.

the field with the whole body under his command, passed through the Cyreian camp, and halted at the place where the rebel army had been stationed on the previous night. The camp was immediately occupied by the royal troops, with the exception of its Greek extremity, where the detachment left on guard maintained their position, and preserved the baggage of their own army.

In the meanwhile Clearchus had been following up his success in a distant part of the field, in the belief that the victory was everywhere complete. On hearing that the camp was in possession of the king, he remustered his troops in battle order, and proceeded in that direction, still making the Euphrates the resting-point of his present movement, as it had been of his first attack. Artaxerxes, apprised about the same time more fully of the defeat of his left, also reassembled his scattered forces, and advanced to meet the enemy in the same order as in the previous action. But on the Greeks repeating their attack with still greater impetuosity, the Persians fled with still greater precipitancy than on the last encounter, followed by the victors, until sunset and the nature of the ground put a stop to the pursuit, when the Greeks retired to their camp.¹

4. They now began to wonder that nothing had been heard of Cyrus. In the morning they were informed of his death by a message from Ariaëus, who invited them to join him at his own station, if they thought fit to accompany him back to Ionia, whence he came, and whither he proposed returning. Clearchus answered proudly, "that it would ill be-
"come the Greeks, as victors, to desert the field they

Position of
the Greeks
after the
battle.

¹ I. x.

“had won; that he was about to follow up his “success by a renewed attack on the imperial army;” and he made offer to Ariæus of the Persian throne, “the disposal of which, now that Cyrus no longer “lived, appertained to himself as conqueror.” This haughty spirit however soon subsided when the real nature of his position became apparent. Ariæus sent back word, that “there were many Persians “more noble than himself, who would never submit “to his rule,” and urged the Greeks, if they meant to join in his march homewards, to come over that night, as he intended starting early the next morning. In the course of the day, a Greek in the Persian service brought them a summons from the king to lay down their arms and submit to his mercy. After some consultation, it was replied: that “if the king “proposed to treat with them as friends, they would “be better able to serve him with, than without their “arms; if they were to be treated as enemies, their “arms would be safer in their own than in any other “hands.” In the afternoon Clearchus informed his colleagues that the auspices were not favourable to an attack on Artaxerxes, who had now taken up a position beyond the great river Tigris, which they had no means of crossing, but that the rites were propitious to the retreat with Ariæus. The latter alternative was adopted, and they reached his quarters about midnight. On the morrow the two armies commenced their march, but on the evening of the second day they suddenly found themselves in the vicinity of the king’s forces.¹ The next morning a herald arrived from Artaxerxes with proposals of friendly accommodation. Clearchus replied that it

¹ II. i. ii. See Appendix K.

was no time to talk of negotiating while his men were starving, and that until supplied with provisions they were resolved on war. The king upon this agreed, that while the terms were arranging they should want for nothing ; and sent guides, who conducted them to a position among villages affording an abundant market. Here they remained nearly a month, during which they were visited from time to time by Tissaphernes, as mediator between them and the king, and who, on the strength of his long connexion with Greece, expressed a friendly interest in their welfare, and a desire to aid their return. Clearchus disclaimed any hostile feeling towards Artaxerxes ; explained how they had been deluded by Cyrus, against their own wishes, to join in his enterprise, and that all they now desired was to march peaceably home, though ready, if opposed, to repel force by force. In the end it was agreed, in a treaty solemnly ratified by all the contracting parties, that the Greeks and Ariæus should continue their journey to Ionia, escorted, for their better security, by Tissaphernes, who was also returning to his satrapy ; that they should enjoy a free market on the route, and in case of refusal, should be entitled to take without payment what they required.¹

During the first fortnight's march, after crossing the river Tigris, circumstances occurred to create distrust of both Tissaphernes and Ariæus. The latter, having received his pardon, was now entirely alienated from his Greek allies, marching and encamping with his fellow-Persians. The former friendly demeanour of Tissaphernes had also given place to coldness and reserve. In this state of things, Clearchus, during a

Murder of
the five
generals.

¹ II. iii.

few days' halt on the river Zabatus, in an interview with the latter, demanded the reason of his altered manner. Tissaphernes denied any change in his friendly feelings; attributing his coldness to reports brought from the Greek camp itself of treacherous designs in that quarter; that he was now satisfied these reports were groundless, and for the more effectual restoration of harmony, he proposed that the chief officers of the Greek army should assemble at his tent on the ensuing day, when he would name the source whence the calumnies proceeded. To this Clearchus agreed, reassured by the satrap's apparent frankness. His fellow-commanders also consented to the meeting, not however without remonstrance from several, who insisted that only a part of those invited should risk attendance. The number thus restricted comprised five generals, Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, and two others, with twenty officers of secondary rank; and the mission was accompanied by about 200 Greek soldiers on their way to the Persian camp to buy provisions. The five generals were admitted to the presence of Tissaphernes; the other officers remained at the door of his tent. On a certain signal, the five were seized and bound, the twenty were slain; while Persian horsemen were seen from the Greek lines scouring the intermediate plain, and killing every Greek, freeman or slave, on whom they could lay their hands. Intelligence of what had happened was brought soon after to the army by an Arcadian soldier, who, though sorely wounded, had effected his escape to the camp.

The Greeks ran to their arms, expecting an attack on their quarters; when Ariæus, with two other Persians formerly in the service of Cyrus, escorted by

300 horse, rode up, and, as bearers of a message from the king, requested an interview with some person in authority. Upon this, Cleanor and Sophænetus, the two surviving generals, came forward, accompanied by Xenophon, anxious to learn the fate of his friend Proxenus. Ariæus then stated that Clearchus, having been convicted of traitorous designs against Artaxerxes, had suffered death; but that Proxenus and Menon, as the denouncers of his iniquity, were held in high honour by the king, "who," he added, "summons you once more to deliver up your arms, which he considers his rightful property, as they had formerly been that of his slave Cyrus." To this, Xenophon, as his own narrative continues, replied: "If, as you tell us, Clearchus has indeed been convicted of treachery, he has been fitly punished for his crime. But as Proxenus and Menon, who have acted honestly by you, are also our commanders, let them be sent back to us. Being both your friends and ours, they will be of all men best qualified to advise us in our present position." To this the Barbarians made no reply; but after a long discussion among themselves, rode back to their own lines. The captive generals were carried to the quarters of Artaxerxes and put to death.¹

Xenophon's description of the gloomy despondency which overspread the Greek camp, on this calamitous change in their previous hopeful prospects, is the most powerfully pathetic passage of his work. "At a distance of more than 1200 miles from their native land, in the midst of hostile cities and races, their route homewards intersected by impassable rivers, they were deserted and betrayed by those whom they

¹ II. iv. sq.

“ had trusted as confederates in a common cause ;
 “ destitute of provisions or any means of procuring
 “ them, without guides, without a single cavalry sol-
 “ dier, and hence unable when victorious to follow
 “ up their success, or when beaten to protect their
 “ retreat. Their minds oppressed, and their spirits
 “ broken by these sad reflexions, few cared to kindle
 “ fire or to taste food on that fatal night, and many
 “ never appeared at the evening muster. As each
 “ felt inclined they laid them down to rest, but, not
 “ to sleep, distracted with grief, and with longing de-
 “ sire of their country, parents, wives, and children,
 “ whom they never expected to meet again.”¹

Xenophon
 appointed
 to com-
 mand a
 division.

5. It is at this stage of his narrative that Xeno-
 phon first formally introduces himself to his readers²;
 somewhat too formally, having already been several
 times brought on the scene, as a person with whose
 name and character we were supposed to be familiar.
 “ There was,” says he, “ in the camp a certain Xe-
 “ nophon, an Athenian, who had accompanied the
 “ army neither as officer nor private soldier, but had
 “ been invited from his home by Proxenus, with a
 “ promise to procure him the friendship of Cyrus.”
 Then follow the details, already cited, of his engage-
 ment with the Persian prince. This same Xenophon,
 deeply afflicted, but not disheartened, by the present
 dismal crisis in his own destinies and those of 10,000
 of his fellow-Greeks, felt suddenly inspired as the in-
 strument of his and their deliverance. His account
 of the mode in which this sentiment was conceived,
 curiously illustrates the workings of a mind thoroughly
 imbued with that fervid Pagan piety, which forms so
 marked a feature of his character, and the ease with

¹ III. i. 2.

² III. ii. 4. sqq.

which it magnifies the delusions of a disordered imagination, into portentous foreshadowings of coming events or manifestations of divine will. "During
"a momentary slumber that stole over his eyes, as he
"lay perturbed and wakeful in his tent, he saw in a
"dream a storm pass over his paternal mansion, and
"a thunderbolt, falling on the building, envelop it
"in a blaze of light." On awakening, terrorstruck,
"his vision appeared to him in so far auspicious, that
"a great light had visited him from Jupiter in a
"moment of distress. But, in another sense, it filled
"him with alarm. For the God from whom, as he
"judged, the fire proceeded, being Jupiter the King,
"and the flames having spread around in a circle, he
"feared it might portend that he was not destined to
"escape from the King's country, but to be encircled
"within it by insuperable barriers.¹ The real tenor
"of the vision will however," he continues, "be best
"understood from the events which followed." A new
train of wakeful thoughts now passed through his
mind. "How," he exclaims, "can I still lie here!
"The night wanes fast, and with daylight the enemy
"may be upon us. If we fall into his hands, what
"other lot awaits us but an ignominious death! Yet
"no one thinks of defence. All still linger in bed, as
"if a good night's rest were alone required for our
"safety. To what other quarter then shall I look
"for a guide or deliverer? Or what greater ma-
"turity of years or judgement do I myself expect,
"to qualify me for the office?" Upon this he arose,
and first calling together the captains of his deceased

¹ III. i. 11. The punning connexion into which Xenophon has here brought the divine and the mortal kings and circles, throws a curious light on his method of divination.

friend's division, he exhorted them to rouse themselves from the gloomy torpor in which they seemed to be sunk. The worse their position, the more imperative their duty, as men of sense and as brave soldiers, to grapple with its perils and difficulties. "It must be plain to you," said he, "that your enemies, before per-petrating this open act of hostility, had well matured their measures of attack, yet not one on our side seems to be casting a thought on measures of resistance." He endeavoured to raise their drooping spirits by reminding them of their superiority in valour to their treacherous foes, of whose helpless pusillanimity, when opposed by a handful of Hellenic warriors in fair combat, they had already had ample experience. He concluded by calling on those who felt conscious of ability to direct the common efforts, to stand forth, expressing his willingness to serve under any leader who might be preferred; or, "if the choice should fall on himself, he would not be deterred by diffidence of his own age or experience, from devoting to their service those energies, which had hitherto guided him safely through the ills of life."

The response to this appeal was the orator's appointment by acclamation to the command of the division, in the room of his murdered friend. Those present then dispersed through the camp, to invite the cooperation of their fellow-commanders, who also assembled in council before midnight, and were addressed with like effect by Xenophon. At his suggestion four new generals were appointed to the other vacant commands. On the following day a council of war was held. On this occasion Xenophon, expecting an immediate engagement with the Persians,

appeared in his best arms and attire; esteeming, as he somewhat ostentatiously tells us, "this mark of respect justly due to Victory, should she be favourable to their cause; or, should he himself be doomed to perish, it was meet that such honour should attend the death of one who had acted so honourable a part in life."¹ In the renewed discussion he still takes the lead, and all his proposals are adopted. All were now convinced that their only hope lay in their own vigorous action; that it would be folly again to trust doubtful friends, or negotiate with treacherous enemies; and that nothing remained but to fight their way home or perish in the attempt. The order of march is settled on the plan suggested by Xenophon. Chirisophus, the only Lacedæmonian among the new generals, as successor to Clearchus in the post of honour, is appointed to lead the van. Xenophon and Timasion, as the youngest and most active, take charge of the rear. To remove every impediment to rapidity of action, all superfluous baggage, by Xenophon's advice, is destroyed. Intelligence having reached him that some thriving villages lay a few miles distant on their line of route, it was determined at once to advance and occupy them for the night, lest, in anticipation of this movement, they might be plundered or destroyed by the enemy.²

Attention must here be somewhat further directed to a question on which we have already touched: What had hitherto been Xenophon's position in the Cyreian army; what his duties in the camp or the field? The Historian has afforded no clear information on this point, although one certainly of some importance in his own history, and that of the events

¹ III. ii. 7.² III. i. ii.

in which he now appears as principal actor. Making every allowance for the effect which his energetic conduct in this emergency could not fail to produce on his companions in trouble, it certainly seems strange that a man without experience in the profession of arms, or who, at least, as he himself informs us, had not hitherto served either as officer or soldier in this army, should have been suddenly raised to the command of 2000 troops, over the heads of their own veteran officers. Yet there is no appearance of hesitation as to the choice, or even of the existence of rival claims. The next in command to Proxenus, Hieronymus the Elean, is mentioned in the sequel¹ as cordially supporting the new general's measures; and a factious attempt to obstruct them is suppressed, and its author punished, by a process as summary as that by which Xenophon had been appointed.²

Defective however as his claims may on first view appear, such as he possessed will perhaps, if closely examined, be found both reasonable in themselves, and more likely to weigh with his constituents, than had they rested on more strictly professional grounds. Although not by profession a soldier, there can be no doubt, from the tenor of his narrative, that he did good service in the field, and in a highly honourable quality. From his interview with Cyrus before the battle, it appears that he was then attached to the Greek army. That he was not however performing what, in modern military language, is called regimental duty, even had we not his own assurance to that effect, may be inferred from his having been on horseback. The Greeks were at that time entirely

¹ III. i. 34.

² III. i. 26. sq.

destitute of cavalry. But, cavalry soldiers excepted, the privilege of serving on horseback was limited, then as at present, to Generals, Field-officers of battalions, or persons attached to the former as what are now called Staff-officers. Xenophon assures us that he acted in neither of the former capacities. He must therefore be presumed to have served in the latter, as Military Legate, or Adjutant as we should call it, to his friend Proxenus. But the terms of his description imply something more. As Cyrus passed along the line, making the last inspection of his troops before the engagement, Xenophon rides up to him and asks whether he has any instructions. No soldier of a well disciplined army could have ventured to quit his post, still less to force himself on the presence of the commander-in-chief in such a manner, unless in the exercise of some confidential functions. That Xenophon was not taking a liberty, or acting in any unusual mode, is evident from the sequel of the narrative, where the prince, in reply to the question, gives him certain orders, with an injunction to communicate them, not to Clearchus or Proxenus, but to the whole Greek army. All this seems to justify the further inference, that the Historian was here acting as Field-adjutant, not so much of Proxenus as of Cyrus himself; as a medium of communication between head-quarters and the Hellenic force.

A man thus employed and trusted must have possessed, however acquired, a competent knowledge of military affairs. It further appears, from the strategic measures suggested by himself immediately after his promotion, that he was already master, the fruit perhaps of his youthful studies, of much of that strictly technical military science which he is so

fond of parading in his works. These qualifications, on the part of the friend of Proxenus, to command his division after his death, were not perhaps the weaker, that he had not himself actually served in that division. His pretensions stood on separate and higher grounds than those of the Captains or Centurions, whose drooping spirits his energy and eloquence had so greatly helped to restore.

He takes
the lead in
conducting
the retreat.

6. From the date of Xenophon's election as successor to Proxenus, his narrative is not only a history of the retreat of the Ten thousand, but an autobiography of the author during the fifteen months which that retreat occupied. While ostensibly but one of a council of generals, Xenophon was, or represents himself to have been, the guide and director of the army on its arduous homeward march. No other name but his own occurs as the author of beneficial changes in its tactics, discipline, or commissariat. He plans and executes the more important manœuvres, and takes the lead in all negotiations for the common interest with the States or rulers whose territory they cross. He is in fact, or at least in his own narrative appears to be, the guardian genius, the regulating mind of the whole body.

It is not our intention, nor does it belong to our office, to describe in detail the adventures of this celebrated retreat, so familiar to the well informed reader from Xenophon's original work, or from an abundance of secondary sources. A concise view of its leading vicissitudes will suffice, extended here and there, as may be required for better illustration of the Historian's character and influence. We shall also be content for the present to adopt his narrative as our sole guide, reserving for another place such

remarks as may occur on the strictly historical value of that narrative, in itself, or as tested by collateral authorities.

The policy of the Great King in dealing with the Greek army after the death of Cyrus, may be compared to that of a spider, who has entangled in his web a prisoner stronger than himself, or so strong as to render the risks of an open conflict greater than any advantage likely to accrue from the victory. His first object, if it can be done with safety, is to destroy his enemy ; his next, to help him out of his durance¹, but in so crippled a condition as may incapacitate him from measures of reprisal or revenge. The Greeks were too numerous and strong to be safely enlisted as mercenaries, as had been suggested by some of their own leaders in treating with the royal commissioners. The experience of the late battles, which so clearly showed the inability, of the rabble of ill-trained Barbarians forming the bulk of the Persian army, to cope with Greek warriors, held out no inducement to renew hostilities in regular form. The destruction of the principal Greek officers, which it was hoped would intimidate them into submission, had proved but the means of substituting more energetic leaders for those they had lost. Persian intrigue had in fact hitherto proved successful solely in drawing them over, in the course of their march with Tissaphernes,

¹ See Xenophon's remarks (III. ii. 23. sq.) on the king's fear, founded on past experience, lest they should, instead of retreating, settle themselves as a military colony in some defensible part of his dominions. This explains much of the difficulty which Mr. Grote has found, as Voltaire and others had found before him, in accounting for the non-destruction of the Greeks by the overwhelming force of their enemies. Hist. of Gr. vol. VIII. p. 100. alibi; Voltaire ap. Daunou, Cours d'Etudes Histor. tom. XI. pp. 414. 418.

from the west to the east bank of the Tigris. The importance attached by the enemy to this movement, appears from the cunning manœuvres to which he had resorted for securing its execution.¹ An insurmountable barrier was thus interposed to their journey westward, through the rich home province of Mesopotamia ; and the only route open to them now necessarily lay, after a few weeks' journey along the river bank, across rugged mountain districts, where it was hoped the warlike population, aided by the approaching winter season, would effect their destruction with little trouble or risk to the royal army. The operations of the latter were now therefore limited, so long as the retreat lay through an open country, to harassing the Greek flanks and rear ; and, when they were forced to strike into the mountain region, cooperating where practicable by cavalry movements with the guerilla warfare of the natives.

March up
the Tigris.

On the morning after their last council of war, the Greeks, late in the autumn of 401 B.C., set out on their march northwards up the left bank of the Tigris, with a view of ultimately crossing its stream and that of the Euphrates, at some fordable part of the upper course of each river, and then making their way across the mountains whence both issued, to the Greek colonial settlements on the south shore of the Euxine. The first short day's journey was greatly impeded by the assaults of the Persian horse and archers. The Greeks had no cavalry ; and their archers, owing to the superior range of the Persian bows, were no match for their adversaries. During a day's halt, Xenophon succeeded in organising a portion of the baggage-horses, with the

¹ II. iv. 15. sqq. : conf. III. ii. 22.

few practised riders of the army, into a troop of about fifty horsemen ; and in effecting such improvements on the missile weapons of his own light troops, that on the subsequent day he was able with his rear-guard to beat off the hostile skirmishers. For nineteen days, including three of rest in a secure position and fertile district, they continued their route along the river-bank, still harassed by the Persian force under Tissaphernes. His attempt however to cut off their passage through a mountainous tract, by occupying strong positions around or in advance of their line of march, was baffled by a counter-mancœuvre, skillfully planned and vigorously executed by Xenophon.¹

From this point, on the twentieth day's march, the army, owing to the rugged nature of the river-bank, was obliged to strike into the mountain district of Carduchia.² This region was inhabited by tribes recognising no allegiance to the Persian king, whose attempts to reduce them had at times been attended with fearful destruction to the invading armies. The Greeks endeavoured, by abstaining from plunder, or any kind of provocation, to conciliate the good will of these Barbarians, hoping to induce them, in consideration of their common hostility to the Persians, to grant the army a safe passage through their country. But the negotiation failed. The natives, abandoning their villages, withdrew their property to the surrounding fastnesses, and directed against the invaders their most effective means of obstructive hostility. The passage through this region occupied a week of constant fighting by night and day, in every form of mountain warfare ; ambuscades, surprises, attack and

Cardu-
chian
mountains.

Continued
hard fight-
ing.

¹ III. iii. iv.

² III. v.

defence of heights and passes; and Xenophon describes the losses sustained, as greater than all previously inflicted by the arms either of Tissaphernes or Artaxerxes.¹

On clearing the last defiles of these mountains, they encamped for the night on the banks of the Centrites. This river separates the country of the Carduchians from Armenia, where the supremacy of the Great King was fully recognised. In the morning they were greeted by the reappearance, on the opposite bank, of the imperial troops, prepared to dispute their passage. The whole day was spent in vain attempts to discover a practicable ford. The Carduchians were also seen assembling on the heights in the rear, ready to make common cause with their old enemies, in destroying the Hellenic intruder; and night closed in upon the army disheartened by its alarming position. In this emergency Xenophon was again favoured with a divine communication. He dreamt that he was bound in chains, which, of their own accord, loosened and fell off. Rising with the dawn, he proceeded to the quarters of Chrisophus, and informing him that he had now hopes of affairs taking a prosperous turn, he related his dream. Chrisophus was much gratified by the news, and before daybreak the whole council of generals assembled for sacrifice. The auspices being propitious, orders were issued to the troops to take breakfast. While Xenophon was engaged with his own meal, two young soldiers ran into his tent, "for," he adds, "all knew that they were free to approach him, " whether at his hour of breakfast or dinner, or even

¹ IV. i. ii.

“ to awaken him when asleep, if they had anything
 “ to communicate touching the welfare of the army.”
 These men informed him, that while gathering fire-wood along the river-edge, they had observed a part of the stream which appeared to them fordable, and also where the banks were inaccessible to cavalry; that they had stripped and tried the depth of the water, which scarcely reached their hips; so that they crossed and recrossed without difficulty. This satisfactory first step towards the fulfilment of the divine intimation is inaugurated with renewed sacrifice; and in the sequel, by a series of bold manœuvres, planned, executed, and carefully described by Xenophon, the enemy is baffled and defeated at all points, and the whole army brought over in safety to the opposite bank.¹

After five days' march they were met, entering Western Armenia, by Tiribazus, satrap of that province, with whom it was agreed that they should be supplied with provisions and allowed to pass unmolested through his country, on condition of their abstaining from acts of violence. On the evening of the third day after this arrangement, they were overtaken by winter, in a group of opulent villages. On that night and the following days the snow fell thick, causing much distress to the men, which Xenophon exerted himself to mitigate, sharing their hardships, and encouraging them by his example to maintain bodily warmth by active exercise. During a few days' halt at this place, they were informed by a Persian captured at the outposts, that Tiribazus, who since they entered his province had watched their

Western
Armenia.

The army
overtaken
by winter.

¹ IV. iii.

movements with an armed force, had taken up a position in advance, with a view of attacking them on the ensuing day's march. Guided by this man, Chirisophus and Xenophon, with a portion of the army, anticipated the satrap's supposed intentions, by an assault on his own camp, which on their approach he abandoned, leaving a rich booty in their hands.¹

Fords the
Euphrates.

Sufferings
of the men.

7. On the day following, they continued their route through deep snow, during eight days, fording the Euphrates on the fourth not far from its source. Several of these were days of intense suffering to the men, numbers of whom, in spite of a solemn sacrifice to Boreas, which Xenophon describes as greatly mitigating the severity of the cold, were frozen to death or escaped with the loss of limbs or of eyesight. Others were destroyed by the enemy, who hung on their march, cutting off the disabled and stragglers. The principal scene of these disasters was the rear under the charge of Xenophon; whose efforts to alleviate them, and to maintain the spirit of the men, partly by conciliatory, partly by rigorous measures, are eloquently described in his narrative.

On the ninth day they took up their quarters in a group of villages, where they met with a kind reception, and enjoyed seven days of repose and good cheer.² On the eighth they renewed their march, still through snow, accompanied by one of the village magistrates, whose friendship Xenophon had conciliated, and who consented to act as their guide. After two days' journey however he returned home, irritated by insulting treatment received from Chirisophus. Xenophon was much hurt by this conduct

¹ IV. iv.

² IV. v.

of his colleague, which he describes as the only serious ground of difference between them during the retreat. Nine days' further march with better weather brought them to the edge of a plain, the pass into which was guarded by a large force of native tribes strongly posted on the neighbouring heights. In a council of generals, a proposal to attack the hostile position was set aside, and, on Xenophon's suggestion, a favourite manœuvre of his own, successfully employed on former occasions, was preferred. This stratagem consisted in secretly sending a detachment to occupy still higher ground in the neighbourhood of the enemy, and by thus menacing him with assault both from above and below, forcing him to dislodge and retire. It was here also attended with complete success.¹

The subsequent sixteen days' march was occupied in great part with hill-fighting, similar to that in which they had been engaged in the Carduchian mountains, and with tribes still fiercer than they had yet encountered. On reaching the plains on the other side, they rested three days among villages well stocked with provisions.²

Four days more brought them to a large city called Gymnias, the governor of which received them kindly, and at their departure supplied them with a guide who conducted them in five days to the summit of a hill commanding a distant view of the sea. The prospect was hailed with a burst of joy by the whole army. From thence, by a week's march, with little further serious opposition, they reached, in the spring of 400 B.C., the flourishing Greek colony and

Continued
hard fighting.

View of
the sea.

Arrival at
Trapezus
in spring,
400 B.C.

¹ IV. vi.

² IV. vii. 1—18.

seaport of Trapezus. Here they were hospitably received, and remained thirty days, during which sacrifices were performed and games celebrated, in honour of their long wished-for arrival among friends and fellow-Hellenes.¹

The point to which the army looked as the end of its wanderings was Byzantium, on the Bosphorus, the central station of a Spartan navarch and provincial Chief commissioner. Anaxibius, who now held this high office, was an old friend of Chirisophus. The troops therefore trusted the more confidently to his aid, either for the means of return to their homes, or for employment in the Spartan service. The land route to Byzantium was in great part open along a coast studded with Greek cities, where they might expect the same kind treatment as they had experienced from the Trapezuntines. But the hardships of the late march had given the soldiers a distaste for land journeys of any kind. They were determined, as expressed by one of their popular spokesmen, "to have done with this perpetual marching and running, and getting under arms, and forming phalanx, and mounting guard, and fighting, and packing and unpacking bag and baggage. Let us have no more of such work; but now that we have the sea before us, let us, stretched at our ease on the deck like Ulysses, sail home at once to Hellas." It was resolved therefore to prosecute their course by sea, and Chirisophus was dispatched to Byzantium to procure ships. During his absence, means were also adopted by Xenophon for arresting such trading vessels, as should touch at or approach the

¹ iv. vii. 19. sqq., viii.

port of Trapezus, and obliging them, for a certain hire, to serve as transports. He also took the precaution, in case the supply should fall short, of sending messages to the towns along the coast, requesting that the roads might be put in repair for the passage of the army.¹

Two companies having been cut off and their leader slain while foraging in the interior, and provisions being scarce in the camp, Xenophon, encouraged by favourable auspices, led out one half of the army against a neighbouring mountain tribe called Drilæ, habitual foes of the Trapezuntines, who supplied the Greeks with guides into the hostile territory. After some hard fighting, an attempt to obtain possession of the chief fortress of the enemy was defeated, by the combined strength of the place and valour of the garrison. The destruction of the assailants appeared imminent; when a fire accidentally broke out in the suburb between them and their pursuers, by aid of which they succeeded, with trifling loss and a good stock of plunder, in effecting their retreat to their camp.²

Attack on
the Drilæ.

After a month spent at Trapezus, vainly awaiting the return of Chirisophus, it was determined to proceed with the means at their command. The vessels collected by Xenophon proved sufficient for the women and children, the men above forty, and a portion of the baggage. The rest of the army took the road to Cerasus, another Greek seaport, where both divisions arrived on the third day. Here they remained ten days, during which the army was numbered, and found to comprise in all eight thousand six hundred

Cerasus.

¹ v. i.

² v. ii.

men. A division was also made of the spoil collected in their late campaign. A tenth of the whole was jointly devoted to Apollo and Diana, and was made over in allotments to each of the generals, to be disposed of in honour of the two deities. Of the allotment assigned to Xenophon, the portion set apart for Apollo was dedicated in the Athenian treasury of the Delphic sanctuary. That belonging to Diana was deposited in her temple at Ephesus, where it remained until his resettlement in Greece eight years afterwards, and was then laid out in the purchase of ground, and the endowment of a temple to the goddess, at the Historian's favourite abode of Scillus in the Elean territory.¹

The Mosynœcians.

From Cerasus the army journeyed in the same manner, partly by sea, partly by a ten days' march through the interior, to Cotyora, another Greek maritime city, a colony and dependency of the neighbouring republic of Sinope. The first part of the land route lay through the mountain district of the Mosynœci, who formed an alliance with the Greeks for a joint attack on some neighbouring hostile tribes, whose country the army was to traverse on the subsequent days. On crossing the frontier, the Mosynœcians, rashly approaching a stronghold of the natives, were surprised and defeated; but on the following day Xenophon, with his combined force, dispersing the enemy, took and plundered their chief city.²

Cotyora.

At Cotyora the Greeks met with a less friendly reception than at Trapezus and Cerasus. The authorities refused either to admit them within the city, or afford them a market without the walls. They

¹ v. iii.

² v. iv. v. 1—3.

were thus obliged to exact supplies from the surrounding district. Accounts of these proceedings having reached Sinope, the camp was visited by envoys from that republic; one of whom, an orator of provincial celebrity, named Hecatonymus, complained, in a pompous speech, of the mode in which their allies had been treated by the strangers. He concluded with a threat, that unless satisfaction was afforded, the Sinopian government would form an alliance with Corylas, prince of Paphlagonia, the district next on their line of route westward, for common resistance to the invaders. Xenophon, in reply, complained that the Cotyoritans alone of the Greek cities which they had visited, had treated them in an unfriendly manner; but denied that the troops had given any reasonable ground of offence. As to the threat of a Paphlagonian alliance, he turned the tables on the Sinopian orator by remarking that, as he happened to know, Corylas had long been desirous of conquering their city, with the maritime district bordering on his own possessions, and that he would readily take the Cyreians into his pay, should matters come to extremity between them and the Sinopians. The other envoys here perceived that their spokesman had overshot the mark. They lost no time therefore in coming to friendly terms with the army by appropriate explanations. They also offered their services in providing vessels sufficient to transport the whole force to Byzantium or to Heraclea, from which place Byzantium was easily accessible by land or by sea.¹

8. About this time Xenophon conceived the project of bringing his own wanderings and those of his

Xenophon's
scheme of

¹ v. v. 4—25., vi. 1—14.

colonial
settlement.

Dissen-
sions in
the army.

fellow-warriors to a close, by establishing the army as a colony at some eligible site on the Euxine coast; and thus, as a founder and legislator, acquiring a new claim to distinction in the eyes of his countrymen. As he was wont in similar cases, he consulted the gods by sacrifice. On this occasion, he called to his assistance one Silanus, a professional soothsayer, who had accompanied the army, and had been richly rewarded by Cyrus for the skilful exercise of his functions in a case of interest to the prince. The result was favourable according to the rules of the art. But the augur happened to have no taste for colonisation, being anxious to return home with his treasure. Seeing no immediate prospect of attaining his object in safety were he deprived of his military escort, he gave publicity in the camp to what had passed. The feeling of the army is described by Xenophon as adverse rather than favourable to his project; and it seems, from the sequel of his account, that the adverse interest greatly predominated. The leaders of the opposition were his colleague in command Timasion, and a Bœotian officer named Thorax, who had at all times shown an unfriendly feeling towards him. The better to counteract his present scheme, the two confederates represented to some Sinopian and Heracleote traders, then at Cotyora, that unless they supplied funds, to help the army on its voyage to the Bosphorus, there was great risk of its settling as a colony in their neighbourhood: "Xenophon being prepared, as soon as the transports arrived, to plead want of means to cover the expense of a long voyage, as an argument with the men for seeking their fortunes in some less distant quarter." The intimation had

its effect; and it was agreed that the funds should be ready when required. On the strength of this engagement, Timasion, in a council-general, guaranteed to the troops, on condition of their rejecting Xenophon's proposal, a certain rate of pay monthly till they reached the Hellespont, his native district, where he promised them abundant means of providing for themselves. Severe reflexions were also thrown out against Xenophon, for thus privately sacrificing about new projects, on his own account. Xenophon replied, that it had all along been his custom to consult, both with his own mind and with the gods, regarding any scheme which he considered for the common good; that he had however as little the desire, as he had the power, to force any measure on them against their will. Being now therefore assured that they were supplied with money as well as transports, he would himself move a vote for the continuance of the voyage homewards. He added, that as they were determined to proceed, it would be wise to do so in one united body; he therefore suggested a further resolution, that whoever should leave the army until the whole body agreed to break up, should be held guilty of an offence.¹

Both resolutions were passed by acclamation. The single voice raised loudly but in vain against the latter of the two was that of Silanus, who felt himself caught in his own snare; his intention being, as Xenophon knew, to decamp with his treasure, on the first safe opportunity that might offer. The dilemma into which Timasion and his adherents were brought was still more perplexing. For the Sinopians and

¹ v. vi. 15—33.

Heracleans, on learning that Xenophon had himself come forward with a motion for continuing the voyage home, sent the ships, as formerly agreed, but declined any advance of money. Xenophon's late opponents therefore, dreading the wrath of the troops on being disappointed of their promised pay, had recourse to him to help them out of their difficulty. Assuring him that they had changed their minds, they now offered to support him in the colonial scheme they had lately rejected, by seizing and appropriating the Colchian district of Phasis. But he declined any further concern in the matter. The soldiers in the meantime became aware that intrigues were carrying on; and Neon, a Spartan, lieutenant of Chirisophus, persuaded them, that Xenophon had formed a scheme with the other generals, to entrap the army into his project of colonial settlement. Public indignation now broke out strongly against him, and he was even led to apprehend violence. Upon this he summoned another council, and in a long address vindicated his conduct. Suppressing all allusion to the unfair proceedings of Timasion, he showed the impossibility of his having been concerned in the recent counter-plots. He also dwelt forcibly on the lamentable change that had taken place in the moral condition of the army, and the necessity of some reform in its discipline. He narrated in detail several acts of murderous outrage committed since their arrival on the sea coast, not merely by individuals, but by large bodies, under responsible leaders, against friendly native tribes, or citizens of the towns where they had been hospitably treated. These breaches of the law of nations were the more injurious to the common interest, that in at least one instance they had

resulted in ignominious defeat and loss of life to the aggressors.

This appeal had the desired effect. It was resolved that the perpetrators of those crimes should be brought to justice. The conduct of the generals since the commencement of the retreat was submitted to a court-martial, consisting of the whole body of captains; and three were subjected to penalties for neglect of duty, or mismanagement of the public money. The attempts to inculcate Xenophon, consisting mainly of charges of severity towards the soldiers under his command, recoiled on their authors; eliciting from the court a recognition of the lenity and impartiality, as well as strictness of his discipline, with censures on the conduct of his accusers.¹

A sufficient number of transports having been procured, the army, after upwards of six weeks' sojourn at Cotyora, embarked, and a voyage of thirty-six hours brought them to Harmenë, a port in the neighbourhood of Sinope. Here they were at length rejoined by Chirisophus from Byzantium, bringing nothing back with him but the vessel in which he sailed, and a message from the navarch Anaxibius, to make the best of their way to the Bosphorus, where he engaged to provide them with military service.² Harmenë.

During the five days' sojourn at Harmenë, the army resolved to appoint some one of the generals to the The
supreme
command

¹ v. vi. 34. sqq., vii. viii.

² vi. i. 1—16. This coasting voyage from Cotyora to Sinope is described over again, in somewhat poetical strain, in vi. ii. 1.; apparently through some blunder of the Historian's memory, or in the arrangement of his notes. The explanation of Buttmann and others (Schneider ad loc.) seems hardly sufficient to save Xenophon's consistency; and Krieger's arguments (De Auth. et Integr. Anab. p. 35.) are not more valid against the genuine character of the passage.

conferred
on Chirisophus.

supreme command, as a more effective mode of conducting operations, than where all questions required to be submitted to a council of war. Xenophon gives plainly, though indirectly, to understand, that the chief motive for this change of system, was the dissatisfaction felt by the troops, as they approached their own country, at the thought of returning with little in their purses, and the expectation that by their achievements under a single energetic leader, they might be enabled to make what they considered a more creditable appearance on their arrival in Greece. The first offer of the new dignity was made to Xenophon, who, gratified by the proposal, was ready, in so far as personal feelings were involved, to accept it. Doubtful however on other accounts, he had recourse to the higher powers; when neither sacrifices, omens, nor dreams, proved satisfactory. He therefore declined the distinction, on the ground that to confer it on an Athenian, where there were Lacedæmonian officers possessing claims, would be a slight to the acknowledged military precedence of Sparta, and might give offence to the Spartan provincial governors, whom it was important to conciliate. The choice then fell on Chirisophus. This brave and disinterested warrior, in accepting the office, expressed his readiness to have acted under his old colleague, but confirmed Xenophon's ground of refusal, having himself become aware at Byzantium, that attempts were making to prejudice the Lacedæmonian authorities against him.¹

Heraclea.
Mutiny
and dis-
ruption of
the army.

9. From Harmenë a two days' voyage brought them to Heraclea, where they were kindly received and supplied with provisions. But this handsome treatment

¹ VI. i. 17 sqq.

was ill requited. In a council of the troops it was moved by one Lycon, an Achæan, and resolved by the majority, that contributions of money should be levied from the place. Chirisophus and Xenophon were deputed as a mission to make the demand. Both refused to take part in so scandalous a proceeding. The office was then undertaken by Lycon himself and two Arcadian officers. In the interview with the magistrates threats of hostile measures were thrown out in case of non-compliance. The Heraclæotes asked and obtained time for consideration; when forthwith, collecting their outlying property within the walls, they withdrew the provision market on which the Greek camp depended for supplies, shut their gates, and appearing in arms on the ramparts, set the intruders at defiance.¹

The mutineers, irritated by this disappointment, and denouncing the generals as its authors, persuaded the great mass of their Arcadian and Achæan comrades, comprising about one half of the army, to desert their legitimate officers, and appoint leaders of their own. The army was thus separated into three divisions: the Arcado-Achæans, in number about 4500, and the troops who adhered to Chirisophus and Xenophon, forming two divisions of about 2000 men each. It was arranged between these two generals that they too should prosecute their route for the present separately, each with his own division. The Arcado-Achæans sailed first, eager for the plunder of Bithynia, on the coast of which country they proposed to land at the port of Calpe. Chirisophus and Xenophon also directed their course to this place, as the next convenient resting-point on

¹ VI. ii. 8.

their way to the Bosphorus; Chirisophus proceeding by land, while Xenophon arranged to perform half the distance by sea, and the rest by land. Xenophon was at this time strongly tempted to throw up his command and leave the army; but the sacrifices were not favourable to the step. The mortification inflicted on Chirisophus by the late proceedings was such, says Xenophon, "as rendered further service "with the army hateful to him;" and he sickened and died soon after his arrival at Calpe.

Its re-
muster at
Calpe.

The marauding expedition of the Arcado-Achæans was attended with well-merited disaster. While busy in plundering the Bithynian villages, they were attacked and overpowered by the natives, many of them slain, the rest blockaded on a height where they had rallied and entrenched themselves. From this critical position they were rescued by Xenophon, whose land route lay at no great distance from the spot, and who hastened to their succour. At his approach the Bithynians retired, and the two divisions continued their march in company to Calpe, where that of Chirisophus had already arrived. The Arcado-Achæans were abundantly satiated with their brief experience of separate campaigning. On the motion of their own leaders it was resolved, that any fresh attempt to create division in the army should be punished with death, and that the former generals should be reinstated in their commands. Neon, lieutenant of the deceased Chirisophus, was appointed his successor.¹

Xenophon enlarges in glowing terms on the many advantages which the site of Calpe held out for the foundation of a city. He does not inform us whether

¹ vi. ii. iii. iv. 11.

there was still a party in the camp favourable to his scheme of colonisation, and desirous of reopening the question; or whether he himself entertained any such view. But the ensuing transactions went far to justify the suspicions that arose, of some such project being again in agitation.

After a short repose at Calpe, he reminded the troops that their engagements for a supply of vessels had expired; that their provisions were nearly exhausted; that they must therefore make up their minds to renew their old occupation of foraging and fighting their way by land through a hostile country. On proceeding to inaugurate the march, the sacrifices, day after day, proved inauspicious. Taunts having been thrown out against Xenophon, of tampering with the rites in furtherance of his colonial schemes, he the next day invited the whole army to witness the ceremony. But during a week of daily trial no change took place. The soldiers now crowded round his tent, complaining of want of food. But he refused either to commence the march, or to send out foraging parties, until the auspices improved. It soon became difficult even to continue the sacrifices, for want of victims, for which they were obliged to have recourse to the draught cattle, but still in vain. The men were now actually starving, when Neon, the successor of Chirisophus, offered to lead as many as volunteered their services, on a foraging party among the neighbouring villages. About two thousand took part in the expedition. While engaged in collecting spoil they were surprised by a large body of cavalry, sent by the satrap Pharnabazus to aid the Bithynians in obstructing the march of the strangers into his own Phrygian province. About

Disasters
at Calpe.

five hundred were slain, and the rest forced to take refuge in the neighbouring mountains.

Intelligence of this disaster was brought to Xenophon, while still occupied in fruitless attempts, by slaughtering his draught oxen, to procure the consent of the gods to his putting his army in motion. An alarm was soon after spread, that the Barbarians had driven in the outposts and were preparing to attack the camp. The whole army passed the night under arms, and in the morning commenced fortifying their position.¹ In the afternoon of the same day, a vessel arrived with supplies from Heraclea; and on Xenophon, the next morning, renewing the rites, the auspices proved favourable. He now took the field with his whole disposable force. On reaching the scene of Neon's defeat, after burying the bodies of their slain comrades, they resumed, with better success, the interrupted plunder of the villages. Soon after, they fell in with the satrap's force, so strongly posted in a woody ravine, that the older generals discountenanced any attempt to dislodge them. But Xenophon declared for an immediate assault, and, after a smart action, the Persians were beaten and dispersed, and the victors, about sunset, were safely housed in their quarters.²

Some days after these events, Cleander, the Spartan harmost of Byzantium, arrived at Calpe, with powers from Anaxibius to deal with the Cyreïan force as he might deem most advisable. He found the camp in a state of disturbance, from the attempts of disorderly bodies of soldiery, acting under rapacious leaders, to appropriate portions of the common stock of booty. Cleander's conduct on this occasion gained him the

¹ VI. iv.

² VI. v.

confidence of the troops, with the friendship of Xenophon; and he was urged to assume the supreme command, and conduct the army to Byzantium. He would readily have complied, could he have procured the sanction of the gods; but after sacrificing on the customary three days without success, he took his leave, promising his best services on their arrival at his seat of office. After a six days' march, without further hostile obstruction, they reached Chrysopolis, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus opposite Byzantium.¹

On hearing of their arrival, Anaxibius, at the instance of the satrap Pharnabazus, whom he wished to conciliate, and who was anxious to rid his province of the armed intruders, invited the generals to a conference, and promised, on their conducting the army to the European shore, to provide the men with service and pay. To this they consented, Xenophon alone excepted, who seems henceforth to have considered his engagement with his troops at an end, and had made up his mind to return home. He agreed however, at the request of Anaxibius, to bring his division across, and resign his command on landing in Europe. He was visited at the same time by messengers from Seuthes, a Thracian potentate, with proposals to take the Crysians into his service. But Xenophon declined any negotiation, on the ground of his being about to leave the army.²

10. On crossing the channel to Byzantium, the men discovered that they had been duped. Instead of wages and employment, they received an order from Anaxibius to quit the city, and take up their quarters without the walls, where he would communicate his

Byzantium :
tyrannical
conduct of
the Spartan
authorities.

¹ VI. vi.² VII. i. 1—6.

further intentions. Vexed and disappointed at this reception, they showed little inclination to obey. Xenophon was at that moment taking leave of his friend, the harmost Cleander, before setting out on his journey home, but was advised by that officer to remain, and persuade his comrades to comply with the navarch's order; otherwise he might himself be made responsible for their disobedience. His influence was successfully exerted; and the troops marched out. Anaxibius then assembled the officers, and directed them to conduct the army to the Thracian Chersonesus, a hundred and fifty miles distant, where they would be engaged by the Spartan commissioner of that district; and that they might supply themselves with provisions in the villages on the route. Infuriated by this treatment, from one who had held out so many fair promises of friendly service, the men rose in a mass, assaulted the city, and obtained possession of the lower town, the port, and shipping; while Anaxibius, with his chief officers and the local magistrates, took refuge in the citadel. The insurgents then invited Xenophon to place himself at their head, and give effect to his long cherished project, of becoming founder of a state "abounding in ships, and stores, and gallant men." Xenophon, who, when the tumult arose, was again on the point of departure, remonstrated with them on their imprudence. He admitted the injustice of the navarch's conduct, but pointed out the madness of setting at defiance the whole power of Sparta, who, without reference to the faults of her agents, would not fail speedily to reassert her supremacy in one of her most important dependencies, and punish those who had presumed to usurp it. His representations had the

desired effect; the place was given up, and order was restored.¹

The Historian's account of this affair, with the subsequent treatment of the army by the Spartan provincial governors, during its several months' sojourn at Byzantium, while far from creditable to himself², places the character of those eminent personages in a most unfavourable light. Cleander indeed proved himself in all his dealings a humane and honourable man. He was however about this time superseded as harmost by Aristarchus, a worthy rival of Anaxibius in the heartless brutality of his conduct. Of the generous spirit of sympathy in which the army had been greeted by their fellow-Hellenes of the Euxine colonies, and which their achievements in a cause favoured by Sparta, might have been expected the more readily to insure them from Spartan officers, not a spark can be discerned in their reception by these petty viceregal despots. The only motive of Anaxibius, from the first, for inviting them to his seat of government, was, that their presence enabled him to exercise influence on the neighbouring Persian satrap. When that purpose was served, his object, as Xenophon assures us, became to rid himself of them, by whatever means, as speedily as possible; and the policy of Aristarchus, opposed as he was to Anaxibius in other respects, was the same in his treatment of the Cyreians.

Shortly after these transactions, the army entered into a contract of service with a Theban military adventurer named Cæratadas, on apparently advantageous terms. Xenophon now took his formal leave, and commenced his voyage home, having been ho-

¹ VII. i. 8—32.

² See Ch. xiii. § 6.

noured by his new patron Anaxibius with a passage on board his own galley as far as Parium, whither the latter was himself bound, for the purpose of conferring with Pharnabazus on their common interests. Touching at Cyzicus, they fell in with Aristarchus, the new harmost, proceeding to his seat of government; who announced to Anaxibius, that his term of office was expired, his successor in command on his way out, and daily to be expected. At parting Anaxibius instructed Aristarchus, on arriving at Byzantium, to sell into slavery as many of the Cyreian soldiers as he found still in the town; and four hundred, as the Historian informs us, were so seized and sold. A similar order, Xenophon observes, had formerly been given to Cleander, but not, it need scarcely be added, complied with by that estimable officer. On arriving at Parium, Anaxibius found his influence with Pharnabazus at an end. Apprised that another navarch had been appointed, the satrap wisely resolved to transfer his confidence from the ex-admiral to the newly installed harmost; and treating Anaxibius with marked neglect, commenced negotiations with Aristarchus on the points at issue between the two governments.¹

Anaxibius, in revenge, determined to bring back to the satrap's province the unwelcome visitors from whom he had lately delivered it. He therefore dispatched Xenophon across the channel, with instructions to collect the whole Cyreian army, or as many as could be brought together, at Perinthus on the opposite coast, and gave him a written order to the Perintheans to supply transports for the passage to Parium. During Xenophon's voyage to the latter

¹ VII. i. 33. sqq., ii. 1—7.

port, the engagement between his countrymen and Cœratadas had fallen to the ground, from the inability of that adventurer to fulfil its terms. The army was now in a very distressed condition; and the generals who remained in command were divided in opinion, whether to close with renewed overtures from the Thracian king Seuthes, or to adopt the unsatisfactory alternative of a march to the Chersonesus, formerly proposed by Anaxibius. In this state of things the proposal of Xenophon was accepted by the soldiers. Pharnabazus however and the new harmost were more than a match for the retiring navarch. While Xenophon was preparing the transports, Aristarchus came down to Perinthus, and forbade the men to embark, or the pilots to take them across. On Xenophon pleading his instructions from Anaxibius to bring them over, the harmost replied that he, and not Anaxibius, was now master there; and that he would throw the first man who dared to go on board into the sea. On the following day he summoned the officers to a conference, which Xenophon did not attend, having been apprised that he ran risk of being placed under arrest, and either sent prisoner to Pharnabazus, or disposed of in some still more summary manner. In this new difficulty he had recourse to his divine counsellors, inquiring, more especially, whether it would be desirable for the army and himself to close with the offers of Seuthes. The answer proved favourable; the terms negotiated by Xenophon with their new patron were satisfactory, and the Greeks passed over to his quarters. Neon alone, with 800 men under his command, remained behind. This officer, between whom and Xenophon mutual dislike existed, was now entirely in the interest

Service of
the Greeks
under
Seuthes, in
Thrace.

of his countryman Aristarchus. He therefore preferred the offer of service in the Chersonesus, revived by that dignitary, who tempted the rest of the men to a like course by the gracious assurance, "that if they complied no more of them should be sold as slaves."¹

Mæsades, the father of Seuthes, seems to have been connected by blood with the celebrated Sitalces, king of the Odrysians, and to have succeeded to a share of his dominions. This territory had however been wrested from the family by more powerful neighbours; and it was to aid his own limited force in its recovery, that Seuthes had been so desirous of enlisting the Cyreians. After two months' severe winter warfare, resembling that in which they had been engaged on their route from Babylonia to the Euxine coast, Seuthes, through the valour of his Greek allies, was reinstated in his paternal possessions.

During the campaign, his nonpayment of the troops had been a source of irritation against Xenophon; Seuthes complaining of his unseasonable demands of money, while those unfriendly to him in the ranks prejudiced the minds of the soldiers against him, by representing him as lukewarm in their interest, or even as bribed by Seuthes to connive at his attempts to defraud them. Xenophon is at great pains to prove to his comrades, and to his readers, by long orations and elaborate statements, the futility of these charges, and in the end succeeds in vindicating the purity of his conduct. The dispute had just reached a point which threatened open rupture among the conflicting parties, when commissioners arrived from Thimbron, the Spartan harmost of Ionia, with offers of service to the army in a war that had just

¹ VII. ii. iii. 1—6.

broken out between him and the Persian satraps. This new turn of affairs was hailed with satisfaction by Seuthes, who, by making a merit with each party of his readiness to forward the proposed arrangement, hoped to evade his own debt to the Cyreians. So strong however were their claims, that the commissioners joined with Xenophon in exacting payment; and the arrears, mainly through his exertions, were at last obtained, though not to the full amount.¹

11. Xenophon now again became bent on returning home, a course, he observes, which was still open to him, "sentence of banishment not having been yet pronounced against him at Athens."² He was however once more persuaded to continue in command, and deliver over the army in person to Thimbron. Crossing the Hellespont to Lampsacus, in the early spring of 499 B.C., they proceeded through the Troad to Pergamus in Mysia, where Xenophon was hospitably entertained by a Greek lady named Hellas. From her he learned, that in the neighbourhood was situated the castle of Asidatis, a wealthy Persian nobleman, of which, and of the treasure it contained, reported to be great, he would, she assured him, have no difficulty in obtaining possession with a force of 300 men.

Service
under
Thimbron
in Asia.

Xenophon, who describes himself as very poor on landing in Asia, asked³, and obtained, in the customary form, the divine sanction to this enterprise. The assault was made at midnight, but failed. The place was gallantly defended; and succours pouring in from the neighbouring district, the Greeks were forced to retire, with much loss of life, carrying off some slaves and cattle. On the morrow Xenophon, after

Attack on
Asidatis.

¹ VII. iii.—vii.

² VII. vii. 57.

³ VII. viii. 2.

again performing sacrifice, led out his whole army to the attack. Asidatis, unable to cope with so greatly superior a force, abandoned the place, and sought refuge in the neighbouring villages, where he was surrounded, and with his family and goods fell into the hands of his pious assailant. Shortly after this affair Thimbron arrived in the camp, and incorporating the army with his other forces, prosecuted the war as described by Xenophon in his Hellenic history.¹

Sentence of
exile
against
Xenophon.

This transaction closes the "Anabasis," and the autobiography of Xenophon. For our knowledge of his subsequent life, we are still mainly dependent on notices contained in his works, chiefly in the same Anabasis. About the time of his return from Thrace into Asia, he became an exile; a misfortune which appears, from a portion of his narrative above quoted, not to have taken him altogether by surprise. Before touching on the speculative questions connected with this important crisis of his destiny, it will be desirable, with the aid of such imperfect materials as we possess, to complete the foregoing biographical sketch.

His return
to Greece
with Agesilaus.

The next clearly ascertained event of his life, is his having been, four years afterwards (in 495 B.C.), attached to the Spartan king Agesilaus, when in command of the same Lacedæmonian army in Asia Minor, of which Xenophon's old Cyreian comrades now formed a principal part. Where he was, or how he was occupied, during the intermediate period, are points to be reserved for future consideration. He afterwards accompanied Agesilaus on his return through Thrace and Thessaly to Greece, in 494 B.C., to conduct the war against the newly-formed anti-Spartan league of Athens, Corinth, and Thebes; and

¹ VII. vii.

His settle-
ment at
Scillus.

was present at the battle of Coronea¹, where the confederate forces were defeated by his patron. He settled not long after under Spartan auspices² at Scillus, about two miles from Olympia. This small town had been a dependency of the Elean republic, from which it had been wrested by Sparta in a recent quarrel between the two States, and now ranked as a free community under Spartan protection. Here Xenophon, with the spoil of the Cyreian campaign, devoted, as described in a previous page, to Diana, purchased a domain, consisting in great part of hunting-ground, built a temple, with statue, altar, and dedicatory inscription, planted a grove, and consecrated the whole to his divine patroness. He also instituted annual games and other festivities in her honour. A tithe of the annual income was set apart, to defray the charges of hospitality to the numerous visitors who assembled on those occasions. Among the delicacies provided for their entertainment, he mentions the wild boar, deer, and other produce of his own and his son's skill in the chase. He gives a lively description of this establishment, the sacred portion of which he had endeavoured to render, in all respects, a miniature model of the great sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess in her favourite Asiatic seat.³

In his retirement of Scillus Xenophon seems to have passed the whole, or the greater part, of the rest of his long life, careless of war or politics, engrossed with his literary undertakings, the education of his children, the worship of his goddess, and the society of his friends; with his farm, the chase, and other field

¹ Anab. v. iii. 6.; Agesil. ii. 9.

² Dinarch. ap. Diog. L. 52.

³ v. iii. 7.

Restora-
tion to his
civicrights.

exercises. His sentence of banishment is said to have been remitted before the close of his life, at the instance of the orator Eubulus of Anaphlystus.¹ That this act of grace was conceded, may be inferred from the tone of his later works; of that for example on Athenian finance, written about 355 B.C.; and of that on the Athenian cavalry service. Both these tracts manifest a greater familiarity with, and interest in, the internal condition of Athens, than seems compatible with a continued exclusion from his rights of citizenship.

His domes-
tic rela-
tions.

Mention occurs of a wife of Xenophon² as in existence before his entry into the service of Cyrus. He would seem however, from allusions in the latter part of the *Anabasis*, to have become a widower before the end of his Persian campaign, and to have also been childless at that epoch. He is stated, on not very high authority, to have brought over from Asia, five years afterwards, a wife or mistress named Philesia³, and two sons. Xenophon himself is silent as to either wife or mistress, but alludes to several sons who resided with him at Scillus. Of the two ascribed to him by other authorities, the one is called Gryllus, the other Diodorus.⁴ Gryllus was slain, fighting on the Athenian side at the battle of Mantinea, in which he greatly distinguished himself⁵; and among the claimants to the honour of having inflicted on Epaminondas his death wound, he is

¹ Istrus ap. Diog. Laert. 59.

² Æschines Socrat. ap. Cicero de Invent. c. 31.; Quintil. v. xi. 27.

³ By Demetrius Magnes ap. Diog. Laert. 52. She is called Sotira in the spurious Xenophontean Epistles. See below, § 17. in fine.

⁴ Dinarchus, Diocles, &c., ap. Diog. Laert.

⁵ Ephorus, Aristotle, Hermippus, ap. Diog. Laert. § 53. sq.

perhaps the one in whose favour the greatest weight of testimony is united.¹ The enthusiastic terms in which the Historian eulogises² the valour displayed by the Athenian cavalry, in a skirmish shortly prior to this battle, have been supposed, on plausible grounds, to be inspired by his son's participation in that achievement.³

According to Diogenes Laertius, Xenophon was not permitted to end his days at his Peloponnesian abode. When, on the break up of Spartan ascendancy after the battle of Leuctra, the Eleans reacquired the territory of Scillus, the Historian, as an adherent of the Spartan interest, was, if we may trust that biographer⁴, deprived of his house and lands, and retired to Corinth.⁵ The Eleans repudiated this account. They admitted that on the restoration of their sovereignty in the place, Xenophon's property within its bounds had been made a subject of litigation; but they maintained that he had won his suit, had continued to reside at Scillus, and had been honoured by them at his death with a handsome monument, still shown in the time of Pausanias.⁶ It certainly tells in favour of the Elean tradition, that Xenophon, while so fondly enlarging in the *Anabasis* on his Olympian residence, nowhere, in his works written at a later period, alludes to his ejection from it; an event which, considering his interest in the place, and the sacred character of his connexion with it, would have been tantamount to a second exile. Nor is there a hint in his text of

Close of
his life.

¹ Pausan. ix. xv.: conf. Smith's *Classic. Dict.* in Gryllus.

² Hellen. vii. v. 15.

³ Paus. i. iii.: conf. Krüger, *Hist. Phil. Stud.* ii. p. 282.

⁴ In Xen. § 53. sqq.

⁵ Demetr. Magn. ap. Diog. La. § 56.

⁶ v. vi. 4 sqq.

his having taken up his abode in any other part of Greece.¹

Cause of
his banish-
ment.

Antient
authorities.

12. In reverting to the question regarding the date or cause of the Historian's banishment, it will be proper to have clearly before us the views of the leading authorities, antient and modern, on the subject. On neither point does there seem to have been any material difference in the doctrine of the native commentators, however varied their mode of stating it. The two who have expressed themselves most explicitly are Pausanias and Diogenes Laertius. The former² attributes the Historian's sentence to his having borne arms under Cyrus, whom the Athenians considered their enemy, against his brother Artaxerxes, whom, Pausanias adds, they esteemed friendly to their interests. The date of the sentence is not here specified; but the explanation of its cause is not compatible with its having been passed at a much later period than that above assumed.³ Services rendered to Cyrus being the crime charged, the punishment would naturally follow as soon as the fact of their having been rendered was publicly known; which could not have been long after the arrival of the Greeks at Byzantium. According to Diogenes, Xenophon's offence was that of "Laconism," or undue attachment to the Lacedæmonian interest, the precise kind or degree of which our authority does not specify. His words are: "After his service with Seuthes, Xe-

¹ Schneider's argument, from certain passages of the tract On Athenian finance (iv. 43.), that Xenophon wrote that treatise at Corinth, is fallacious. The geographical definition to which he alludes, would be equally at fault if laid down with reference to Corinth itself.

² v. vi. 4. See Krüger, *De Xenoph. Vit.* p. 276.: cf. a similar notice by Dion. Chrysost. *Orat.* viii. init.

³ p. 284. *supra*.

“ nophon, crossing into Asia, made over the Cyreian army to Agesilaus, king of Sparta, who became his constant friend. About this time he was banished from Athens on account of Laconism.”¹ That Diogenes has here committed the blunder, natural in a careless writer, of confounding Agesilaus with Thimbron, is evident. Substituting therefore the right for the wrong name, the biographer’s definition of the sentence as passed “about the time” when the Cyreians under Xenophon’s guidance entered the Lacedæmonian service, is virtually the same as that given by Pausanias. The Laconism mentioned by Diogenes could not have consisted, as might on a superficial view be supposed, in his having been the means of swelling the Spartan force in Asia; the Athenians being at this time not only in alliance with Sparta, but having contributed a force of 300 cavalry to the army of Thimbron.² They could hardly impute to Xenophon as a crime an act sanctioned by their own example. There can be no doubt that the statements of the two authors mean substantially the same thing. Alliance with Cyrus, the ally of Sparta, and who had been so greatly instrumental to the conquest of Athens by that power, was, in the estimation of the Athenians, but a form of Laconism. That this is the sense in which the expression is used by Diogenes, appears further from an epigram of his own composition, quoted in the sequel of his text³, where Xenophon is described as having been banished “for the sake of his dear friend Cyrus.” To these direct testimonies that the Historian’s crime was his Persian campaign, may be added the warning in the *Anabasis*, addressed by Socrates to his pupil, as to the danger he might

¹ In Xenoph. § 51.² Hellen. III. i. 5.³ § 58.

incur, were he to connect himself with Cyrus, of giving offence to his Athenian fellow-citizens, on the same ground stated by Pausanias, of the Persian prince's former zealous cooperation with Lacedæmon in the Peloponnesian war.

Modern
theory.

This unanimity of native testimony, ratified indirectly by Xenophon himself, may seem to preclude any mere speculative conjecture as to the question of fact on which it bears. Modern commentators have hence, for the most part, acquiesced in this view. It must however be admitted to offer intrinsic improbabilities of a nature to justify scepticism. It has accordingly been set aside by several eminent authors of our own day¹, who assume the Historian's crime to have been his having fought in the Spartan ranks against his own country at the battle of Coronea. His sentence, in this case, could not have been pronounced until five or six years after the date assigned by the antients. It has been further supposed, that during the intermediate period he had returned to Athens, had resided several years at his ease, and composed certain of his works, in that city.

His own
evidence.

This theory presents itself, on first view, in a favourable aspect. It places Xenophon's offence and punishment in a relation of cause and effect to each other, which is wanting or defective in the accredited account. It is certainly not easy to understand how his service under Cyrus, offensive as it might be to the feelings of his fellow-citizens, could have constituted a ground of criminal prosecution. His service under Agesilaus on the other hand was a crime, for

¹ Niebuhr, *Rheinisch. Mus.* 1827, p. 196.; *Kleine histor. Schriften*, p. 366.; and in the *Cambr. Philolog. Museum*, vol. I. p. 487.; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. IX. p. 19. 240. sqq.

which no penalties could be too severe. A plausible argument in favour of this opinion has also been derived from one of the passages, in which Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, alludes to his exile.¹ The general tenor of those passages is, however, so clearly in favour of the old doctrine regarding the time of the banishment, as, combined with other testimonies, to establish to this extent its claim to a preference; and that preference, if conceded, necessarily involves, it need hardly be remarked, a rejection of the Coronæan theory regarding the cause.

While Xenophon, neither in the *Anabasis* nor any other of his works, distinctly alludes to the nature of his offence, unless indeed the account of his conversation with Socrates is to be considered in that light, he, in the former work, on several occasions, very clearly though indirectly defines the date of his exile, as shortly subsequent to the termination of his service with Seuthes. On the army engaging with Thimbron's commissioners, he describes himself as unwilling at first to retain his command, being, to use his own words, "bent on returning home, his sentence of banishment not having been yet pronounced at Athens." The obvious import of these words is, that although the sentence was not yet passed, and hence formed no obstacle to his return at the moment, it was passed so soon after as to interpose such an obstacle. The phrase above rendered "not yet," when used, as here, in a narrative of contemporaneous history, is invariably employed by Xenophon, as by other Greek authors, to indicate a brief interval, or immediate succession of events:

¹ See Appendix I.

and even admitting, in special cases, a certain latitude of signification, it cannot be supposed that it would ever have occurred to the Historian, in a detailed account of his daily and hourly thoughts, words, and actions, to qualify his prospect of success in an object which he was desirous of attempting forthwith, by reference to an obstacle which, as assumed in the Coronæan theory, did not occur for upwards of five years afterwards.

This text, it must also be observed, is but one of a number of others in the latter part of the *Anabasis*¹ declaratory of his intention or desire to quit the army, and return to Athens. Had his object been merely to remind his readers, in a general way, that his banishment, not having taken place until long afterwards, interposed no barrier to his return, it would have been more natural to make that intimation on one of the earlier occasions. But on none of these does he allude to any political obstacle. When therefore we suddenly, in this, the last passage of the series, find prominence given to such an obstacle, the natural inference must be, that something had transpired in the meantime to create alarm; that the blow, in fact, was now imminent, which, from one or two other previous allusions, he seems to have suspected was in preparation. When once prepared, it would hardly have remained suspended over his head for five or six years. The circumstance that this passage is the last in which he expresses a hope or intention of returning to Athens, is not without its significance. The silence henceforward maintained on the subject seems to indicate that all such hope was now extinguished. After

¹ VI. ii. 15.; VII. i. 4. 6. 8.; VI. 11. 33. sq.

having indulged in so many hypothetical allusions to an immediate resettlement at home, he would hardly, had such been his ultimate lot, have closed his narrative by leaving himself still a wandering adventurer on the coast of Asia.

On another occasion, shortly before his departure from Thrace, he intimates a sense of impending calamity. In the council of war, after the arrival of the Spartan commissioners, he complains to his men of their having, by their groundless aspersions, lost him the good will, not only of the Spartan authorities, but of Seuthes, "in whose favour he had hoped to find "a place of refuge, should necessity arise."¹ Why should Xenophon have looked forward to an asylum at the court of a Thracian prince, or anywhere else, unless in the capacity of a man deprived, or expecting to be deprived, of his natural home? And what could have suggested the thought of such an asylum in 399 B.C., if his sentence of exile was not passed until 394 B.C.?

13. This question is of importance in its bearings, not merely on the events of Xenophon's life, but on his moral character. If he was driven into banishment at the time stated by his native biographers, on account of some slight offence, or as the victim of some popular caprice; if during the first years of his banishment he remained true to his allegiance as a citizen; if he had used his best efforts to propitiate, as a dutiful son, the wrath even of an unreasonably offended mother; if, on the other hand, his judges, harsh or hasty in passing sentence, had proved inexorable in withholding pardon, Xenophon's ultimate renunciation of his Attic allegiance might be con-

Bearing of the question on his moral character.

¹ VII. vi. 34.

sidered, if not a justifiable, a comparatively venial offence. But if we suppose, as the Coronæan theory implies, that after resettling at Athens, and passing several years in that city, he had returned to Asia, and, on the outbreak of the war with Sparta, had deliberately entered the service and fought in the ranks of his country's enemy, he would have been guilty of an act of reckless treason, scarcely to be paralleled in the annals of political apostasy.

That the intermediate years, between his service under Seuthes and his service under Agesilaus, were spent in banishment, may be gathered from another passage of the *Anabasis*, describing the mode in which he disposed of the treasure intrusted to him at Cerasus for joint dedication to Apollo and Diana. With the allotment set apart for the god, he prepared and deposited in the Delphic sanctuary a votive offering, of what precise nature is not mentioned. He does not inform us what became of the part destined for Diana, during the first six years (400—394 B.C.) after it was consigned to his charge. But on setting out from Asia for Greece with Agesilaus, he left it, he tells us¹, in care of Megabyzus, the priest of the goddess at Ephesus, with instructions, that if he survived the dangers of the campaign, the money was to be restored to himself; if he perished, it was to be laid out in honour of the goddess, in such a manner as Megabyzus should deem fit. It was eventually restored to the Historian, after his final settlement in Peloponnesus about 392 B.C.; and the mode in which it was then expended, as described in a previous page, throws light, both on his original intention regarding it, and on the cause of the six

¹ v. iii. 7. sqq.

years' delay to carry that intention into effect. It may safely be assumed that Xenophon had from the first conceived the plan, the subsequent execution of which at Scillus he so graphically describes, of endowing, with Diana's share of the spoil, a sanctuary to herself, on the model of her favourite seat of worship, on his obtaining the requisite facilities for the purpose. The first of these requisites was a permanent domicile, either in his native Attica, or some other part of Greece congenial to his taste. Had he then, as assumed in the Coronæan theory, not only revisited Athens, but resided there at his ease during several years, he would hardly all this time have allowed his Artemisian treasure to lie idle in Asia. He would assuredly have brought it along with him; and his first thought, on reaching his Attic home, would have been, as it was on settling in his Peloponnesian home, to carry his pious project into effect.

From these and other data, solely or chiefly derived from the Historian's own text, we collect the following outline of his vicissitudes, in the interval between the close of the Anabasis and his connexion with Agesilaus. His sentence may probably have overtaken him about the time, as defined by Diogenes, when he made over the Cyreian troops to Thimbron (B.C. 399). It does not distinctly appear that he continued either to command or serve with those troops. But the intimate knowledge which he shows in the *Hellenica*¹ of the field operations, both of the Spartan generals and the Persian satraps, and the details which he gives of their personal affairs, imply that from time to time, at least, he accompanied the

His Spartan
connexions.

¹ B, III.

With
Agesilaus
at Coronea.

Spartan army and enjoyed the confidence of its commanders. One of his first cares would be, when master of sufficient leisure, to transmit his offering to Delphi. This he may possibly have done in person; for the sentence of exile from Athens would be no bar to his visiting other parts of Greece. He could hardly have wanted either means or inclination to visit Sparta; and may probably have formed his first acquaintance with Agesilaus in that city, and accompanied him to Asia. Close as was his connexion with Agesilaus, he nowhere alludes to his having held any actual appointment under him. He mentions his own presence at the battle of Coronea (B.C. 394), and the Cyreian troops as forming part of the Lacedæmonian army; but does not intimate in what capacity he himself took part in the action.¹ His apologists have indeed attempted to interpret his notice on the subject as indicating his presence only, not his participation in the combat; that he was not therefore actually guilty of bearing arms against his country. This however is a more charitable than critical view of his case. His own statement is, that "when about to share with Agesilaus the dangers of the Coronæan campaign, he charged Megabyzus, if he should survive, to replace the money in his hands, but, should he be a sufferer," &c.² This is not the language of a man who attended Agesilaus in the mere quality of travelling companion, or who in his encounters with the enemy was satisfied with the part of looker-on. A warrior who had borne the brunt of many bloody actions, in the most arduous military enterprise of the age, could hardly

¹ Hellen. iv. iii.

² Anab. v. iii. 6.

have characterised so harmless a species of campaigning as facing danger and death in the battle-field.

14. Attention has above been directed to the disproportion between the offence for which, in the accredited accounts, the Historian suffered, and the punishment inflicted. If we admit, and it seems difficult to escape the powerful array of testimony to the fact, that his campaign with Cyrus was the sole cause of his exile, it would follow that the Attic democracy was here guilty of an act, nearly on a level in absurdity, if not in ferocity, with their treatment of Socrates, Phidias, and other illustrious victims of their caprice. It was natural that Athens should take umbrage at the entry of one of her citizens into the service of a prince, who had proved himself a bitter enemy to her interests. Such conduct might even have not unreasonably formed a ground of criminal penalties, so long as the offence of Cyrus, a complicity with which it seemed indirectly to involve, was still fresh in men's memories, and the circumstances under which that offence was committed had undergone no material alteration. But if the length of time that had elapsed, and the subsequent political changes, are taken into account, it becomes less easy to understand how such old resentments could have been so carefully treasured up, or should have burst forth so long afterwards in so exaggerated a form. At the time when Cyrus was the ally of Sparta, Sparta and Athens were declared enemies of each other. But for several years prior to Xenophon's engagement with Cyrus, Athens and Sparta were allies; and since the friendly cooperation of king Pausanias with Thrasybulus in restoring the democracy, this alliance had, ostensibly at least, been cordial; but Cyrus had never been the

Harshness
of his sen-
tence.

enemy of Athens unless as the friend of Lacedæmon. From the time when war ceased between the two republics he had been guilty of no hostile act against Athens, and was now, as the friend of her own ally Sparta, entitled to look for indulgence, if not support, in an enterprise carried on with Sparta's sanction and aid.¹ Her condemnation of Xenophon for serving Cyrus in a cause promoted by Sparta, thus became an indirect insult to the Spartans, whom it was far from her interest at that time to offend. It is difficult therefore to understand how, on such grounds alone, an Athenian citizen could have been visited with extreme penalties, for having, in company, be it remembered, with some thirteen thousand of his fellow-Greeks, availed himself of their now recognised privilege to seek their fortunes in foreign adventure; at a time of profound tranquillity at home, when there was no risk of their being led by such engagements to act against their own government or its allies. Nor must it be forgotten, that there were numerous other Athenians besides Xenophon in the Cyreian army. In the *Anabasis*² no fewer than eight are mentioned by name, most of them officers of a certain rank, or warriors remarkable for valour; and for every one so mentioned it may be presumed that there were many of inferior distinction in the camp. Was the punishment inflicted on Xenophon common to all his fellow-countrymen who served under Cyrus, or was it an honour exclusively bestowed on himself?

The singularity of the case appears the greater, when we reflect, that the enterprise imputed to Xenophon as a crime, was universally regarded as one

¹ Hellen. III. i. 1.; Anab. I. ii. 21.

² II. i. 12., III. iii. 20., IV. ii. 13., V. vi. 14., VI. v. 11., VII. iii. 28., vi. 41.

of the most glorious in the military annals of his nation; and that, if we may trust his own account, the largest share of that glory accrued to himself, and through him to Athens. That he remained, nearly to its close, under the impression that it would prove to him a source of distinction rather than disgrace, appears from the motive which inclined him to accept the chief command of the army, when offered to him at Harmenë: "that the proposed honour was "not only great in itself, but would render his name "illustrious in his native republic."¹

Add to all this, that the Lacedæmonians were now themselves commencing hostilities against the Persian king. On this account they had sent commissioners to Thrace, to enlist Xenophon and his Cyreians; and Athens had also furnished her quota of troops for the same service. Three hundred Athenian cavalry, as the Historian informs² us in his Hellenica, were on their way to the camp of Thimbron, there to join the Cyreians, who were on their way thither from Thrace under the command of Xenophon. It was thus not unlikely that, on the two Athenian commanders meeting at head-quarters, the one might find that he was the bearer of a sentence of banishment against the other, for his past services in a cause in which both were now engaged.

Whatever weight may attach to these difficulties, it is not easy to evade the unanimous testimony of antiquity to the fact, that in one mode or other Xenophon's service with the Ten thousand was the cause of his exile. The gravest authority on the subject is that of Socrates, or rather of Socrates and Xenophon conjointly. The philosopher's dread lest

¹ VI. i. 20., VII. vi. 33.

² Hellen. III. i. 4.

his pupil's connexion with the Persian prince should be imputed as a fault by the Athenians, even if not to be taken as strictly prophetic, implies at least that the subsequent proceedings, strange as they may appear to us, were nothing wonderful in the eyes of Socrates, who knew his countrymen too well to be widely mistaken, either as to their feelings or conduct, in a case of this description.

His character, literary genius, and habits of life.

15. We shall conclude this biographical memoir with a sketch of Xenophon's character, as a man and a writer, to be further illustrated by the ensuing examination of his works.

The celebrity of Xenophon is derived from three sources; his eminence as a historian, as a miscellaneous essayist, and as a military commander. It is to the aggregate of his merit in these three capacities, rather than to his excellence in any one of them, that he owes his prominent place in the list of Greek illustrious men. His productions in the several branches of literature which he cultivated, however pleasing and elegant, cannot take rank among the nobler models of Greek prose composition. As a soldier he deservedly enjoys a brilliant reputation, in the peculiar kind of warfare in which he is known to have been actively engaged. But it was one affording little opportunity for the highest exercise of strategic talent. His campaigns, however ably conducted, were, in so far as known to fame, fought against barbarous enemies. There is no record of his having ever held the responsible command of a large body of regular troops, against equally well trained and appointed adversaries.

His intellectual powers were more remarkable for variety than solidity or depth. In literary under-

takings of a popular and familiar order, in his Autobiography, as in his treatises on Hunting, Horsemanship, and Domestic economy, he appears master of his subject. In others demanding a higher range of mental effort, in historical research or philosophical combination, he is meagre or superficial. He wanted, both as a man of the world and a man of letters, that important, if not indispensable basis of greatness, the devotion of a life to one principal object or steady course of occupation. This forms a broad feature of difference between his character as a Historian, and that of his two distinguished predecessors. Thucydides, in several parts of his text informs us, that the composition of his history had been the main object of his existence; and Herodotus, if he does not so plainly state, intimates no less plainly, by the internal evidence of his great work, that his chief ambition was its completion and success. All that we know of Xenophon implies that he never had in view, much less steadily pursued, any such definite purpose in life. As frequently happens with those who possess talent for so many things, he had no decided taste for any single one, sufficient to constitute it a profession or permanent pursuit. The first half of his manhood seems to have been spent in cultivating letters, or in his favourite manly exercises. When however an opening occurred for gratifying his love of novelty, and bettering his lot, he became a political adventurer. When forced to become a soldier, he also became a successful military commander. That active military duty was little to his taste appears, as well from his account of how he was led to embark on it, as from the anxiety he shows, the moment the step could be taken with propriety, to be released from the command

of a noble army, whose confidence he enjoyed, and which he had often led to victory.

Although political science was one of Xenophon's favourite subjects of speculative study, he had evidently still less turn for active political life than for military service. His Autobiography contains no hint of his ever having aspired to distinction as a statesman in his native republic; yet his birth and connexion must have supplied, in those eventful times, favourable openings for such a career to a man of his ability. The only notice with which he favours us of his early life, the account of his friendship with Proxenus, described by himself as a person of unsettled habits, indicates in this respect a congeniality of character between the two. The remark in the *Anabasis*, that "service under Cyrus was likely to prove more profitable than any to be looked for in his own country," though placed in the mouth of Proxenus, equally expresses, no doubt, Xenophon's own feelings. His connexion with Cyrus, which has above been treated as political rather than military, was in truth, strictly speaking, as little the one as the other. The functions of a purely professional politician would have been as unpalatable to him at the court of an Oriental prince, as in the Pnyx of Athens. But foreign adventure, under such patronage, held out to a man of his tastes attractions which were wanting at home. Another apparent exception, which tends still more to confirm the view here taken, is his scheme of founding a colony on the Euxine coast, with the remains of the Cyreian army. This would have been no doubt a political enterprise, in the strictest sense of the term; but it was one precisely of that speculative nature adapted to the taste of Xenophon, replete with novelty and varied sources of

excitement, and offering a fine field for reducing to experiment those theories of civil government, with which he had been familiarised in the schools of Athens.

The knowledge which we possess of the latter half of his life, after his settlement in Peloponnesus, indicates a similar want of personal concern in state affairs either at home or abroad; although his writings show him to have been a careful observer of the complications of Greek federal policy during that period.

Another indirect proof of his distaste for active political life, is his apparent freedom from party spirit, in the familiar sense of the phrase. Much as he was swayed by personal feelings, in his judgements on individual men, events, or interests, his writings indicate no actual preference for any one of those forms of government, a zeal for or against which so fiercely agitated the minds of his contemporaries. Here, as in other respects, he appears to act under local or incidental impressions. While some passages of his works might stamp him as an admirer of aristocracy, oligarchy, or even pure despotism, others might entitle the friends of democracy to claim him with equal right as an advocate of their views.

Xenophon's moral qualities are on the same moderate scale as his intellectual powers. His defects may rather be designated mental infirmities than vices; his merits rather amiable qualities than virtues. His impulses, (of passion there is no appearance of his having been susceptible,) were habitually good and generous, but liable to be supplanted by any strong countervailing motive or temptation. Caution must always be exercised in judging a man by his account of himself; and our knowledge of Xenophon is all but exclusively derived from his own writings, chiefly

from the *Anabasis*. In this work, essentially an autobiography of the most eventful part of his life, the preponderance of favourable matter is overwhelming. By far the greater part of its contents is devoted to his own meritorious performances. It would have required however a greater degree of studied artifice than there is reason to believe Xenophon has employed, or was capable of employing, as a witness in his own case, to falsify or seriously disguise the more prominent traits of his character. His portrait therefore of himself in the *Anabasis*, making due allowance for the self-esteem of the artist, may be taken as in the main a correct, though favourable, resemblance. He there appears as the accomplished scholar, soldier, and citizen of the world; as a man of great personal courage, energy, and presence of mind; of a fine temper, humane and kind-hearted; patient under injury and obloquy, where sufferance was required for his own credit or the interest of the cause in which he was engaged; disinterested in regard to money, and other worldly objects of like inferior order; in his ordinary intercourse with men, sensitive on the point of honour, to a keen spirit of self-vindication where he thought himself in the right, or wished to appear so; but in greater matters, where his personal interests or feelings were brought strongly into play, his sense of the distinction between right and wrong, and his respect for public opinion, were equally liable to be extinguished or obscured.

His partiality as a historian.

16. The two main defects of Xenophon are, his want of truthfulness as a man, and his want of patriotism as a citizen. The former of these failings is chiefly displayed in his capacity of author. As a historian he is notorious for a partiality the most

unscrupulous, fortunately also the most transparent, that has ever probably been exemplified in the page of any writer, otherwise moderately endowed with tact and judgement in the art of composition. He seems however rarely to have carried this defect the length of deliberate misstatement of fact. His method of falsification consists in suppressing, colouring, or otherwise misrepresenting truth; in giving special prominence to transactions honourable to the cause which he favours; in concealing or palliating those of an opposite tendency; and in a corresponding degree omitting what is creditable, dwelling on what is disparaging, or harshly construing what is indifferent, in the conduct or motives of the opposite party. This defect in his art of composition is in harmony with his general character. The writing of history was with him, like other pursuits, not so much a business or duty, performed under a sense of responsibility, as a personal gratification. He views men and events under the aspect most congenial to his own feelings. Hence, in the same cause where the defect originates may be sought the apology; in the natural amiability of his nature, which led him, careless of better considerations, to do honour to those whom he admired, or to whom he felt bound by ties of gratitude. In the zeal of his favour to his friends, there is also little display of actual rancour towards enemies. His ill-will manifests itself rather in sullen silence than in bitter expressions. Like a sulky child or a pouting woman, he will not so much as mention the objects of his dislike. Hence even the names of some of the greatest men of his age scarcely occur in his text; while others of inferior note are harped on to excess. This peculiarly "subjective" tendency

of his research is no less manifest in the choice than the treatment of his subjects. He not only garbles those which he selects, but, in the *Hellenica* for example, a work professing to be a general history of Greece, he omits whole periods or masses of events, where not capable of such treatment, or which, from whatever cause, he does not care to honour with his attention; while others, comparatively unimportant, are discussed with a detail worthy of momentous national vicissitudes.

How far this defective veracity, so largely exemplified in the affairs of others, may have extended to his own, our all but exclusive dependence on himself for our knowledge of the latter renders it difficult to judge. It is however reasonable to assume, that a man whose tenderness for the honour of his friends led him to such modes of upholding it, would be apt to represent his own conduct in a like indulgent manner; and, as will be seen hereafter, his autobiography is not wanting in internal evidence that such was the case.

His defective patriotism.

Xenophon's treason to his native republic forms a dark spot on his character, which neither the lustre of his amiable qualities, nor the casuistry of his blind apologists, can disguise or efface. For a man to co-operate, for any cause or in any mode, with a foreign enemy against his own country, is a base action; to appear in arms against his fellow-citizens, and be directly instrumental to shedding their blood, is a monstrous crime. In this, as in other forms of iniquity, there are, it is true, degrees of criminality; and Xenophon has, in these pages, already been absolved from the graver charge of having fought against Athens without even the pretext of previous provo-

cation. He has enough to answer for in the step as it was taken, without any unattested aggravation of its guilt. When a man of strong passions and aspiring ambition, zealous from his youth in the service of his country, has been, or believes himself to have been, unjustly and contumeliously treated by her in return, allowance may be made for the impulse which leads a proud spirit to retaliate, when to submit in patience would be the more honourable course. And if the measures of retaliation are limited to purely political action, and resorted to by the offender more with a view to the restoration of his civic rights, and resumption of his previous course of patriotic service, than of damaging his country's interests, the grounds of palliation are greatly enlarged. The case here assumed is that of Alcibiades, as described jointly by Thucydides and by Xenophon himself, and commonly considered as one of the worst on record. Yet no such palliating circumstances can be alleged in the case of Xenophon. His treatment may have been harsh. Harshness was the common mode in Athens, as in most other Greek states, of dealing with offending citizens. But there is no ground for imputing ingratitude. No trace exists of Xenophon ever having deserved well of his native republic. His first recorded step in active life was a deliberate alienation of his services, in favour of a foreign potentate who had recently proved himself her bitter enemy. His indirect description of the objects of ambition which she held out to a man of adventurous spirit, as worthless in comparison with those which attracted him to his new patron, betrays a contemptuous indifference to her interests as well as her good opinion; while the easy tone in which he

incidentally alludes both to his banishment, and his subsequent traitorous connexion with Sparta and service in her army at Coronea, indicate neither regret nor shame for his change of position.

There is further curious evidence of the laxness of Xenophon's civic morality, in the pains which he takes to palliate his guilt, by placing in a favourable light the more distinguished political apostates of his own times, and even by representing, in his fictitious narratives, treachery and disloyalty as honourable traits of character. The origin of Xenophon's celebrity in the world was his attachment to the cause of a traitor; and the first two books of the *Anabasis* are a practical vindication of an unnatural act of treason. In the chapter of the *Hellenica*¹ describing the return of Alcibiades to Athens, where the several shades of public opinion regarding the past life and character of that statesman are given, in the words alternately of his adherents and his adversaries, a detailed defence has been placed in the mouth of the former, while the argument of the latter is summed up in one or two brief sentences. The plot of Xenophon's political romance, the *Cyropædia*, hinges mainly on the defection of subjects from their lawful sovereign; and most of the heroes of the tale, to whose characters an attempt is made to impart romantic interest, are distinguished for zeal in the cause of their country's conqueror.

His religious belief.

17. The religious belief of Xenophon in the existence, power, and providence of the pagan deities, is as full and confiding as that of Herodotus. His polytheistic orthodoxy is perhaps still more complete than that of the Halicarnassian. The latter habi-

¹ I. iv. 12. sqq.

tually introduces God in the abstract, the unity of the deity, rather than any god in particular, as the supreme dispenser of destiny. Xenophon more scrupulously attributes the divine functions to his own favourite objects of worship; especially Jupiter the King, Apollo, and Diana. He was not only a devout believer in the arts of divination, but himself a skilful practitioner. His faith in the efficacy of sacrifice, in its attendant rite of aruspicy, and in omens, dreams, and prodigies, is carried to an excess unexampled in the case of any other Greek mind of equal acuteness, and to which so many sources of enlightenment were accessible. Several characteristic turns in the narrative of the *Anabasis* hinge on the pious casuistry with which he endeavours, at all costs, to make out the infallibility of divine manifestations of momentous import, but which even his own account of the result represents as signally at fault.

It is remarkable, that with this rigid orthodoxy of religious faith and worship in the proper sense, Xenophon appears free from credulity in regard to those preternatural events or phenomena, with which Herodotus was so fond of seasoning his narrative. There is, to his credit be it said, no Greek historian, who shows less respect for the purely marvellous, as distinct from the religious element of Greek mythology. He thus presents a singular, perhaps a solitary instance, of the most undoubting pagan piety, unaccompanied by superstition in any other form. That something may here be due to the influence of Thucydides on his continuator and admirer, may reasonably be assumed; and becomes the more probable from the coincidence, that Xenophon's contemporary Philistus, the undisguised imitator of

Thucydides, appears also to have participated in this honourable spirit of rationalism. The other leading historians of the period, Ctesias, Theopompus, Ephorus, and Callisthenes, are all more or less prone to indulge in the same trivial vein of mythological speculation, which runs through the productions of the Herodoti, Hellanici, and Hecatæi of the preceding century.

His philosophy.

In the allusions to Xenophon's literary character, he is perhaps as frequently honoured with the title of "Philosopher" as with that of "Historian." His pretensions to the former are however feeble, and have been omitted in our catalogue of his sources of celebrity. He is not the author of any properly philosophical work; and the doctrines interspersed in his miscellaneous writings are little remarkable for novelty or depth. His philosophy, if such it can be called, is, like his style, simple and familiar; consisting in a pleasing mode of shaping popular views, rather than attempts at original theory.

Of Xenophon's relations as a husband or a father, we possess no authentic knowledge, beyond the fact of his having had several sons. The general tone of his allusions to social intercourse, while far from warranting any suspicion of profligate habits, indicates at least an indulgent feeling towards those peculiarities of sexual relation, which formed the weak point of the Socratic school of morality.

His literary style.

The style of Xenophon has been defined by the ancient critics as "meagre" or "slender,"¹ in its contrast with the dignity or brilliancy of the "lofty," and the "middle" or "medium" styles. The two former

¹ *ἰσχνός, ἀφελής*. Marcellin. Vit. Thuc. 40. Dionys. Halic. passim; Hermogenes de Form. Orat. II. p. 396. sq. ed. Porti.

epithets apply with some justice to the matter, but convey to modern ears hardly a fair estimate of the manner of his composition. His style indeed, in the proper sense, has been universally and justly admired¹ for graces of no ordinary character ; for an easy, elegant simplicity, and harmonious flow of expression ; for perspicuity of sense, and purity of Attic idiom. These however are pleasing and attractive, rather than striking or brilliant, qualities. Xenophon's art of composition, like his genius at large, may be not inappropriately defined as the perfection of mediocrity. The classical prose literature offers no near parallel to it. The nearest is perhaps to be found in the Works and Days of Hesiod. Like Hesiod, Xenophon, in his own simple manner, is not devoid of dignity ; and as he seldom attempts to rise higher, he is the less liable to run into exaggeration. His simplicity more frequently dwindles, especially in dialogue, into over-familiarity or conversational gossip. His genius was in all its developments more of the practical than the imaginative order. He is consequently more successful in history than in fiction. His accounts of real events which he himself witnessed, are often highly graphic. But his efforts to produce effect in fictitious narrative are apt to be constrained and tediously circumstantial. Poverty of invention and barrenness of incident are hence characteristic defects of his great work of fiction, the *Cyropædia*. He rarely indulges in figures of speech, poetical or rhetorical ; and his efforts in either department are as rarely successful. The poetical terms and idioms, on the

¹ Cicero, *Orator*, 9. 19.; Quintil. x. i. 33. 82.; Dionys. Hal. *De Præcip. Histor.* 4.; De Vett. Script. III. 2.; *Ars rhetor.* II. 9.; Diog. Laert. § 57.; Suid. in *Xenoph.*

other hand, of which he freely avails himself, are commonly so well chosen, and introduced in so easy and natural a manner, as to savour neither of affectation, nor uncongeniality with the general tone of his Attic prose. His attempts to embellish his own pages by citations from other popular authors are limited chiefly to his miscellaneous treatises¹, and evince, it need scarcely be remarked, an extensive acquaintance with the national literature.

Xenophon's Speeches are generally, like his narrative text, simple, perspicuous, and to the point.² Without pretensions to the logical acuteness or rhetorical power of Thucydides, they are free from his antithetical subtlety and elaborate dialectics. Some of them are among the best specimens of their author's composition, well adapted in substance and expression to the character of the speakers, and distinguished at times by much ethic and dramatic spirit. The fault into which they are most apt to run is diffuseness ; a fault here, as in other cases, chiefly observable where his personal or political sympathies are most warmly enlisted, especially in his self-defensive orations in the *Anabasis*.

Although a man of acute intellect, and possessing extensive knowledge of human character, Xenophon does not seem to have been endowed with any fine sense of comic humour. His own attempts at wit are not happy ; and the good things which he places in the mouths of his actors are seldom remarkable for

¹ *Memor.* i. ii. 20. 56. sqq., iii. 3. 7., ii. i. 20, 21., iv. ii. 33.; *Apol. Soc.* § 26.; *Sympos.* ii. 4. 26., iii. 6., viii. 30. sq.; *De Re Equ.* i. 1.; *De Venat.* i. 1. sqq.; *Anab.* v. i. 2., i. viii. 26.; *Cyrop.* ii. ii. 24.; *Schneid. ad loc.*; viii. v. 28.

² *Dio. Chrysost. Orat.* xviii. p. 480. ed. Reiske.

point or elegance, often puerile or grossly indelicate.

Xenophon's collective works, as extant in the time of Diogenes Laertius and enumerated by that biographer, are the same as those which we now possess. They are further described by him¹ as comprising nearly forty "books." This description also applies to those in the present collection, the titles of which are here subjoined : His works.

Hellenica; Anabasis; Cyropædia; the Polity of Lacedæmon; the Polity of Athens; Hiero; On the Athenian revenues; Agesilaus; Memorabilia of Socrates; Apology of Socrates; The Symposium, or Banquet; On Domestic economy; On the Equestrian art; the Hipparchicus; On Hunting.

If, as was customary with the antients, each of the received divisions of the larger works is taken as a separate "book," and the number of the smaller tracts is added, the whole amount to thirty-seven.²

The order in which the works have here been arranged is that in which we propose to examine them. The first three, strictly narrative compositions, de-

¹ In Xen. § 56. sqq.

² Other works ascribed to Xenophon are Lives of the Philosophers (Suid. in Xenophon: cf. Diog. Laert. in Vit. 48.); and nine epistles, four preserved by Stobæus, and five (from the Vatican library) published by Leo Allatius in his collection of Socratic epistles (Paris, 1635). The first four letters are printed in Thieme's edition of Xenophon, vol. iv.; the whole nine in Weiske's edition, vol. vi.

In the text of Jul. Poll. Onom. (vi. xxxiii. 143.), where mention is made of a Treatise on Truth, and of one on the Art of Rhetoric, the name Antiphon (as written in several MSS.) ought probably to be substituted for that of Xenophon.

Concerning some citations by antient grammarians, from Xenophon, of passages not now to be found in his works, see Krüger, Hist. Philol. Studien, pt. II. p. 95.

serve precedence from their bulk, and as the standard productions of their author. The ensuing four treat of political questions immediately connected with Xenophon's own time. Then follow three biographical essays; the first in honour of the leading person who figures on Xenophon's historical page; the others in honour of the most distinguished contemporary sage, Xenophon's revered friend and preceptor. The two following tracts contain supplementary illustrations of the habits and doctrines of that sage. The remaining three, On Horsemanship, Cavalry service, and the Chase, are equally illustrative of Xenophon's own habits and pursuits.

The part of the collection which alone properly belongs to this branch of our subject, are the three Historical narratives. It has however, for reasons explained in the introduction to this volume, been considered desirable, in connecting our notices in chief of authors remarkable for the variety of their productions, with that order of composition from which they mainly derive their celebrity, to extend our critical commentary to their essays in other departments. Nor would it be easy to name a writer, an acquaintance with whose entire compositions is more indispensable to a right estimate of his own genius.

CHAP. XII.

XENOPHON: THE HELLENICA.

1. EPITOME OF THE TEXT.—2. PLAN, COMPOSITION, AND MATERIALS. TRIPARTITE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SUBJECT.—3. ATTIC HISTORY. LACEDÆMONIAN HISTORY. HELLENIC HISTORY. XENOPHON'S PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF EVENTS.—4. HIS SPARTAN PARTIALITIES. HIS THEBAN ANTIPATHIES. STATE OF GREECE. SPARTA. THEBES AND ATHENS. LYSANDER AND AGESILAUS.—5. PELOPIDAS AND EPAMINONDAS. XENOPHON'S THEBAN HISTORY. CONTRAST OF HIS SPARTAN HISTORY.—6. BATTLE OF CORINTH; OF CORONEA; OF LEUCTRA.—7. INVASION OF LACONIA. REESTABLISHMENT OF MESSENIA. ORIGIN OF THE SPARTO-THEBAN WAR. SPHODRIAS. THESSALIAN AFFAIRS. HELOTS AFTER LEUCTRA. DESTRUCTION OF MANTINEA.—8. AGESILÆISM OF XENOPHON. CORONEA. DEATH OF AGESIPOLIS. SEIZURE OF THE CADMÆA. PHILIUS. ATTEMPT ON THE PIRÆUS. DILEMMA OF XENOPHON.—9. AGESILAUS AND EPAMINONDAS. ATHENIAN AFFAIRS. IPHICRATES. THRASYBULUS. CONON. DELINEATION OF CHARACTER. STYLE IN THE NARROWER SENSE. DIALOGUE.—10. SPEECHES. DESCRIPTIONS. SPECULATIVE REMARKS. CHRONOLOGY OF THE HELLENICA. TIME AND MODE OF ITS COMPOSITION.

BOOK I. 411—405 B.C.

1. THE battle of Cynossema is followed by other engagements between the Spartan and Athenian fleets, chiefly to the advantage of the Athenians under the command of Alcibiades. In the action fought at Cyzicus, Mindarus the Spartan admiral is slain.¹

Epitome of
the text.

In the twenty-second and twenty-third years of the war fortune continues to favour the Athenians, who reduce Byzantium and other neighbouring towns.²

In the twenty-fourth year of the war Cyrus, son of the Persian king Darius, appointed satrap-in-chief of Western Asia, largely subsidises the Lacedæmonians. Alcibiades visits Athens for the first time since his exile. He is honourably received, and returns to the seat of war with unlimited powers, and reinforcements of

¹ i.

² ii.—iii.

men and ships. During his temporary absence from the main body of his fleet, to inspect a detachment stationed at Phocæa, his lieutenant Antiochus, in disobedience of his orders, engages the Peloponnesian force under Lysander at Notium, and is defeated. The Athenians lay this disaster to the charge of Alcibiades; who is again degraded from his command, and retires to the neighbouring district of Thrace. Conon and nine other generals are appointed in his stead.¹

In the twenty-fifth year of the war Callicratidas, succeeding Lysander in the command of the Peloponnesians, defeats Conon in an action near Mitylene, and blockades the Athenian fleet in the harbour of that city.² In the ensuing twenty-sixth³ year of the war he is himself vanquished and slain in the great battle of Arginusæ.

The Athenian admirals are accused before the Council, of neglecting the requisite measures for preserving the seamen drifting among the wrecks after the action. Upon this charge six of the accused, chiefly at the instance of Theramenes, one of their own officers, are condemned and suffer death.⁴

BOOK II. 405—403 B.C.

In the twenty-seventh year of the war (405—404) Lysander, restored to the command of the Peloponnesian force, again turns the tide of success in favour of Sparta. Alcibiades warns the Athenian admirals of the danger to which they were exposed by their incautious tactics. Neglecting his advice, they are surprised and defeated in the decisive battle of Ægospotami. Their whole fleet is taken and destroyed, and the native Athenian prisoners are put to death.⁵

Athens, deserted by her allies, Samos alone excepted, is invested by the Peloponnesian land force under Agis, and by the fleet of Lysander. After several months' siege, she is reduced by famine to surrender on humiliating terms. Her walls are destroyed, and the local government is placed under an executive body of Thirty,

¹ iv.—v.

² vi. 1—18.

³ vi. 18. sqq. There can be no reasonable doubt that the events here described belong, as is generally agreed by modern chronologists, to the twenty-sixth year of the war; and that the text of Xenophon (ii. i. 7.), in which they are assigned to the twenty-fifth, is an error either of the Historian or his transcribers. See Dodwell, *Chronol. Xenoph. ad loc.*

⁴ vii.

⁵ i.

with a great council of 3000 citizens in the Lacedæmonian interest.¹

Samos is reduced by Lysander, twenty-eight years and six months after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.²

The sanguinary policy of the Thirty, guided by Critias, who acquires the chief sway in their councils, is opposed by Theramenes, one of their own body; who, failing in his efforts to introduce more moderate measures, is, at the instance of Critias, himself put to death.³

Thrasybulus, one of the Athenian admirals defeated at Ægospotami, occupies with a small body of patriots the frontier Attic fortress of Phylæ. By a series of spirited stratagems he obtains possession of the Piræus, and routs the Thirty, in a battle in which Critias is slain. The Thirty are deposed by the council of 3000, and retire to Eleusis; a new executive body of Ten being elected in their stead. Lysander hastens with a Lacedæmonian force to support the oligarchal party. His policy is counteracted by the Spartan king Pausanias, who, jealous of Lysander's influence, himself takes the command of the Lacedæmonian force. After a few skirmishes with Thrasybulus, he arranges terms of accommodation between the contending parties in the city, who amicably agree on their future form of republican government. A counter-movement of the Thirty at Eleusis is suppressed, and its leaders are slain.⁴

Book III. 401—395 B.C.

The Lacedæmonians aid Cyrus in his revolt against his brother Artaxerxes. After its unsuccessful issue, they make war on the Persian satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus; ostensibly on behalf of the Hellenic States in Asia Minor, whose rights of self-government, under Spartan protection, are, through the able management of the Spartiate general Dercyllidas, secured by treaty against Persian encroachment.⁵

A Lacedæmonian force, invading Elis, exacts redress from that republic for alleged acts of hostility against Sparta. The Elean territory is ravaged, and the offenders purchase peace by the cession of several frontier towns.⁶

Agis, king of Sparta, dies, and is succeeded by Agesilaus. A conspiracy formed by Cinadon, a Lacedæmonian citizen of se-

¹ ii. iii. 1—18.

² iii. 6. sq.

³ iii. 15. sqq.

⁴ iv.

⁵ i. ii. 1—20.

⁶ ii. 21. sqq.

condary order, for the overthrow of the government, is suppressed by the Ephori.¹

Renewed warlike preparations by Persia induce Agesilaus to conduct a force into Asia. He defeats the army of Tissaphernes, and by a skilful line of policy extends the Lacedæmonian interest in that country. Tissaphernes is deposed and put to death by Artaxerxes.²

Tithraustes, successor to his satrapy, by the distribution of money among leading citizens of Thebes, Corinth, and Argos, induces those republics to engage in a hostile league against Sparta. The Athenians have no share in the Persian gold, but from patriotic motives join the alliance. A Spartan force invades Bœotia in two divisions; one under Lysander, the other under king Pausanias. Lysander is defeated by the Thebans, and himself slain at Haliartus; Pausanias effects his retreat on humiliating terms. On reaching home he is degraded from his royal office and condemned to death, but escapes the execution of his sentence by flight to Tegea.³

BOOK IV. 395—388 B.C.

Agesilaus is recalled from Asia to attend to the Lacedæmonian interests in Greece.⁴ On his way home, by forced marches through Thessaly, he hears that Aristodemus, guardian of his young colleague Agesipolis (successor of Pausanias), had been victorious over the hostile confederacy in an action near Corinth,⁵ and that the Peloponnesian fleet under Pisander had shortly before been vanquished and dispersed at Cnidus, by the joint naval forces of Athens and Persia under Conon.⁶ Crossing into Bœotia, he defeats the allies at Coronea.⁷ The operations of the war are then concentrated around Corinth, where a strong party espouses the cause of Sparta.⁸ Success continues to attend her arms, under the able guidance of Agesilaus. His career of prosperity is checked by the Athenian generals Iphicrates and Callias, who cut off and destroy a large body of the best Spartan troops near Sicyon.⁹

Agesilaus crosses into Northern Greece, to support the friendly State of Calydon against the aggressions of the Acarnanians, who, after an obstinate resistance, are reduced to submission. Agesipolis makes an abortive incursion into the Argive territory.¹⁰

¹ iii.

² iv.

³ v.

⁴ i. ii. 1. sqq.

⁵ ii. 9. sqq.

⁶ iii. 10. sq.

⁷ iii. 15. sqq.

⁸ iv.

⁹ v. 7. sqq.

¹⁰ vi. vii.

After the battle of Cnidus, Conon and Pharnabazus, with the combined Athenian and Persian fleets, obtain the mastery of the sea, and ravage the coasts of the hostile States of Peloponnesus. Conon, aided by funds from the Persian king, restores the walls of Athens, destroyed by Lysander.¹

The Lacedæmonians dispatch Antalcidas, with overtures for a general peace under the mediation of Artaxerxes, to the satrap Tiribazus (successor of Tithraustes). Their proposals are favourably received by that officer, but discountenanced by other advisers of the Persian king; and desultory war continues on the Asiatic coasts. In an action fought in the isle of Lesbos, between the Lacedæmonians under Therimachus, and an Athenian land force under Thrasybulus, the Spartan commander is defeated and slain. Thrasybulus is soon after assassinated at Aspendus, by the native peasantry, in revenge for acts of violence committed by his troops. In a subsequent engagement between Anaxibius, successor in command to Therimachus, and Iphicrates successor to Thrasybulus, the Spartan is again, by the superior tactics of his adversary, surprised, defeated with heavy loss, and himself slain.²

BOOK V. 388—375 B.C.

Hostilities are carried on between the Spartan and Athenian sea and land forces on the coasts of Ægina and Attica, chiefly to the advantage of the Spartans. Teleutias, with a Peloponnesian squadron, entering the Piræus, captures or damages a number of Athenian vessels. Antalcidas, about the same time, with a powerful fleet, restores the naval superiority of Sparta on the Asiatic coast.³

Under the auspices of Artaxerxes, peace is concluded on the terms formerly proposed by Antalcidas. Of these the more important were, that the privilege of independent government should be restored to the whole body of Hellenic states, except those of continental Asia, which pass under the sovereignty of Persia, and the islands of Lemnos, Scyros, and Imbros, which revert to their former dependence on Athens.⁴

After the ratification of this treaty, the Lacedæmonians, on former grounds of offence against the Mantineans, summon them to dismantle their city of its walls. On their refusal, king Agesipolis invades the Mantinean territory, and destroys both walls and

¹ viii. 1—11.

² viii. 12. sqq.

³ i. 1—29.

⁴ i. 29. sqq.

city, which the inhabitants bind themselves not to rebuild, but to reside in scattered villages in the open country. In the State of Phlius the supremacy of Sparta is also established, by a forced restoration of her exiled partisans to their political rights.¹

Envoys arrive at Lacedæmon from the Greek colonies of Acanthus and Apollonia in Thrace, craving protection against the neighbour State of Olynthus, whose ambitious designs they describe as dangerous to the Lacedæmonian interest in the north. A force is accordingly dispatched to Thrace, in two divisions, the first under the command of Eudamidas, the second under that of Phœbidas.²

The latter commander, when at Thebes on his march northward, is induced by the polemarch Leontiades, leader of a malcontent Bœotian faction, to seize the Theban acropolis, or "Cadmea." The Spartan government, at the instance of Agesilaus, sanctions this outrage, and cause Ismenias, the fellow-polemarch and rival of Leontiades, to be put to death.³

After a vigorous campaign, the Lacedæmonian force before Olynthus is routed and dispersed, and its commander Teleutias slain.⁴

By a series of coercive measures, Agesilaus secures the ascendancy of Sparta in the still unsettled republic of Phlius.⁵

Olynthus is reinvested by a more powerful Spartan force under king Agesipolis. After his death from disease, the Olynthians are reduced by famine to accept terms of submission, and to rank among the dependent states of Sparta.⁶

The exiled Theban patriots, by a bold series of stratagems, destroy the traitor Leontiades, and other leading members of the usurping oligarchy, and constrain the Spartan garrison to surrender the Cadmea, and quit the Theban territory.⁷ A Lacedæmonian army invades Bœotia under king Cleombrotus, who returns home after an ineffective campaign, leaving a Spartan force at Thespis, a town in the Sparto-Bœotian interest. The Thebans reassert their ascendancy over the remaining states of that country. After some vacillation, the Athenians are induced to side with Thebes, partly by a treacherous inroad of Sphodrias, the Spartan harmost of Thespis, into their territory.⁸ Agesilaus conducts another large army against Thebes. On his retirement, after an issueless campaign, the charge of the Spartan interest in Bœotia devolves

¹ ii. 1—10.² ii. 11—24.³ ii. 25—30.⁴ iii. 1—9.⁵ iii. 10—17.⁶ iii. 18—26.⁷ iv. 1—12.⁸ iv. 13—33.

on Phœbidas, who is shortly afterwards defeated and slain by the Thebans. Two other abortive expeditions are fitted out against Thebes, one under Agesilaus, the other under Cleombrotus.¹

Several naval actions are fought between the Spartans and Athenians, chiefly in favour of Athens. Timotheus with a powerful fleet reestablishes her interest in the isle of Corcyra.²

BOOK VI. 375—369 B.C.

The Thebans invade Phocis, but on the approach of Lacedæmonian succours under Cleombrotus, retire within their own frontier.³

Polydamas, of Pharsalus in Thessaly, solicits aid from Sparta against Jason of Phæræ, who had already, by a steady course of ambitious policy, made himself supreme over great part of Thessaly, and whom Polydamas represents as aspiring to the dominion of all Greece. But the Lacedæmonians decline to interfere.⁴

Hostilities continue between Athens and Sparta on the coasts of Zante and Corcyra. Mnasippus, sent with a Spartan fleet against the Corcyræans, is defeated and slain under the walls of their city. The discomfited force returns home; and Iphicrates, arriving from Athens with sixty ships, captures a Syracusan squadron sent in aid of the Lacedæmonians.⁵

In a convention held at Sparta, terms of pacification are arranged between Athens and Lacedæmon, for themselves and their respective allies, but are rejected by the Thebans, as trenching on their privilege as leaders of the Bœotian confederacy.⁶ Cleombrotus upon this, invading Bœotia, is defeated and slain in the great battle of Leuctra.⁷

The Athenians, and Jason of Thessaly, decline a proposal from Thebes to unite in a general attack on Sparta, for the permanent humiliation of that republic. Jason, after visiting Thebes in person, and dissuading its rulers from violent measures, is assassinated on his return home to his own residence at Phæræ.⁸

The blow inflicted on the Spartan power at Leuctra, encourages the Mantineans and other minor States of Peloponnesus to assert their right of independent action. The Mantineans rebuild their city, and under the auspices of Athens a new league is formed, for enforcing the privilege of self-government guaranteed by the treaty of Antalcidas. Dissensions arising between Mantinea and

¹ iv. 34—59.

² ii.

³ iv. 60. sqq.

⁴ iii.

⁵ i. 1.

⁶ iv. 1—16.

⁷ i. 2. sqq.

⁸ iv. 19—37.

Tegea, the Lacedæmonians espouse the cause of the latter, the Thebans of the former State. Agesilaus conducts an army into Arcadia, and, after a complicated course of manœuvres without results, returns to Sparta.¹ The Thebans soon after, entering Peloponnesus, and uniting their force to that of the Mantineans, invade and ravage the Lacedæmonian territory.²

The Athenians, after a keen discussion in council, resolve on befriending Sparta in her present emergency. Iphicrates, with a strong force, is dispatched to intercept the retreat of the Thebans; but the latter, outmanœuvring their opponent, effect their return home unmolested.³

Book VII. 369—362 B.C.

Early in the following year, an alliance is contracted between Athens and Sparta. Their combined forces occupy the Corinthian isthmus, in order to prevent the return of the Theban army into Peloponnesus. The Thebans attack and disperse the Lacedæmonian troops stationed in defence of the Pass of Oneum, and effect a junction with their Peloponnesian confederates. Dionysius of Syracuse sends succours to the Spartans. After ravaging the country round Corinth, the Bæotian army recrosses the isthmus.⁴

The Arcadian States form a separate league for their own protection, and defeat a Spartan force at Arsinë. Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, defeats, in their turn, the combined forces of Arcadia and Argos at Midea. A conference of Hellenic States is held at Susa, for the establishment of peace under Persian mediation. The terms sanctioned by the Persian court, on the suggestion of Pelopidas, being unduly favourable to Thebes, are accepted by that republic alone, and the negotiation falls to the ground.⁵ The Thebans cross into Peloponnesus under the command of Epaminondas, who occupies Achaia, but fails in his attempt to establish Theban ascendancy over the States of that country.⁶ A detailed account is given of transactions in the small republics of Sicyon and Phlius.⁷

A special alliance is contracted between the Arcadians and Athenians. Peace is also concluded between Thebes and Corinth; the latter engaging to preserve strict neutrality in regard to the contending interests.⁸

¹ v. 1—22.

² v. 23—32.

³ v. 33. *sqq.*

⁴ i. 1—22.

⁵ i. 23—40.

⁶ i. 41. *sqq.*

⁷ ii. iii.

⁸ iv. 1—11.

War breaks out between the Eleans and the Arcadians, who occupy the Elean territory. The Lacedæmonians take part with Elis, the Thebans with Arcadia. The Lacedæmonians are beaten by the Arcadians in an action near Cromnus; and the victors storm a Lacedæmonian entrenched position. The Arcadian States, without the sanction of their Theban allies, conclude peace and renew friendly relations with Elis.¹ Epaminondas upon this enters Peloponnesus with a large force, for the security of the Theban interest in that country, and establishes his head quarters at Tegea, a friendly Arcadian city. Passing unopposed into Laconia, he again ravages the country round Sparta, but without venturing to assault the city. Returning into Arcadia, he attacks and defeats the combined Peloponnesian and Athenian armies at Mantinea. His own death prevents the achievement of a complete victory, and by mutual consent of the combatants the battle ends, without decisive success on either side.²

2. This work comprises the History of Greece, or such portions of it as the author judged worthy of treatment, during a period of forty-eight years, commencing where Thucydides breaks off, in 411 B.C., and terminating in 362 B.C. It has no pretension to that unity of action which distinguishes the subject of Herodotus, or the original design of Thucydides. The first part is the conclusion of the latter author's great but unfinished historical epopee. The new series of events, which forms the sequel, hence stands in no proper epic relation to that which precedes. Nor can the close of the narrative, the battle of Mantinea, advance any such claim to unjust epic conclusion, as the defeat of Xerxes in Herodotus, or the capture of Athens in the original design of Thucydides. Instead of forming, like each of those events, an epoch of settlement in the affairs of Greece, the victory and death of Epaminondas tended, as Xe-

Plan,
composition,
and
materials.

¹ iv. 12—40.

² v.

nophon himself remarks, still more to disturb and perplex them. But if not in a literary sense a satisfactory consummation, it was the best at the author's disposal. The principal features of Grecian history subsequent to the fall of Athens, are the rise of Theban power at the expense of Sparta, and the ultimate humiliation of the latter state by the Theban patriots Pelopidas and Epaminondas. With the death of Epaminondas the brief ascendancy of Thebes, and the political system of which he had made her the centre, were brought to an end. The battle of Mantinea hence forms, in so far, a historical catastrophe; not indeed of so definite a nature as the issue of the Persian, or the Peloponnesian war; but one which, introducing, as Xenophon observes, a new series of complications in Grecian history, may at least rank as the winding up of the previous series. Had Thucydides lived long enough to complete his design, and had Xenophon, instead of taking up his predecessor's interrupted tale, commenced with the reign of the Thirty tyrants, his narrative would have possessed about as much historical unity as was consistent with the materials at his command.

The work as it stands, inferior as it is to that of Thucydides in extent of research, narrative power, and impartial judgement, may yet rank as an authentic or even critical history. It claims this character, partly as treating solely of contemporaneous events, in many of which the author was engaged; partly as treating them, in regard to the main historical facts, with a due respect for truth. In one sense it may even pretend to a more strictly practical character than the work of Thucydides, its entire freedom from those excursions on legendary matters,

in which Thucydides at times indulges. There is no writer of antiquity who, in his properly historical works, confines himself to real history more closely than Xenophon. For his knowledge of transactions in which he was not himself engaged, he seems to have been still more dependent than Thucydides on oral communications. He nowhere alludes to any kind of written authority, public or private.

The narrative subdivides itself, by the tenor of its own subject, into three parts or periods. The first comprises, in books I.—II., the closing years of the Peloponnesian war, with the ensuing events at Athens down to the expulsion of the Thirty tyrants, in 403 B.C. Being written under Attic feelings and impressions, and centred throughout on the affairs of Athens, this part might not improperly be designated, for distinction sake, Xenophon's Athenian history, or "Attica." The second part, book III. i.—iv., is little less exclusively the history of Lacedæmon, from the commencement of her war with the satraps of Asia Minor in 399 B.C., to the formation of the Corinthian league against her in 395 B.C. The third part is the general History of Greece, from that date to the battle of Mantinea.

Tripartite
character
of the
subject.

Between the first and second of these parts is a gap of about four years, 403—399 B.C.; the only notice taken of the events of those years, being the very inadequate reason which the author assigns for having overlooked them. On concluding his account of the affairs of Athens in the second book, he commences the third by stating that, after these transactions, Cyrus requested and obtained from the Spartans aid in his campaign against his brother: and that a Lacedæmonian squadron, sent to the coast

of Cilicia, prevented the satrap of that province from obstructing the march of the rebel army. The expedition of Cyrus, he adds, "how he collected his forces and marched against his brother; how he himself fell in the battle fought between them, and how the Greeks in his service effected their retreat to the sea, has been related by Themistogenes of Syracuse."¹ The book here attributed to Themistogenes is, as will be seen hereafter, the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, which for some mysterious reason he has endeavoured, or affected, to pass off as the production of another person.

The expedition itself was an enterprise belonging properly not to the Greek but the Persian annals. Viewing it however, as Xenophon seems to have done, in the former light, his reason for omitting it from a work purporting to be a general history of Greece, that it had already been separately treated by another writer, is not altogether satisfactory. He offers no apology for his silence regarding Greek affairs at home during those four years. It is true that the proper subjects for historical composition were, in his time, understood to be limited chiefly to wars waged by the confederate states, among themselves or against foreign enemies; while the details of internal politics, with the general progress of society, were overlooked. And this was certainly a period of political lull and repose, owing partly to the exhaustion consequent on the Peloponnesian war, partly to the vigour with which Sparta enforced her supremacy, by checking any attempt at energetic action unless directed by herself. But a more diligent writer even

¹ III. i. 2.

of this period (such as Thucydides) would hardly have failed at least to examine the causes of this prolonged state of inactivity. He would have brought the tranquillity which prevailed, into connexion with the past and future periods of disturbance. He would have shown how the oppressive policy of Sparta alienated her former friends, and irritated her lately intimidated rivals to renewed hostility. The adventures of Conon after his defeat at Ægospotami, the preparations in which he was engaged for restoring the fortunes of Athens, with the measures adopted at home to reconsolidate her shattered political system, might also have suggested themselves to an Attic writer of more comprehensive views, as legitimate materials for imparting to this portion of his text, completeness in itself and connexion with the remainder. To Xenophon these topics offered little interest, being neither themselves of a striking character, nor congenial to his Spartan sympathies. He has therefore, to use a familiar phrase, "skipped over" altogether the four years, from the winding up of the affairs of Athens in 403 B.C. to the commencement of Thimbron's campaign (399 B.C.) against the Persian satraps.¹

¹ Xenophon distinctly makes the Spartan wars against Elis, described by him in III. ii. 21. sqq., contemporaneous with the campaigns of Derkyllidas in Asia in 399—397 B.C. The chronology of Diodorus preferred by Grote, which places those wars in 402—400 B.C., may possibly be better in itself; but we cannot admit with Grote (note to vol. x. p. 316.) that the language of Xenophon can, by any reasonable latitude of interpretation, be made to harmonise with the arrangement of Diodorus. Dodwell, and after him Clinton and Thirlwall, without any attempt to reconcile the two authors, adopt the date of 401, which agrees with neither. Krüger (ad Clint. an. 400) and Sievers (*Geschichte Griechenl.* p. 382.) prefer the date of Xenophon; as we have here also done; to the extent at least of being convinced that Xeno-

Attic
history.

3. Xenophon nowhere appears to greater advantage as a Historian than in the first two books of the *Hellenica*. This part of the work being a continuation of Thucydides, whose history must therefore have been habitually in his hands, it might seem as if the mantle of his predecessor had been spread for the time, however loosely, over his shoulders. His narrative is here both more dignified, more full of matter, and more apparently free from prejudice, than any other portion of his text. It was probably compiled before his Laconian partialities were fully matured, and when afterwards finally digested, may have retained the impressions under which it was first designed. His characteristic indifference to local Athenian politics, tended to place him beyond the reach of secondary influences in his account of the party struggles of this period. In describing the tyranny of the Thirty and its overthrow, his sympathies are entirely on the constitutional side. He manifests a cordial detestation of the Tyrants, with a warm interest in the cause, and admiration for the character of Thrasybulus. He enlarges at times in glowing language on his victorious progress, and on the humiliating defeats sustained by the hostile faction from within the city, and by their Lacedæmonian supporters from without. Perhaps the strongest argument of the genuine Attic feeling which here guided his pen, is to be found in the testimony borne

phon's real view of the case, whether right or wrong, was that which his words express, taken in their natural sense. Nor, careless as he occasionally is of historical precision, can we believe that he could ever have made a mistake of three years in the date of events with which he was contemporaneous; and writing too on the Elean territory, on the very spot where those events took place, and where everything concerning them must have been matter of notoriety.

at the close¹, to the beneficial influence which the return to democratic forms exercised on the fortunes of the republic. This passage seems to vouch for his own conviction that democracy, whatever its defects in theory, was better adapted to his own country than any other form of government. It also conveys an indirect compliment to Athens, and a declaration of interest in her affairs, which written, as its terms evince, long posterior to his banishment, proves, with other evidence to be adduced in the sequel, that through all the vicissitudes of his destiny, the vestal fire of Attic patriotism was never extinguished in his bosom.

While Xenophon thus stigmatises the ferocious tyranny of the Thirty, he no less clearly marks his abhorrence of the conduct of the old democratic government, in the lamentable affair of the Six admirals. His account of this transaction has been censured, and not altogether without reason, as meagre and indistinct. But the alleged defects may with greater justice be sought in the matter treated than in the mode of treatment; in the vindictive cruelty and levity of the Athenian populace, who refused to submit the case to that dispassionate investigation, which the first principles of justice and the law of their own community prescribed; who, without hearing witnesses, and in violation of one of their own favourite statutes, hurried to execution six patriotic citizens, not many days after they had, at a time when the fortunes of Athens depended on the issue of a single battle, won for her one of the most decisive victories in the annals of her military achievement.

Among other proofs of Xenophon's impartiality,

¹ II. iv. 43.

it may be remarked, that while one eminent modern authority¹ has taxed him with "studiously keeping "back the case against the admirals," in order to throw odium on the democracy, another² attributes his neglect to bring out the full merits of their case, to a "fear of giving offence to his Spartan patrons;" those "who took the lead against the accused" being "instruments of the oligarchal party." An arbiter charged with undue favour to each litigant, may reasonably be presumed to have dealt equal justice to both.³

Lacedæ-
monian,
history.

The portion of the Hellenica which has above been classed as its second period, may not perhaps appear deserving, either in respect to its own bulk or the time which it embraces, of being set apart in so marked a manner. It derives however, from the mode in which the narrative is concentrated round the affairs of Sparta, a distinctness of character, similar to that which the first period derives from a like concentration round the affairs of Athens. Those of the other Greek states are noticed, in so far only as was necessary to describe the measures taken by Sparta for maintaining her supremacy. The wars carried on by Lacedæmon, during the four years from 399 to 395 B.C., under Thimbron, Dercyllidas, and Agesilaus, against the satraps of Asia Minor, form the main subject, and are treated in copious detail. The Historian was now a banished man, living under Spartan protection. Full scope is accordingly given to his Laconian sympathies, but as yet without those more palpable signs of ill-will towards other states, the occasion for which first arose with the subsequent European quarrels.

¹ Grote, Hist. of Greece, vol. VIII. p. 248.

³ See Appendix M.

² Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece vol. IV. p. 123—126.

In the third period the confederacy resumes its free course of political action, suspended since the close of the Peloponnesian war. Athens, Thebes, and Argos, subsidised by Persia, unite for the common object of shaking off the Spartan yoke. Of this league the most important member was Thebes, lately the principal ally of her present adversary, her struggle with whom for equality of rights, in the war now commenced, gradually became a fierce, and in the end successful contest for supremacy. Athens, in the course of the same vicissitudes, was content to play a middle part, siding with one or other of the two chief combatants, as her feelings or interests might dictate. The whole of this portion of the work is written under the full and, as will be seen, baneful influence of the author's Laconian partialities.

Hellenic
history.

Each of these divisions of the *Hellenica* contains evidence, not only of the political feelings, but of the more immediate personal impressions under which it was written. It is a reasonable, if not a necessary supposition, that the first two books were the first composed; and the characteristic features of their composition seem to evince, that their materials were compiled contemporaneously with the events and on the spot. The author's descriptions of the landing of Alcibiades, of the proceedings against the admirals, of the last days and death of Theramenes, of the war of the Piræus, indicate in their truthful reality an immediate knowledge of, and interest in, the scenes described. Xenophon could not indeed at that time have contemplated a continuation of Thucydides, who was still alive and engaged in writing. It is more likely that he had planned, in the first instance, an independent history; no part of his predecessor's work

Xeno-
phon's per-
sonal
knowledge
of the
events
described.

having been published till after the close of the Peloponnesian war. It was on the appearance probably of the first seven books of Thucydides, followed at no distant interval by his death, and by the consignment of the unfinished eighth book to Xenophon for publication, that he was led to arrange his own materials in their present form, as a continuation of the incomplete text of his predecessor.

Similar traces of personal knowledge are observable in the transactions of the second period, and the earlier years of the third. That Xenophon attended Agesilaus on his campaigns in Asia and Northern Greece, we know from himself; and this part of his narrative is a careful chronicle of his patron's acts. There can also be little doubt that he passed the previous years, in great part at least, in Asia with the Lacedæmonian army. Here, too, several of his scenes are worked up with the precision of an eye-witness.¹ The last passage of the Hellenica in which similar signs can be discerned of his presence at the event described, is his graphic account of the check given to the pride of his Spartan patron at Corinth, by the sudden intelligence of a great disaster.² Down to this date, 392 B.C., Xenophon was still probably attached to the suite of Agesilaus. His permanent settlement at Scillus may have taken place about the close of the same year.³ Hence, although many parts of his subsequent narrative show an intimate knowledge of public affairs derived from primary sources, there is no similar evidence of his descriptions being founded on personal observation.

As the crisis of Grecian history, around which

¹ III. i. 10. sqq., IV. i. 3. sq.

² IV. v. 7.

³ Anab. v. iii. 7.

the interest of this most important part of the Hellenica revolves, is the overthrow of Spartan supremacy by Thebes, and as the favour of Xenophon to Lacedæmon and his hostility to Thebes here impart the pervading tone to his narrative, it will be proper to examine more closely the origin of these tendencies.

4. Xenophon's Spartan sympathies appear to connect themselves chiefly with events posterior to his banishment, but may also in part be due to previous influences. "Laconism," or an undue partiality for Lacedæmonian habits and interests, was a prevailing sentiment among the upper class in Athens during her flourishing age; as a consequence, partly of the leaning of men of the aristocratic order to aristocratic government, partly of the distaste of enlightened politicians for the extreme of democracy existing at home. It was common among the disciples of Socrates, and may hence have been imbibed in early youth by Xenophon. The internal evidence however of his works implies, that it was not until a late period that any such feeling acquired a serious ascendancy over his Attic patriotism. The *Anabasis*¹ indicates no doubt a strong, and in an Athenian undignified, sense of the power of Sparta; but it shows little trace of Laconism in the proper sense. The author seems rather to glory in his Attic citizenship. He looks forward with pride to the honour which, on his return to Greece, his achievements will reflect on his country.² He also, in his conduct of the retreat, marks his preference for the services of Athenian warriors.³ At Byzantium we first observe a disposi-

His
Spartan
partial-
ities.

¹ *Anab.* VI. i. 26.

² *Anab.* VI. i. 20.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 248.

tion to court Lacedæmonian patronage, owing probably to the signs which he then discerned of impending calamity at home. No Laconian connexion was however formed at this time. His services in bringing over the Cyreians from Thrace to the Spartan camp, with the refuge afforded him after his sentence of exile by the Spartan commanders in Asia, were his first permanent ties to the Lacedæmonian interest. His attachment in the sequel to king Agesilaus, formed the climax of his Spartomania. So entirely indeed does this feeling henceforward become centred in the person of his royal protector, that his favour to the nation at large appears much in the light of a radiation from his enthusiasm for that one revered object. The fundamental principle of his judgement on Lacedæmonian policy is, that Agesilaus, its prime mover, can do no wrong. Sparta may err, however rarely; and against her citizens in their corporate capacity, even where the error has been committed at the instance or with the express sanction of Agesilaus, the censure, if administered at all, is directed.

His
Theban
anti-
pathies.

Xenophon's antipathy to Thebes finds its best explanation in his love for Sparta. His Attic patriotism was never probably so fervent, as to render him strongly susceptible of the old spirit of national antagonism between Thebes and Athens. Nor do the notices of his early life suggest personal grounds of dislike. The only friend of his youth whom, besides Socrates, he mentions by name, is the Bœotian Proxenus, his esteem for whom gave so momentous a turn to his fortunes. Of the two thousand warriors who followed the standard of that adventurer, a large part may be presumed to have been his own countrymen;

and these were the men who after his death elected Xenophon, by a unanimous vote, over the heads of their own officers, to the vacant command. It is not likely that so high an honour would have been so cordially conferred on a stranger who entertained a dislike to their nation; nor would it be fair to Xenophon to suppose him insensible to such a mark of esteem. The fidelity with which his men adhered to him during the dissensions in the camp, would tend to maintain this friendly feeling. We hear indeed of one Bœotian officer as hostile to his interests.¹ But his two bitterest enemies, whose machinations against him were in part successful, Neon² and Dexippus³, were Lacedæmonians. In a comparison therefore between the two nations, the Theban ought hitherto to have been stronger than the Laconian interest. From the time however when Xenophon's connexion with Sparta was fully matured, numerous causes conspired to extinguish any friendly feeling towards Thebes. By Thebes the power of Sparta was broken, her military superiority annihilated, her armies defeated, her best commanders out-generalled, her fairest provinces wrested from her dominion; and all this, while Agesilaus was the chief director of her councils. The less wonder that Agesilaus, as the Historian⁴ emphatically tells us, should have hated Thebes; and where Agesilaus hated, it was not possible that Xenophon could love. Accordingly his notices of Thebes and her affairs, subsequent to her quarrel with Sparta, everywhere exhibit a gloomy cold repugnance, a systematic suppression or depreciation of her honourable actions and her illustrious

¹ Anab. v. vi. 21.² v. vii. 1. sqq., vi. iv. 23., vii. ii.³ vi. i. 32., vi. 11.⁴ Hellen. v. i. 33. : conf. Plutarch, Agesil. 22.

names, and an anxiety to represent all her acts in the least creditable light.

State of
Greece.

Sparta.

A concise view of the policy of Sparta and of Thebes, before and after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, will enable us the better to appreciate the power of these philo-Laconian and miso-Bœotian influences on the Historian's judgment. At the former epoch, Sparta's leadership of continental Greece rested on her moral influence as much as on her military power. She looked, or affected to look, less to the submission of the confederate republics, than their voluntary attachment to herself as the champion of Hellenic liberty. So little was she suspected of ambitious schemes, that the chief complaint against her on the part of her allies, was her slowness to assert her rights and their own, against the open oppression and usurpation of Athens.¹ Hence the principle asserted by the Lacedæmonian party in those days, and but faintly denied by Athens, that the Spartans were the upholders, the Athenians the destroyers of Grecian liberty. The ensuing twenty-seven years' war, and its triumphant issue, wrought a complete change in the Spartan federal policy.² The overthrow of Athenian tyranny did but make room for the establishment by the victor of a new system of her own, surpassing in oppressiveness that which it supplanted. Her overbearing conduct towards her allies tended, still more than her harshness to her vassals, to estrange the Hellenic body from her interests, and at last instigated the other leading republics, by a combined effort, to shake off the yoke,

Thucyd. i. 69. sqq. alibi.

² See the graphic description of this change in Aristid. t. i. p. 208. sqq. Jebb.

and restore to each her just share in the management of the common interests. The ulterior result of this movement was the rise of Theban ascendancy on the ruins of that of Sparta.

During the whole flourishing age of Greece, Thebes had been remarkable among the Hellenic states for the inert character of her institutions, and the intellectual torpor of her citizens. Great and opulent in city and territory, according to the standard of Greek republican greatness, chief of a body of kindred states extending over a broad and fertile region, and second to none in military prowess, she had maintained a position of independence towards both Sparta and Athens, without having ever aspired to share with them the honour of "Hegemony," or leadership. The ruling principle of her policy had been, from time immemorial, hatred of Athens, with whom her geographical position kept her in a continual state of antagonism; and the dogged spirit of local patriotism with which, before the Persian war, she struggled to maintain her own against the superior energy of her neighbour, became the chief or only ground of her apostasy to the foreign invader.¹ The same anti-Attic spirit had, until lately, guided her councils, and secured her adherence to Sparta during the Peloponnesian war. But the disasters of her old enemy produced a change of feeling. The danger that now threatened her independence from the undivided despotism of Sparta, seemed greater than any to which it had been exposed from Athens even in her best days. From the moment therefore when the latter state showed signs of revival from her late

Thebes
and
Athens.

¹ See Vol. IV. p. 446. sqq.

political torpor, Thebes drew towards her as a confederate in resistance to the common oppressor.

Lysander
and
Agesilaus.

Two men, Lysander and Agesilaus, were mainly instrumental to the fall of Lacedæmon ; two, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, to the rise of Thebes. The two former both possessed in a high degree, the qualities common to the more distinguished of their countrymen. Both were men of great energy and military talent : both good Spartan patriots ; zealous in their efforts to aggrandise their country, and by the same means to achieve personal renown. In the pursuit of these objects Lysander, a man of tyrannical temper and large ambition, seems to have been restrained by no considerations of justice or humanity. By him, as the elder of the two, as the conqueror of Athens, and the first establisher of Spartan supremacy, was also established the system of coercion by which it was maintained. The same system was continued by Agesilaus, a man of milder more generous temper, in forms less harsh and cruel, but in special instances still more offensive than the undisguised tyranny of Lysander. The measures of the latter had been directed chiefly against the smaller states, at a time when, owing to the exhaustion of the greater powers, no opposition could be offered. Agesilaus persisted in the same domineering spirit, with inferior means, against adversaries more powerful, and actuated by a determined spirit of resistance. To maintain the Spartan supremacy against the difficulties with which she had now to contend, required a firm, but cautious and conciliatory policy, of which Agesilaus had no clear conception. His only resource was a vigorous exercise of the military power of Sparta, in coercing

rivals or enemies ; at first by its bold and honest exercise ; afterwards, when irritated by resistance, in defiance of treaties or the law of nations. The worst of these acts of joint treachery and violence was the seizure of the Theban citadel, or " Cadmea," in time of peace, by a Lacedæmonian force, then on its way through Bœotia to Thrace. This step, which though taken in the first instance by a rash subordinate on his sole responsibility, was afterwards sanctioned by Agesilaus, may be considered as the turning point from which Lacedæmon, after reaching the climax of her greatness, verged to her decline.

5. The seizure of the Cadmea first brought into full activity the two greatest, the only really great public characters whom Thebes was ever destined to produce, Pelopidas and Epaminondas ; in the aggregate of their qualities, perhaps the two most excellent of Hellenic patriots, and the latter of the two the most accomplished of Hellenic warriors. It forms no part of our office to enlarge on the lives or genius of these two remarkable men, which are nearly as familiar in the page of universal as of Grecian history. It will here suffice briefly to note the principal transactions in which they were engaged, as recorded, partly by Xenophon, partly in other more authentic quarters, in order to judge of the estimation in which they were held, or the amount of notice with which they have been honoured, by the leading historian of the time. Pelopidas, the elder of the two, has the chief merit of planning and executing the hazardous plot, by which the traitorous home faction was destroyed, and the Spartans were driven from Thebes

Pelopidas
and Epaminondas.

and her territory.¹ The share of Epaminondas in this enterprise, from a conscientious aversion to shed the blood of a fellow-citizen even in a just cause, was limited to the military operations against the foreigners.² Chiefly by his able strategy, four successive attempts of Sparta to regain a footing on Theban ground, two under Cleombrotus and two under Agesilaus, were baffled or repulsed. Athens, irritated by the sudden attempt of a Spartan force, under Sphodrias, to seize the Piræus, as the Cadmea had been seized, in violation of the existing peace, espouses the cause of Thebes. In addition to other minor successes of the Theban arms³, Pelopidas, with less than half the numbers of his opponents, defeats the two Spartan generals Gorgoleon and Theopompus, in the decisive battle of Tegyra.⁴ The result was the expulsion of the Lacedæmonians from Bœotia. The Athenians, jealous of the growing power of their new ally, make separate proposals of pacification. In a congress held at Sparta, Epaminondas, after a spirited altercation with the overbearing Agesilaus, repudiates as dishonourable to his country the terms on which it was proposed to include her in the treaty.⁵ Exasperated by his presumption, Agesilaus moves the Spartan government to send an army against Thebes, under his colleague Cleombrotus, who is defeated by Epaminondas with an inferior force, and himself slain, in the decisive battle of Leuctra.

¹ Auctt. ap. Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. v. p. 34. sqq., second edition; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. x. p. 111. sqq.; Sievers, *Geschichte Griechenl. von 404 bis 362 v. Chr.*, p. 170. sqq.

² Thirlwall, p. 35.; Grote, p. 112. 168.; Sievers, p. 181.

³ Grote, p. 182.

⁴ Thirlwall, p. 62.; Grote, p. 182.; Sievers, p. 211.

⁵ Thirlwall, p. 88. sq.; Grote, p. 226. sq.; Sievers, p. 237.

From this epoch the ascendancy of Sparta in Greece is at an end. Her harmosts are ejected from the vassal cities, which everywhere reassert their right of independent action. An Arcadian league is formed for the security of the contracting states against Spartan aggression, and under the direction of Epaminondas a new common seat of government, the great city of Megalopolis, is erected.¹ Epaminondas invades and ravages Laconia. The Messenians revolt from Sparta, and are established in their antient possessions and liberties by Epaminondas, who, on the site of their old metropolis Ithome, constructs a noble city, the remains of which still attract admiration as the finest extant models of Greek military architecture.² Pelopidas, conducting a force into Thessaly, to protect the allies of Thebes in that region, against the usurpations of Alexander tyrant of Phæræ, extends Theban influence over great part of Thessaly into Macedonia.³ He then undertakes a mission to the Persian court, to solicit the Great King's mediation in establishing peace among the Greek powers; but the negotiation proves abortive. Returning to Thessaly, he is treacherously made prisoner by Alexander. A Theban army, under the command of Epaminondas, enforces his release. In a subsequent battle Alexander is defeated by Pelopidas, who is himself slain; but the result of his victory is to reduce Alexander under military vassalage to Thebes.⁴ Epaminondas again conducts an army into Peloponnesus, and again ravages the

¹ Thirlwall, p. 112.; Grote, p. 306. sq.; Sievers, p. 255.

² Thirlwall, p. 133.; Grote, p. 308. sqq.; Sievers, p. 272. sq.

³ Thirlwall, p. 154. sqq.; Grote, p. 387. sqq.; Sievers, p. 320.

⁴ Thirlwall, p. 188. sq.; Grote, p. 420. sqq.; Sievers, p. 332.

Spartan plain. On his return he defeats the Spartan-Athenian forces at Mantinea, but falls in the moment of victory.

Xenophon's
Theban
history.

Let us compare this outline of the authentic history of Thebes and her two greatest citizens, during her most glorious era, with the part which they have been permitted to act in the Hellenic history of Xenophon.

No mention is made of either Pelopidas or Epaminondas till towards the close of the life of each. Pelopidas appears but once on the scene; the occasion selected being that of his mission to Susa, the least creditable undertaking recorded of him. The recovery of the Cadmea, with the other acts of the ensuing twelve most glorious years of the two patriots, in so far as noticed at all, are ascribed to anonymous or secondary actors. The victory of Tegyra, the first serious blow to the martial reputation of Sparta, is not mentioned. In the account of the battle of Leuctra, no such persons as Epaminondas or Pelopidas are alluded to, the authors of that brilliant achievement being designated merely by Xenophon's customary expression of "the Thebans," or "the Theban commanders." The campaigns of Pelopidas in Thessaly and Macedonia, events of peculiar interest, both as attesting the spread of Theban power in new regions, and as links in the subsequent chain of connexion between Greece and the latter country, find no place in Xenophon's narrative; as little the death of Pelopidas at the close of his career of northern conquest. Of the presence of Epaminondas in the congress of Sparta in 371 B.C., of his eloquent vindication of the rights of Thebes against Agesilaus, and the ebullition of petulant wrath on the part of

the latter at his boldness, which have supplied material for spirited episodes to other historians, we hear nothing in the *Hellenica*. "The Thebans" are there simply mentioned as having objected to the treaty on grounds stated. Xenophon dwells on the first invasion and devastation of the Spartan plain, where the smoke of an enemy's fire during the six hundred years of Sparta's existence had never before been seen, as a striking event in Grecian history.¹ But the author and leader of the enterprise obtains no higher credit for it than any other "Theban." The wresting of Messenia from Sparta, and establishment of her independence, the most fatal blow inflicted on the latter state, with the foundation of the new city of Messenë, and that of the Arcadian Megalopolis, all under the auspices of Epaminondas, are blank pages in the volume of our Historian. By a coincidence probably not accidental, the name of Epaminondas is first mentioned a few years before his death, in connexion, like that of Pelopidas, with the only abortive enterprise in which he seems to have ever been engaged, his attempt to organise an Achaean league in the interest of Thebes.²

To these astounding suppressions, chiefly connected with the affairs of these two patriots, may be added some others in the previous vicissitudes of Sparto-Bœotian warfare. Among Theban warriors or statesmen, the next in eminence to those two was Ismenias, described also by Plutarch as the political chief under whom they were trained. This valiant soldier and good citizen, after the Theban victory of Haliartus,

¹ *Hellen.* vi. v. 23. sqq.

² vii. i. 41.

led a force into Thessaly, wrested from the Spartans their much-cherished colony of Heraclea, induced Pharsalus and other Lacedæmonian dependencies to revolt, and returning homewards, defeated a Sparto-Phocian army at Naryx, with the loss of a thousand men and of their Spartiate commander.¹ Not a word of all this occurs in Xenophon. Ismenias is mentioned by him but on two occasions; first, as one of the Thebans² to whom were transmitted the subsidies, or as Xenophon implies the bribes, employed by Tithraustes to bring about the anti-Spartan league of Corinth; secondly, as the colleague of Leontiades in the office of polemarch, when the latter betrayed the Cadmea; and as having, as chief of the patriot party, and with the sanction of Agesilaus, been put to death by the Lacedæmonian government. The same concealment of Theban names, already noticed in the more glaring cases of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, is also observable in regard to persons of secondary rank. In no instance, except that of Epaminondas towards the close of his career, has our historian given the name of a single individual commanding or engaged, on the side of Thebes, in any one of her battles or victories. At Haliartus, Corinth, Coronea, Thespis, Leuctra (not to mention Naryx, Tegyra, and others which he suppresses), "the Thebans," in their collective capacity, are still both generals and soldiers.

Contrast of
his Spartan
history.

This systematic iniquity towards the one side, to be fully appreciated, must be compared with the parallel system of favouritism to the other. While

¹ Grote, vol. ix. p. 420. sq.; Sievers, p. 65. sq.

² Hellen. III. v. 1.: conf. Grote, vol. ix. pp. 400, 401. note 2.; Thirlwall, vol. iv. p. 418.

so many great achievements of Thebes are overlooked or vilipended, every petty enterprise of her adversary is lauded and exaggerated, in all its circumstantiality of events and persons. The contrast cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that while, as already observed, Epaminondas is the single Theban mentioned by name as taking part in the thirty-three years of Sparto-Theban warfare described by Xenophon, upwards of forty Lacedæmonians, generals, captains, subordinate officers, and soldiers in the ranks, are particularised. The abortive incursion of Agesilaus into the territory of his petty neighbour Mantinea¹, is described, apparently as a rival exploit to the nearly simultaneous march of Epaminondas from Thebes to the headlands of Laconia, with a pomp of strategic detail which imparts a tinge of burlesque to the narrative. A like great and disproportionate prominence is assigned to the Acarnanian, Olynthian, and Argive incursions of Agesilaus and Agesipolis.² While the Thessalian enterprises of Ismenias, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas are unmentioned, about ten pages are devoted to the reasons why Lacedæmon might have undertaken into the same country a similar expedition, which she never undertook; followed by a long account of such subsequent vicissitudes of the same family of Thessalian despots, as did not happen to involve any allusion to their subjection to Thebes.³ The unreasonable amount of space devoted to the little republic of Phlius, is also acknowledged by Xenophon to be a tribute to her zeal for Sparta and Agesilaus.⁴

¹ VI. v. 15—22. ² IV. vi. vii., v. ii. iii. ³ VI. i. iv. 27. sqq. ⁴ VII. ii.

Battle of
Corinth.

6. The Historian's partiality is equally observable in the unfair colouring given to those acts of "the Thebans" which he records. In his description of the battles of Corinth and Coronea, he does not deny that in each they were victorious on their own part of the confederate line, but he admits it in such a manner as to make their success in the one case appear actually discreditable to them, in the other as little creditable as possible. At Corinth he represents them as afraid of facing the Lacedæmonians (whom they had lately beaten single-handed at Haliartus), and as having, by an unworthy artifice, forced on the engagement on a day when they happened, from their position, to be opposed to inferior troops of the enemy, while the Athenians had to bear the brunt of the Spartan attack. The facts of the case were these. It had been agreed between the Athenians and Thebans, that they should occupy in turns the right and left of the confederate line, as the first and second post of honour. The Lacedæmonians, on their side, permanently occupied the right, as their recognised privilege. The action consequently must have been fought on a day when either the Athenians or the Thebans were opposed to the Lacedæmonians. It eventually took place on one when the former were in that position. Subjoined is Xenophon's commentary on these facts. "The Bœotians, while stationed on the left, were in no hurry to bring on the action; but when occupying the right, with the Achæans for their opponents, they immediately pronounced the auspices favourable, and gave orders to prepare for battle."¹ He adds,

¹ iv. ii. 18. sqq.

that, in order to give additional weight to their attack, they increased the depth of their phalanx beyond the sixteen files common to the other contingents; the result of which was so to contract the confederate line towards the left, where the Athenians were, as to enable the Lacedæmonians to take them in flank and surround them. Hence, while the Bœotians on their side were victorious, the Athenians were defeated with heavy loss. Here we have an example, among others, of the mode in which Xenophon insinuates injurious charges which he does not venture to affirm. His imputations however will hardly stand the test of critical analysis, founded on other data supplied by his own narrative. The statement that "no sooner did the Bœotians find themselves opposed to the Achæans, than they declared the auspices favourable, and gave orders to "prepare for battle," is obviously meant to imply, without actually asserting, that the auspices, not being really favourable, had been falsified by the Bœotians. Had the auspices been really favourable, Xenophon was much too pious a man to censure a course adopted with the sanction of the gods. The question then arises: How happened it that a confederate army, rated by him at 27,000 men, including 6000 Athenians, should have left the common sacrificial rites entirely in the hands of the Bœotians, numbering scarcely 5000 men, to be tampered with by their leaders at their pleasure: and how happened it that the commanders of this Bœotian fraction of the army, had it in their power to select the moment of the attack at their exclusive discretion, without consulting their colleagues? These points, so necessary to a right understanding of the case, are all left in vague

obscurity. With regard to the attack itself, it appears from his own account that the Spartans were taken by surprise, and in so far that the moment of onset was well chosen. Nor can we fairly overlook, as he naturally does, the consideration that, while the Bœotians were barely 5000 strong, and those in great part not Thebans, the Athenians were 6000 strong; or how much more desirable it was that the 6000 Lacedæmonians should be opposed by an equal number of first-class troops, forming one united national force, than by a mixed body of inferior numbers. In regard to the other charge, of increasing the depth of their phalanx, Xenophon insinuates, but here again does not venture to assert, that the increase was made in breach of an engagement that the whole confederate line should be drawn up sixteen deep. That the Thebans should have come under any such engagement seems the less probable, from the knowledge we possess that an extra depth of phalanx formed part of their habitual system of tactics, that of bearing down the enemy by the weight of their main body of men at arms. By this system, not only here but in their former wars, at Delium¹ in particular, they succeeded in breaking the line opposed to them; and the same tactics, matured and improved by Epaminondas, won for them the great victories of Leuctra and Mantinea. But, apart from this, how can Xenophon's account of the matter be reconciled with his statement of the relative strength of the two armies? The confederate force is described by himself as outnumbering the Peloponnesians in the ratio of nearly two to one, or as about 27,000 to 14,000. The no-

¹ Thucyd. iv. 93.

tion of an army being outflanked and surrounded, as he expresses it, by another of half its size, seems purely absurd, unless its leaders were guilty of some far greater folly or treachery than any which Xenophon here imputes to "the Thebans." The improbability becomes the greater from their superiority in cavalry. That the rout of the Athenians was owing, as much or more, to their own mismanagement as to any other cause, there is further strong evidence in a previous part of the Historian's text, where his object was not to vilify the Thebans or vindicate his countrymen, but to glorify the Spartans. We are there told that the loss of the latter in this action amounted to but eight men. Six thousand Athenians who, whether outflanked or not, allowed themselves to be put to the rout by an equal number of opponents, at so small an expense to the enemy, could hardly have done justice to the line of battle of which they formed part.¹ Add to all this, that not one of the other contemporary, and for the most part Attic, writers, who describe this battle, hint at the severe loss of their countrymen, as owing either to treachery or mismanagement on the part of their allies. Plato, in particular, ascribes their defeat to the disadvantage of the ground on which they fought.²

The battle of Coronea was in all essential respects a counterpart of that of Corinth just described. The Thebans were here also on the right of the line, opposed to the Orchomenians; the Argives and Athenians on the left, opposed to the Spartans. The Thebans were victorious on the one flank, the

Battle of
Coronea.

¹ Hellen. iv. iii. 1.

² Menex. p. 245. : conf. Grote, vol. ix. p. 428.; Sievers, p. 68.

Spartans on the rest of the line. Here again the details are supplied, omitted, or coloured, so as to reflect most honour on Agesilaus and least on the Thebans. Diodorus¹ describes the Thebans as having on the first onset defeated the right of their opponents. Xenophon also represents them as the first to charge; but without mentioning the result, he passes off to a description of the prowess of Agesilaus on the other flank. While those around the king, he continues, "were crowning him on his victory, word was brought that the Thebans had broken through the Orchomenians and fallen upon the baggage; upon which he put his army in motion, in order to intercept their retreat. The Thebans in the meanwhile, perceiving their confederates in full flight towards Helicon, closed up their phalanx, and advanced boldly to cut their way through to them." And here Xenophon's zeal to glorify his favourite hero reaches a marvellous pitch of extravagance. Instead of commending the valour of the Thebans for preferring so hazardous a mode of retreat, he is lost in admiration of Agesilaus for opposing their attempt. "Upon this occasion," he exclaims, "one may indeed, without risk of contradiction, pronounce Agesilaus to have shown himself a valiant warrior. For it being in his power to let the Thebans pass through his line and then assail them from behind, he preferred engaging them face to face; when after a fierce conflict, a portion succeeded in fighting their way through, but many were slain in the attempt." Xenophon's partiality may here be estimated, by comparing the account given of this affair by Plu-

¹ XIV. 84.

tarch, also a warm admirer of Agesilaus, and whose version appears to differ only in rendering equal justice to both sides. "The Spartans," he says, "met them (the retiring Thebans) with equal courage, and the conflict was fierce along their whole line, but chiefly where Agesilaus fought, and where the devoted valour of those around him scarcely enabled them to carry him wounded off the field. But their efforts to repulse the charge of the Thebans were unavailing, and they were obliged in the end to resort to the course, which at first they were unwilling to adopt, of opening a passage, and then, as the enemy passed in somewhat less steady order, harassing his flanks. But the Thebans never gave way, and reached Helicon much elated with the action, as having been no defeat, in so far as they were concerned."¹

It has been well remarked by an eminent modern *Leuctra* historian², that Xenophon's account of the battle of Leuctra "seems to contain little more than the pretences by which the Spartans, to console themselves for their defeat, endeavoured to detract from the skill and valour of their enemies." Their apologist begins by making the honour of their king Cleombrotus a sort of scape-goat for that of his army.³ He is charged in the Historian's indirect manner, first with being disinclined to fight from unpatriotic favour to the Thebans; secondly, with having entered the field in a state of intoxication. The Thebans, it is further said, were encouraged, the Lacedæmonians disheartened, by omens unfavourable to the latter. The next advantage mentioned on the Theban side,

¹ Plut. Agesil. 18. : conf. Grote, vol. ix. p. 438. ; Sievers, p. 72.

² Thirlwall, vol. v. p. 93.

³ vi. iv. 5. sqq.

supplies a surprising instance of the shifts to which he has in extreme cases been driven by his philo-Laconian zeal. "When the engagement appeared imminent, a body of Bœotian suttlers and baggage drivers, with some skulkers from the ranks, while making their way off the field, were intercepted by the Lacedæmonian cavalry and light troops, and forced back upon their own lines. By this means the numbers of the Bœotian army were greatly increased." According to Xenophon therefore, the overthrow of the Lacedæmonian empire in Hellas, was mainly owing to the services of a rabble of unarmed or cowardly camp followers; for it seems clear, from other less partial authorities¹, that the Spartan force in the proper sense was more numerous than that of Thebes. He further pleads the superiority of the Theban horse in number and training; a singular instance probably, of the issue of a great pitched battle between two first-class Hellenic armies, being made to depend on the services of a few hundred at no time very efficient cavalry. As a last resource he endeavours to prove (the fact being in other accounts the reverse) that the Lacedæmonians at the outset had the best of the battle, and that its loss was owing to their being disheartened by the death of Cleombrotus; the same whose backwardness to engage had just been quoted as a cause of discouragement. "That Cleombrotus," he argues, "had at first the advantage, is evinced by the fact, that after he was wounded, those around him succeeded in carrying him off the field, which they could not have done had they not been the victors up to that

¹ Plutarch, Pelop. 23.

“moment.” As if no such thing had ever been heard of, as a commander wounded and carried off the field in the moment of defeat.

7. In his account of the first invasion of Laconia by “the Thebans,” Xenophon has suppressed the principal object which Epaminondas had in view and accomplished during his stay in the peninsula. He is described¹ as having, on completing his operations in Laconia, returned at once to Thebes, evading by the way an Athenian force sent to obstruct his march. According to the unanimous testimony of other authorities², he remained in Peloponnesus from three to four months, occupied chiefly with his greatest stroke of anti-Spartan policy, the restoration of Messenian independence.

Messenian
independ-
ence.

Xenophon accuses the Thebans, not only of having been the aggressors in their first quarrel with Sparta, but of having, by a piece of political chicanery, transferred from themselves to others the odium of disturbing the national peace. They stirred up, he tells us³, a war between the Locrians and the Phocians, in which they foresaw, as the event proved, that they and the Spartans would be led to take part on opposite sides. By Diodorus⁴, the Phocians are described as authors of the rupture, by first attacking Thebes, and then calling in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. In the same way, it is implied by Xenophon, in his usual indirect mode, that Sphodrias, the Spartan harmost of Thespis, was bribed by the Thebans to make his treacherous attempt on the Piræus.⁵

Origin of
the Sparto-
Theban
war.

Sphodrias.

¹ VI. v. 50. sqq.

² Thirlwall, vol. v. p. 133.; Grote, vol. x. p. 291.

³ III. v. 3.

⁴ XIV. 81. See Grote, vol. ix. p. 402.

⁵ v. iv. 20.

According to Diodorus¹, he acted by advice of Cleombrotus, his own commander-in-chief.

Thessalian
affairs.

Curious evidence of Xenophon's habitual suppression of Theban acts or enterprises, and also that the subsidiary notices of those suppressed are authentic, is furnished by himself, in his incidental allusions to the same events as to matters of general notoriety; allusions which are only intelligible by aid of those subsidiary notices. In the congress of Delphi, the negotiations are said² to have been broken off, because the Thebans would not consent to Messenia being dependent on Lacedæmon. In the sequel³ the Messenians are mentioned as part of the force opposed to the Spartans at Cromnus; and Pelopidas insists, as one of the terms of a general peace under discussion at Susa, that the independence of Messenia should be acknowledged.⁴ The point of all these allusions depends on the circumstance, concealed by Xenophon, that the virtual independence of Messenia was already established. The passage of Agesilaus through Thessaly before the battle of Coronea, is said⁵ by the Historian to have been opposed by the Larissæans, Pharsalians, and other tribes of that district, "allies of the Thebans." How the Thebans came by these allies, whom we know to have been not many months before vassals of Sparta, Xenophon does not inform us. But from other sources we learn, that they were the fruit of the Thessalian victories of Ismenias, suppressed by Xenophon. Similar allusions occur to the results of the equally suppressed Thessalian wars of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. After the congress of Delphi, a question

¹ xv. 29.

² vii. i. 27.

³ vii. iv. 27.

⁴ vii. i. 36.

⁵ Hell. iv. iii. 3.

having arisen between the Spartans and Athenians, now in alliance against Thebes, as to the best mode of employing an auxiliary force contributed by Dionysius of Syracuse, the Athenians are urgent that it should be sent to Thessaly to oppose the Thebans¹; in the war, namely, then waging by Pelopidas against Alexander of Pheræ, as described by Plutarch and Diodorus, but suppressed by Xenophon. Not long afterwards, on the last incursion of Epaminondas into Laconia, we find mentioned², as part of the Theban army, a force sent by the same Alexander and other Thessalian powers. Here we have a confirmation of Plutarch's account, of Alexander having been reduced to purchase peace from Thebes, on condition of his serving in her wars. Without the text of secondary writers, these allusions by Xenophon, to the interference or influence of Thebes in Thessalian politics, would be incomprehensible enigmas. The wilfulness of the suppression is the more evident in the case of this Thessalian potentate, from the marked attention which Xenophon bestows, and the long digression into which he wanders, on his affairs and those of his dynasty; always carefully avoiding any part of its history that tended to the honour of Thebes.

The exaggeration incident to the Historian's Spartomania, could hardly fail to involve him also in self-contradiction. In VII. ii. 2. all the Helots are described as having revolted after the battle of Leuctra. This statement is made in order to give effect to a eulogium on the little republic of Phlius, for its fidelity to Sparta in her disasters. In his previous narrative

The Helots
after Leuc-
tra.

¹ VII. i. 28.

² VII. v. 4.

of those disasters, where the object was to signalise the energy with which Sparta struggled against them, he tells us¹, that such was her confidence in the fidelity of these same Helots, that they were invited to serve in her army, and that in a very short space, the names of 6000 volunteers were enrolled.

Destruc-
tion of
Mantineæ.

In describing the siege and destruction of Mantinea by Agesipolis, and the obligation imposed on the inhabitants not to rebuild the destroyed city, but to dwell in scattered villages, Xenophon remarks, that the citizens were at first grieved for the loss of their houses, but that they soon came to prefer their new mode of life, on grounds which he assigns.² He does not attempt to reconcile with this account how, immediately after the power of Sparta was broken at Leuctra, the Mantineans united to a man in the reconstruction of their metropolis, in spite of the efforts of Agesilaus, by conciliation or intimidation, to prevent them.³

The treatment of Mantinea on this occasion has been condemned by impartial authorities⁴, as an unjustifiable breach of the lately concluded treaty of Antalcidas, by which Sparta had guaranteed political freedom to every Greek republic. Xenophon describes the whole affair in a tone of complacent satisfaction, as but an ordinary incident in Lacedæmonian policy.⁵ A like course was afterwards pursued, he informs us, with Phlius; and other authorities describe it as extended to other cases, and as having in fact given the finishing blow to any moral hold which Sparta still possessed on the

¹ VI. v. 28.

² v. ii. 7.

³ VI. v. 3.

⁴ Conf. Diodor. xv. 5. sq.; Isocrat. Didot, p. 42. sq.

⁵ v. ii.

good will of her former confederates.¹ That Xenophon, while here making the best of a bad cause, was not altogether blind to its rottenness, appears from his paradoxical attempt to prove that, practically at least, the outrage was beneficial to those whom it affected, and from the miserable jest with which he winds up his narrative, on "the lesson mankind 'had learnt, not to build a city on two sides of 'a running stream'"²; alluding to the stratagem by which Agesipolis obtained possession of the town. A bad joke is a common expedient with a sophistical pleader, for masking the poverty of a case or an argument. This is perhaps the most offensive passage in the Hellenica, being conceived in a spirit of vulgarity, as well as unmanly sarcasm against the victim of a brutal act of oppression.

8. Xenophon rarely allows any remarkable transaction in which Agesilaus was concerned, to pass without a few words of eulogistic commentary on what he considered the more excellent points of his character. But the examples adduced are for the most part of such a nature, as to convey to the unbiased mind an impression rather the reverse of favourable. We have already noticed the panegyric pronounced on his conduct at Coronea, for an act which it would have been discreditable in any brave soldier to have left unperformed. In the sequel of the same text he is the subject of another eulogy of a like questionable description: "After the victory, Agesilaus was informed that about eighty men of the 'beaten army had taken refuge in a neighbouring 'temple, and his officers inquired how they were to

Agesilaism
of Xeno-
phon.

Coronea.

¹ Grote, vol. x. p. 55.; Sievers, p. 151.

² v. ii. 7.

Death of
Agesipolis.

"be treated?" Agesilaus, who, "though severely wounded, was yet not unmindful of his duty to the gods, ordered them to be set free, and no injustice to be done them."¹ This order, leaving out of view modern notions of quarter to prisoners, did but enjoin what every devout pagan considered as an act of religious duty, or rather did but prohibit what in their eyes would have been an act of sacrilegious bloodshed. When Agesilaus hears of the premature death of his nephew and colleague Agesipolis, the Historian observes: that instead of being gratified, "as might have been expected, at the removal of a rival in office, he shed tears, and showed grief for his loss."² In the sequel the two royal kinsmen are described as having lived on the best terms, and Agesipolis as having conducted himself in the most respectful and affectionate manner towards his uncle and elder on the throne.³ Why then "it might have been expected," that Agesilaus would rejoice in the death of such a colleague, or why he should deserve credit for being differently affected, is not easy to comprehend, even by reference to the Spartan standard of moral sentiment. Had the young king's removal left the surviving monarch sole master of the throne, the case would have been simpler. But both Xenophon and Agesilaus knew well, that the result of the poor youth's death would be but to substitute in his place another rival king, possibly of a more troublesome temper.

Seizure of
the Cad-
mea.

The indulgent or even approving tone in which Xenophon chronicles actually base or dishonourable acts of his patron, is no less remarkable than his over-admiration for those of a creditable or indifferent tendency.

¹ IV. iii. 20.

² V. iii. 20.

³ Conf. Plutarch, Agesil. 20.

When the news arrived of the treacherous seizure of the Cadmea, "the Ephori, and the great body of the "citizens, were much offended with Phœbidas for having taken such a step without the sanction of the "government. Upon this Agesilaus remarked: that "if the act was disadvantageous to Sparta, its author "deserved to be punished; but if beneficial, he was, "according to old custom, justified in his stroke of "policy."¹ When in the sequel it became necessary for the republic to send an army into Bœotia, in support of their king's nefarious doctrine, he excused himself from the command on the pretext of his advanced age; the true reason of his holding back, says his panegyrist, "being, that he knew, if he were "to undertake it, people would say that Agesilaus, "by his support of the Theban tyrants, was involving the state in trouble. He therefore preferred "allowing them to manage matters in their own "way."² Here we have clear proof, that the feeling of the wiser and better part of the Spartan community was opposed to his policy in the transaction. The more reason is there to admire the complacency with which Xenophon notices this part of his conduct. For what more scandalous in a leading statesman than, after misguiding his countrymen, against their own better judgement, into unwise and dishonest measures, to evade, by so miserable a subterfuge, his share in the duty of helping her out of her difficulties! That this was not the first instance in which his policy had given just offence to the Lacedæmonian commonalty, appears from another passage of his Attic eulogist; where, after describing his invasion

¹ v. ii. 32.: conf. Plutarch, Agesil. 23.

² v. iv. 13.: conf. Plutarch, Agesil. 24.

Phlius.

of Phlius, with a view of forcing on that state an oligarchal government, he remarks, that Agesilaus had here also to contend with much adverse popular feeling: "many of the Lacedæmonians complaining that, in order to favour a few individuals, they were making a city of five thousand men their enemy."¹

Attempt
on the
Piræus.

The boldest act of Spartan political treachery, next to the affair of the Cadmea, was the attempt of Sphodrias on the Piræus, which helped to drive Athens into the Theban interest, at a moment when her alliance was of great importance to Lacedæmon. Agesilaus was not indeed a party to this outrage. But he did his best to increase the indignation which it produced throughout Greece, by shielding its author, under influences of a scandalous nature, from the sentence of death decreed against him by the Ephori. Here again, the circumstantiality with which Xenophon narrates this affair, shows that he considered the part taken in it by Agesilaus as rather creditable to him than otherwise.²

Dilemma
of Xeno-
phon.

The dilemma in which Xenophon was habitually placed, between his intuitive sense of right and wrong, and his self-imposed obligation to prove his own friends to be always in the right, is curiously illustrated by the few lines of pithy general commentary, which have been wrung from him by this fatal crisis of Lacedæmonian history, and which are the most remarkable passage of the kind in the Hellenica. In relating the seizure of the Cadmea, he neither expressly blames nor commends the course pursued. But the terms in which he describes it as having been vindicated by Agesilaus, are certainly

¹ v. iii. 16. : conf. Plut. Ages. 24.

² v. iv. 25. sqq.

conceived in a spirit of approbation rather than censure. A different tone is adopted, when the progress of events showed that the authors of the outrage were destined to be its principal victims :

“To the many proofs,” he remarks, “that might be adduced, from the history both of Hellenes and Barbarians, that the gods are not regardless of the perpetrators of impious acts, I will now add one from the events of this period. For the Lacedæmonians, who had never before been coerced by any human power, after having, in violation of their oaths to respect the autonomy of their fellow-republics, seized on the acropolis of Thebes, were, by the men of Thebes alone, signally punished for the wrong committed.”¹

This remarkable passage fully bears out our former observation, that according to a fundamental rule of Xenophon's judgement on Spartan affairs, although Lacedæmon might err, Agesilaus could do no wrong; and hence, even where error or crime was committed by his authority, against Lacedæmon alone or her citizens is the censure directed. The Historian's admission that, when the other Spartan councillors condemned the act of Phœbidas, and would assuredly, under better guidance, have disowned it, the prompt vindication of it by Agesilaus induced them to persevere, clearly marks him out as the real criminal, against whom, alone or in chief, the denunciation here so carefully limited to “the Lacedæmonians,” ought to have been directed.

It appears in fact, on Xenophon's own evidence, that Agesilaus was the author or abettor of all the principal acts of folly or iniquity committed by Sparta during this fatal period of her history. He seems to have been a man of a naturally kind heart and gene-

¹ v. iv. 1.

rous temper, an affectionate friend and a bountiful master, while his social intercourse was characterised by an outward liberality of sentiment and affability of demeanour, which his Laconian simplicity of habits rendered the more engaging. These qualities, with his genuine Spartan patriotism, his military prowess, and the success of his early campaigns, procured for him during the first part of his reign a powerful hold on the esteem of his fellow-citizens, which he maintained during the whole of his long life. But he displays none of the qualities of a truly great man; no comprehensive statesmanlike views, no powers of mental combination or foresight, no habits of self-control, no consistency of political action. His talents were in all respects such as qualify a man in high station to make a distinguished figure under prosperous circumstances, but not to guide the helm of the state in great emergencies, or sustain a bad cause against opponents, as formidable by their ability, as by the justice of their ends and the integrity of their conduct.

Agesilaus
and Epa-
minondas.

9. This is the man whom Xenophon holds up to the admiration of posterity, as his one standard model of excellence in Hellenic character. This is the man, in order to magnify whose commonplace qualities, he has insidiously libelled and vilified the two most distinguished patriots of his own or perhaps of any other age; who, by their combined wisdom, valour, and humanity, raised a naturally sluggish people from mediocrity, to that same ascendancy over the most gifted nation of the world, from which Agesilaus was so greatly instrumental in degrading Sparta. If it be admitted, what Xenophon himself would hardly have ventured to deny, that the characters of great men

are the noblest materials of history, and that one of the first obligations of a historian is to exhibit those characters in a true light, in themselves and in their relation to each other, Epaminondas and Pelopidas were assuredly the men of this age, whom the historian of its vicissitudes was bound to place in the front of his narrative. Xenophon therefore, in denuding them of their just meed of honour, must be pronounced a very grave defaulter to the highest duties of his office.

We must not however overlook that he has, at the eleventh hour, in describing¹ the last days of Epaminondas, rendered, or affected to render, a tribute of notice, it can hardly be called of respect, to the character of that illustrious man. For it is a most inadequate and disingenuous, as it is a tardy, sullen, and reluctant tribute. Its whole tone reveals the motive that inspired it, and which may, at the moment when it was written, have been thus mentally expressed by its author: "I cannot in decency close my narrative without a few special remarks on this extraordinary man; but I will say as little as possible, or in such terms, as may conduce more to the honour of my friends who so nobly struggled against his baneful influence, than to his own." What has been said is embodied in the form of a commentary on his last campaign in Peloponnesus.² It is limited to his military qualifications; and while consisting in great part of exceptional criticism, which assumes here and there a tone of bitter sarcasm, is yet sufficiently seasoned with faint praise to shed over the whole a certain colour of impartiality. The hollowness of its few complimentary passages becomes the more apparent,

¹ VII. v. 8. sqq.

² See Appendix N.

from the suppression, in the previous narrative, of the data on which they are, or ought to have been grounded. When, for example, he tells us that Epaminondas, in spite of the unexpected obstacles to his advance beyond Tegea, yet determined to proceed, "lest he should sully the former lustre of his name,"¹ we vainly attempt to learn from Xenophon what that former lustre may have been; even the name to which we now suddenly find it attached, having been first mentioned not many pages before, and that in connexion with one of the least successful of its owner's political undertakings.

Athenian
affairs.

Xenophon's account of the part taken by Athens, in these later vicissitudes of Greek federal war, while reflecting no less clearly his personal feelings, is more creditable to him both as a man and a historian, than his treatment of Thebes. It might have been expected that long alienation from his native republic, with a sense of the harshness of her conduct, would have fostered feelings of soreness and irritation, which would naturally find vent in a work embracing the contemporaneous history of this unkind or unjust country. Yet nowhere is there any trace of such feelings. He appears to take pleasure in recording transactions honourable to Athens, shows a lively interest in her welfare, sympathy with her misfortunes, and an indulgent spirit towards her failings. The first part of his narrative is chiefly devoted to her affairs. In the sequel those of Lacedæmon, partly owing to their own importance, partly to the author's more advanced Laconism, obtain the ascendant, and Athens is thrown comparatively into the

¹ VII. v. 9.

shade. But still there is none of that tendency, so largely manifested in the case of Thebes, to garble or suppress her honourable acts¹, or to magnify the achievements of Spartan at the expense of Athenian eminent men. We can here have no truer test of the relative warmth or coldness of the Historian's inclinations, than that formerly applied in the parallel instance of Sparta and Thebes. While the name of Epaminondas alone among Theban warriors, has been allowed a place in the Historian's narrative, as a counterpoise to those of some forty Lacedæmonians, those mentioned on the side of Athens during the same period, form a sum total little inferior in number, and superior in quality, to the Spartan catalogue. Nor does the honour bestowed on the deeds performed, appear to have been unfairly distributed between Spartans and Athenians. Several Athenian commanders, Iphicrates for example and Thrasybulus, are perhaps, next to Agesilaus, Xenophon's principal objects of military admiration. He enlarges with evident zest on the defeat by Iphicrates of the Amyclæan mora at Sicyon²; on that of Anaxibius by the same general at Byzantium³; on the successes of Thrasybulus at the Piræus⁴, not only against "the
Iphicrates.
Thrasybulus.
Conon.

¹ Xenophon describes the Athenians (III. v. 2.) as not partaking of the bribes by which the Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives were induced to league against Sparta. Pausanias and Plutarch represent them as having also received a share of the money. Paus. III. 9. 4.; Plut. Ages. 15.

² IV. v. 7. 11. sqq.

⁴ II. iv.

³ IV. viii. 31. sq. : conf. VI. ii. 27. sqq.

⁵ IV. viii. 25. sqq.

the background, as to warrant the suspicion that he was to Xenophon an object of personal disfavour.¹

Delinea-
tion of cha-
racter.

The *Hellenica* possesses little of that interest which arises from delineation of character; the greatest men of the age, Pelopidas, Epaminondas, Conon, being thrown into the background, while the elaborate portrait of Agesilaus is a panegyric caricature. Among the sketches of less eminent personages, those with pretensions to ethic or dramatic effect are to be found chiefly in the first part of the narrative, before the appearance of Agesilaus on the scene. The levity and mendacity of Theramenes, and the gloomy bloodthirsty tyranny of Critias, are well brought out in the debate which resulted in the death of the former², and on other occasions where Critias takes the lead, in the subsequent stages of the narrative.

Style of the
Hellenica.

The Style of the *Hellenica* in the narrower sense, partakes both of the merits and the defects noticed in our general remarks on Xenophon's art of composition. The favourable features are however predominant. The defects are chiefly observable in what we have defined as the second division of the work; where the author, under the sway of his personal reminiscences, exchanging the office of historian for that of popular storyteller, retails the camp or court gossip of his Spartan patrons, or of the petty Asiatic

¹ His great naval victory of Cnidus (iv. iii. 10.) is treated very cursorily in comparison with the contemporaneous triumphs of Agesilaus. That of Chabrias at Naxos (v. iv. 61.) is also mentioned but slightly. See Thirlwall, vol. v. p. 58.; Grote, x. p. 176.; Sievers, p. 220. The able tactics by which Diodorus describes Chabrias as having shortly before outgeneraled Agesilaus in Boeotia, are also overlooked by Xenophon. Grote, x. p. 173.; Sievers, p. 205.

² II. iii. 15. sqq.

princes with whom they are brought into contact. Much of this anecdotal matter is in the form of Dialogue. dialogue. In this department of composition Xenophon is at no time very successful, and the specimens in this portion of his text are apt to degenerate into trivial commonplace. The subjoined conversation held by Agesilaus, successively with two of his Asiatic allies, is a fair sample of some others :

“ AG. Tell me, Spithridates, would you not be willing to give your daughter in marriage to Otys ? SP. More willing no doubt than he, as lord of a rich principality, would be to accept her at the hands of a banished man such as I am. . . . AG. Tell me, Otys, do you consider Spithridates a man of good family ? OT. Of as good as any in Persia. AG. Have you ever observed his son, what a handsome youth he is ? OT. How should I not, having supped in company with him last evening ? AG. They say that he has a daughter still handsomer than the son. OT. By Jupiter, she is indeed handsome ! AG. Let me then advise you as your friend to espouse this fair maiden. For what more agreeable thing for a man than the possession of a beautiful wife ? she being also the daughter of a man of such noble birth”¹

Passages of a like tenor are frequent in the latter parts of the Hellenica. The first or Attic portion is free from them.

10. The defects of the dialogue are well compensated by the merit of the speeches. Speeches. In no classical history has greater judgement been shown in the management of these passages, than in the Hellenica. The orations are to the point, well argued, of appropriate length, varied, often with much ethic spirit, to suit the characters of the speakers, and seasoned with playful allusion or lively sarcasm. While free from metaphysical casuistry, they are not deficient at times in logical subtlety. Several expedients have

¹ IV. i. 4. sqq.

been successfully employed, to relieve by dramatic effect the formality of rhetorical harangues. Instead of the whole argument bearing on the question at issue being compressed into one or two elaborate orations, as if by professional pleaders pitted against each other, the proceedings frequently assume the form of free debate, partly by the introduction of a third speaker, partly by brief interpellations on the continuity of the speeches, in the mode of altercation or retort; partly by statements interposed in the Historian's own words, of what other members of the assembly, or the audience at large, said or felt.¹ Occasional passages of these addresses display an eloquence so much above the Historian's ordinary style, that taken by themselves they might rank as citations from Demosthenes or Æschines, rather than Xenophon.² In two instances, following the example of Herodotus, he has availed himself of the rhetorical form of address for historical purposes, by placing in the mouths of the Acanthian and Pharsalian envoys to Lacedæmon, retrospective narratives of the transactions which led to their mission.³

Descriptions.

In his descriptions of tragic or striking scenes, Xenophon is most effective where he appears least ambitious of producing effect. The best passages of the kind are where, overlooking details, he vividly sketches off the more salient features of objects. As an example may be quoted the scene before the gate of Corinth, where Agesilaus, engaged in solemnising something akin to a Roman triumph, with much of the supercilious pomp of a Roman emperor, is suddenly informed of the destruction, by the same ad-

¹ II. iii. 24. sqq., VI. v. 33. sqq. 37., VII. i. 2. sqq. 12 sqq.

² Conf. II. iv. 20. sqq., iii. 43.

³ V. ii. 12. sqq., VI. i. 4.

versary over whom he was exulting, of the best portion of the army to which he owed his vaunted successes.¹ The account of the battle of the Piræus, where Thrasybulus defeated the Thirty tyrants, is centred with highly dramatic effect, on a single striking incident, the devotion and death of the prophet on the patriot side :

“Thrasybulus, on finishing his address to the men, faced towards the enemy, and remained tranquil at his post ; the augur having enjoined that no attack should be made, until some one on their own side had been either killed or wounded. ‘Then, ‘and not till then,’ said he, ‘we will lead you on to what, if I ‘rightly forebode, will be victory to you but death to me.’ Nor was he mistaken. For as they stood to their arms, suddenly, as if by an impulse of destiny, darting forward on the hostile phalanx, he was slain ; and lies buried on the neighbouring bank of the Cephissus. The victory remained with those whom he left behind, and who drove the enemy routed from the field.”²

The last scene of the life of Theramenes is also a fine piece of joint dramatic and descriptive composition.³

His efforts on the other hand to infuse poetical fire into his descriptions, by strong language or studied figures of speech, are apt to result in hyperbole or bombast. As a specimen may be taken his ferociously enthusiastic account of the conquest of the Lecheum by the Lacedæmonians :

“The act of killing was here indeed made easy, the gods having given over to their hands such a work, as they had never probably so much as ventured to pray for. How indeed could it be considered as anything but a gift of the gods, that such a mass of enemies should, as passive victims, yield themselves up to destruction, terrified, panic-stricken, exposed on all sides, incapable of

¹ IV. v. 6.² II. iv. 18. sq.³ II. iii. 50. sqq.

resistance. So great was the slaughter, so small the space for the slain, that as men are accustomed to see piles of corn, wood, stones, so they might here have beheld piles of dead bodies."¹

The hurried accumulation of terms by which it is here attempted to enhance the power of the description, is a favourite figure of language with Xenophon.² His ordinary descriptions of battles, while distinct in their main features, and showing an accurate knowledge of the subject, are, as has been seen in the cases of Coronea, Corinth, and Leuctra, apt to be marred, both in their historical and their poetical effect, by his attempts to distort facts to the advantage of his favourite warriors.

Speculative remarks.

Xenophon, like Thucydides, is sparing of speculative remarks on the events described. That the most elaborate passage of this nature in the *Hellenica*, should be bestowed on the conduct of Epaminondas in his last Peloponnesian campaign, is a proof, both of his real sense of the grandeur of the subject which wrung from him this tardy commentary, and of the sinister purpose with which it has been drawn up. His more concise expressions of opinion are apt to assume a quaint egotistical tone, little consistent with the dignity of historical style.³

Chronology of the *Hellenica*.

In the first two books of the *Hellenica*, or rather in the portion of them which forms the supplement to Thucydides, Xenophon continues the chronological method of that historian, by years and seasons of the

¹ IV. iv. 12.

² Commonly without connecting particles. Conf. *Hellen.* II. iv. 33, IV. iii. 19.; *Anab.* III. i. 29., IV. v. 25. 31., V. iii. 9., VI. vi. 1.; *Cyrop.* VII. i. 38.; *Cyneg.* v. 18. 30., VI. 5. The identity of this feature of Xenophontean mannerism, as exemplified in his several works, is one of the strongest, among the minor internal evidences of the genuine authorship of the *Anabasis*.

³ II. iii. 56., V. iii. 7., VI. ii. 32. 39., VI. v. 51., VII. v. 8.

“in the previous narrative.” The expression “logos,” above rendered “narrative,” here refers, it need scarcely be remarked, not, as common in Herodotus, to some separate part or division, but to the whole text in its integrity.¹

¹ See further Appendix P.

CHAP. XIV.

THE CYROPÆDIA.

1. EPITOME OF THE TEXT.—2. THE CYROPÆDIA A HISTORICAL ROMANCE. CHARACTER OF ITS HERO. ITS HISTORICAL ELEMENT, AS TESTED BY OTHER AUTHORITIES. CYRUS.—3. CYAXARES. CRÆSUS. OTHER SECONDARY PERSONS. GEOGRAPHICAL ELEMENT. PRIMITIVE PERSIAN CONSTITUTION. MILITARY SYSTEM.—4. MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS. RELIGIOUS WORSHIP. PERSIAN ART OF WAR, COMPARED WITH THAT OF SPARTA. COMPOSITION AND STYLE OF THE WORK. THEIR MERITS. THEIR DEFECTS.—5. DIALOGUE. ITS DIFFUSENESS. "HOMERIC COMMONPLACE."—6. DIFFUSENESS OF THE NARRATIVE. ITS ROMANTIC ELEMENT. EPISODE OF ABRADATAS AND PANTHEA.—7. JUDGED BY THE STANDARD OF MODERN LOVE-ROMANCE. OTHER PATHETIC PASSAGES. DESCRIPTIONS OF BATTLES. SPEECHES.—8. DELINEATION OF CHARACTER. CYRUS. HIS FACETIOUS HUMOUR. HIS BOYHOOD. HIS DEATH.—9. CYAXARES. OTHER SECONDARY CHARACTERS. EPILOGUE OF THE CYROPÆDIA, HOW FAR GENUINE.

BOOK I.

Epitome of
the text.

1. CYRUS, a prince endowed with all the noblest gifts of nature, was the offspring of Cambyses king of Persia, and Mandane, daughter of Astyages king of Media.¹

On completing, with his twelfth year, his earlier course of education in the primitive Persian fashion, he accompanies his mother on a visit to the Median court. Here he remains five years, and acquires a proficiency in other accomplishments, especially hunting and horsemanship. On his first essay in arms he distinguishes himself in a battle with the Assyrians. After having, by his many admirable qualities, won the love and esteem of the Median nation, he returns home, untainted by their luxurious habits, while profiting by their more advanced civilisation.² During the following years he completes his course of training in the arts of war and government, under the sage direction of his father Cambyses.³

About the time of his attaining man's estate, Astyages dies, and is succeeded by his son Cyaxares, uncle of Cyrus. Soon

¹ i. ii.

² iii. iv.

³ v.

after this event the king of Assyria, whose empire already extended over a great part of Central Asia, collects a powerful army for the conquest of Media. Cyaxares applies for aid to his brother-in-law Cambyses, who sends the whole force of his kingdom under the command of Cyrus.¹

BOOKS II. III.

The composition and equipment of each contending army are described, with the improvements made by Cyrus in the organisation of his Persian force.² Ambassadors arrive with proposals from the king of India, to act as mediator in maintaining peace between the belligerent powers. The offer is accepted by Cyaxares, and the Indian envoys proceed to Babylon, to follow out the negotiation at the Assyrian court.³

The king of Armenia, a vassal of Cyaxares, presuming on the Assyrian war, as a favourable opportunity for asserting his independence, refuses his customary payment of tribute. He is speedily reduced to submission by Cyrus, whose generous treatment secures his future fidelity.⁴

The Chaldeans, a warlike people on the Armenian frontier, are also first subdued and then conciliated by Cyrus, to whose army they contribute a stipendary force. A mission is sent to the king of India to solicit a loan in aid of the war.⁵

Cyrus, with the combined Medo-Persian army, anticipates the movements of the Assyrians, advances to meet them on the frontier, and after a skilful course of strategic manœuvres, with greatly inferior numbers, attacks and defeats them. The remains of the vanquished host abandon their intrenched camp and retreat⁶ on Babylon.

BOOK IV.

Cyaxares, jealous of his nephew's success and popularity, declines following up the victory, pleading the necessity of repose for the troops, and caution in invading so mighty an empire with so limited a force. He sanctions, however, the prosecution of the war by Cyrus, and grants permission to his Median warriors to serve as volunteers; when the greater part determine to follow the Persian prince's fortunes.⁷

The Hyrcanians, a numerous frontier tribe of the Assyrian

vi. ² II. i.—iii.

³ II. iv. 1. sqq

⁴ II. iv. 12. sqq., III. i.

⁵ III. ii.

⁶ III. iii. 6. sqq.

⁷ i.

empire, discontented with their own sovereign, renounce their allegiance, and dispatch messengers to the Persian head-quarters with offers of military service. Their overtures are accepted, and their troops, deserting in a body to the camp of Cyrus, act as guides into the hostile territory. Another action ensues, in which the Assyrians are again routed, with loss of their baggage, treasure, and provisions.¹

Cyrus establishes an improved system of commissariat for his army, and organises a corps of Persian cavalry, his native troops having hitherto consisted of foot soldiers only.²

Cyaxares, more and more alarmed by the increasing power and influence of his nephew, sends an order for his Median warriors forthwith to return home. This order is not complied with, on grounds explained by Cyrus in letters of apology to his uncle. He at the same time asks and obtains reinforcements from Cambyzes.³

Gobryas, a powerful subject of the Assyrian king, by whom his only son had been slain from envy of the youth's superior skill in the chase, deserts to the camp of Cyrus, and makes over to him a strong fortress which had been entrusted to his keeping, together with the surrounding territory. He is rewarded with the Prince's favour and confidence.⁴

BOOK V.

Cyrus commits to the care of Araspas, a Median officer of rank, a beautiful captive named Panthea, wife of Abradatas of Susa, a distinguished subject of the Assyrian king.⁵

After ravaging unopposed the Assyrian territory up to the walls of Babylon, Cyrus for the present postpones the attack on the city.⁶

Gadatas, another noble Assyrian, who had, like Gobryas, been personally injured by his sovereign, follows the example of Gobryas in making over to Cyrus his territory and strongholds. Soon afterwards two other Assyrian provinces, the Sacæ and Cadusii, declare for the Medes, and send a large accession of force to the invaders. The Cadusian division before Babylon, rashly exposing itself to a sudden attack from the garrison, is beaten and driven back with heavy loss.⁷

¹ ii. : conf. iv.

² ii. 34. sqq., iii.

³ v. 8 sqq. : conf. v. i. 19.

⁴ vi. : conf. v. ii. sqq.

⁵ i. sq.

⁶ iii.

⁷ iii. 8.—iv.

By mutual agreement between Cyrus and the Assyrian king, each undertakes, during the war, to abstain from ravaging the lands or plundering the peasantry of the provinces friendly to his opponent.¹

Cyrus returns from Babylon to the Median frontier, where, in a conference with Cyaxares, he explains to his uncle's satisfaction his late act of disobedience.²

BOOK VI.

In a council of Medo-Persian chiefs it is resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. The troops retire for the present into winter quarters, where Cyrus causes them to be practised in martial exercises. He provides the army for the ensuing campaign with scythe-armed chariots, and other engines of war.

Araspas, becoming enamoured of Panthea, attempts to corrupt her virtue. She appeals for protection to Cyrus, who, reproving him for his conduct, sends him as a spy into the hostile camp. Cyrus, on being assured by Panthea that her husband, like Gobryas and Gadatas, had grounds of offence against his sovereign, invites him to the camp. The invitation is accepted; and Abradatas henceforward attaches himself to the fortunes, and enjoys the confidence of Cyrus.³

Ambassadors arrive from India with the desired contribution to the cost of the war; the sovereign of that country being now convinced of the justice of the Persian cause. They also announce that the Assyrian monarch had collected, and placed under the command of Crœsus king of Lydia, a force greatly superior to any hitherto brought into the field, comprising the armies of Lydia, Egypt, Phœnicia, Arabia, and other friendly or tributary states.⁴

BOOK VII.

On the renewal of active field operations, the Assyrian army is once more routed in a decisive battle, fought near Sardis, the Lydian metropolis. The only officer of distinction slain on the Persian side is Abradatas, whose wife Panthea destroys herself over his body.⁵

Crœsus takes refuge in Sardis, which city, after a short siege, he surrenders, with himself and the garrison, to the conqueror. The captive monarch is generously treated by Cyrus, and retained on an honourable footing about his person.⁶

¹ iv. 24. sqq.

² v.

³ i.

⁴ ii. sqq.

⁵ i. iii.

⁶ ii.

The other states of Asia Minor are rapidly subdued. Cyrus then marches against Babylon, of which he obtains possession by draining off the waters of the Euphrates, and passing with his army over the dry bed of the river into the city.¹

Book VIII.

Establishing his court and central seat of government at Babylon, Cyrus adopts measures for consolidating his dominions, organising his offices of state and court ceremonial, and rewarding his companions in arms.² After a solemn religious thanksgiving for the divine favour with which he had been blessed, he visits his uncle Cyaxares and his father Cambyses. The former bestows on him his daughter in marriage, and appoints him heir to the throne of Media.

The conquered countries are distributed into satrapies, for the local government of which Cyrus provides by many wise institutions.

At a later period of his reign, Egypt, and several new provinces of Southern and Eastern Asia, are added to his former conquests.³

When already far advanced in years, forewarned by a vision that his life was drawing to a close, he assembled around him his sons and principal officers of state; and after many sage advices concerning their future conduct, and the administration of his empire after his death, tranquilly expired in their presence. But his precepts, with the example of wisdom and virtue which he had bequeathed, were but little appreciated by his successors; and under their misrule, the primitive purity and integrity of the Persian character gave place to license and corruption, and his salutary laws and institutions were forgotten or despised.⁴

The Cyropædia
a Historical
romance.

2. The Cyropædia has been commonly assigned by modern critics, to the branch of composition entitled in our own day Historical romance; and this is perhaps as near a definition of its character, as our own stock of such technical terms supplies. Of romance indeed in the familiar sense the work contains but little. The main narrative is devoted to affairs of

¹ iv. v.

² i. ii.

³ iii.—vi.

⁴ vii.—viii.

state, civil and military. The illustrative materials, which engross the greater part of the text, consist of disquisitions on the art of war, on political government, and social economy.¹ Of those chivalrous adventures, or displays of passion and feeling, which form the staple ingredients of modern romantic story, the *Cyropædia* is comparatively barren. Its whole amount of such matter reduces itself to a single subordinate love-episode, the amorous interest of which would scarcely rank under the head of romantic in the modern sense.

The main scope of the work is to present the reader with the author's idea of a perfect system of monarchical government. This system he has figured as created or matured, by a no less perfect monarch and military commander; with whose life and influence it is so closely identified, that as it grew with his youth and manhood, with his death it begins to decay. He is represented, not only as perfect in wisdom and administrative talent, as the most valiant of soldiers, the ablest of generals, the most eloquent of orators, but as endowed with every moral and physical excellence; exempt from every vice or weakness; distinguished by delicacy of mind, beauty of person, muscular strength and activity. He is a generous friend, a merciful enemy; proof against female fascination, and against the influence of pride, anger, malice, and all other sensual or unseemly passions. Nor is this

Character
of its hero.

¹ The antients do not seem to have had any distinctive appellation for works of this kind, owing probably to their rarity in classical times.

The hypothesis of Gellius, that the *Cyropædia* was written by Xenophon in opposition to the Republic of Plato, seems to be fanciful. There is more plausibility in the notion of Diogenes Laërtius (in Plat.) that Plato, in the third book of the *Laws* (p. 694.), may have alluded to the *Cyropædia*. See Schneider ad *Cyrop.* i. i. 1.

Utopian perfection confined to his character; it extends to the success with which his undertakings are crowned. His life is a series not only of noble and virtuous actions unsullied by any crime, but of prosperous enterprises unalloyed by a single reverse. His wars are never wantonly undertaken, commonly forced on him by foreign aggression; and he conquers but to bestow those blessings of good government, which render his rule more acceptable to the subdued nations than that of their legitimate sovereign.

The person selected as the original of this faultless picture of royalty is the elder Cyrus, a prince who, by reference to more authentic data, though not deficient in great qualities, was not certainly distinguished by any such extraordinary combination of them, or by any similar exemption from defects.

There is this distinction between the *Cyropædia* and other classical works in which truth and fiction are blended, that its materials, to whatever extent they may be unhistorical, are never actually fabulous, in the sense of superhuman or preternatural. Even those facts or events which may on historical grounds be set aside as false, are yet such as might possibly have been true. The task of the critic, therefore, is not to separate mythology from history, but to distinguish what portion of the whole mass of apparently historical events is to be considered as true, what portion as fictitious. The same remark applies to the persons introduced. We have nowhere to deal with gods, or other supernatural agencies, but to distinguish among the whole number of human heroes, those who ever actually existed in real life.

Its
historical
element,

The amount of historical truth which can on critical grounds be admitted to exist in the *Cyropædia*,

reduces itself to little more than the one or two elementary facts on which the main narrative hinges: that Cyrus son of Cambyses, king of Persia, conquered and consolidated, on the narrow basis of his native territory, an empire comprising the principal regions of Western and Central Asia. In regard to the mode in which this series of events is brought about, the Cyropædia differs from other more accredited authorities, including Xenophon himself in his strictly historical works. Herodotus and Ctesias, who among Greek historians in the proper sense, have treated most fully of the life of Cyrus, while at variance with each other on many points, agree in describing Media as the earliest of his conquests. In the Cyropædia this country is represented as from the first an ally and confederate of Persia in all her undertakings; as forming, conjointly with herself, the foundation of independent monarchy on which the conquered states were afterwards reared into a single imperial fabric. The Cyropædia agrees with Herodotus, in describing Mandane, daughter of Astyages, as wife of Cambyses and mother of Cyrus. But the circumstances under which the marriage is contracted, and the heir born and educated, differ widely in the two legends. Ctesias on the other hand, makes Cyrus not the son, but the husband, of the Median king's daughter, espoused by him after the subjugation of her father's territory. Both these traditions, in so far as regards their genealogical data, are embodied in the Cyropædia; where Cyrus, himself the son of Mandane, secured his succession to the throne of Media, by marrying late in life his first cousin, daughter of his uncle Cyaxares, the then reigning sovereign of that country.

as tested
by other
authorities.

Cyrus.

The discrepancies between these several accounts being so great, and the ingredient of pure mythology, from which that of Xenophon is free, being so copious in those of Herodotus and Ctesias, it were the less fair to Xenophon to assume, from the concurrence of the two rival authorities on any one or more points, that their version is necessarily right and that of the *Cyropædia* wrong. Herodotus himself assures us¹, that he knew not less than four traditions regarding the birth and early destinies of Cyrus; and that he had selected the one which seemed to him the most probable. Ctesias has preferred another. Xenophon therefore, in adopting a third, might be equally entitled to assert its claim to credibility. He has however forfeited that privilege by having, in his own properly historical work the *Anabasis*², concurred with Herodotus and Ctesias, in representing the Median empire as conquered by Cyrus. We have thus his own testimony that, even assuming the different story told in the *Cyropædia* to be one of the four varieties of Oriental tradition, it has not been selected by him on account of its historical truth, but of its better adaptation to the spirit of his romance.

The *Cyropædia* differs also from other more strictly historical accounts, in regard to the extent of its hero's conquests. It represents³ all the provinces comprehended in the Persian empire at the epoch of its greatest power, including Egypt and India, as having been acquired, and transmitted to his heirs by Cyrus. It is however certain that Egypt was first reduced by his son Cambyses; and the small portion of India, if any, that Persia ever possessed, was, if we may trust

¹ I. 95.² III. iv. 8. 11, 12.³ I. i. 4., VIII. vi. 20.

Herodotus, acquired by Darius.¹ Regarding the conqueror's death, Xenophon differs from both Herodotus and Ctesias, in representing him as dying tranquilly in his own palace surrounded by his family. Both the rival Græco-Persian historians² describe him as defeated and slain in an invasion of the Scythian territory. Xenophon agrees with Herodotus and Ctesias, in making his hero leave behind him two sons. The eldest by all three authors is named Cambyases; his brother, by Herodotus Smerdis, by Ctesias and Xenophon Tanaoxares.

3. Cyaxares the uncle of Cyrus is a personage unknown to authentic history. The only other character possessing in common with Cyrus himself, his father, mother, and grandfather, claim to historical reality, is Cræsus king of Lydia. In respect to his affairs, Xenophon is also at issue with Herodotus and all other classical authorities. By these Cræsus is represented as a first cousin, friend, and ally of Astyages king of Media. On the usurpation of that kingdom by Cyrus, alarmed by the fate of his kinsman, he marches against the conqueror, is defeated, and his own empire annexed, as Media had previously been, to that of Persia. In the *Cyropædia* Cræsus, far from being either relative or ally of the Median monarch, is the principal confederate of the Assyrian emperor in his struggles against the combined Perso-Median power, is declared commander-in-chief of his armies, and when, in that capacity, beaten in battle, pays the forfeit of his own liberty and crown. Herodotus³ describes, and doubtless truly, the whole of Asia Minor west of Halys as subject to the kings of Lydia at this

Cyaxares.

Cræsus.

¹ IV. 44.² Herod. I. 214.; Ctes. frag. xxix. (6.), xxxvi. Didot.³ I. 6. sqq.

time. Xenophon makes the other tribes of that district, even on the immediate frontier of Lydia proper, independent powers, whose alliance the king of Assyria courts like that of Cræsus himself, by diplomatic missions.¹

Other
secondary
persons.

With these examples of Xenophon's little regard for historical truth in the substance of the narrative, the less reliance can be placed on its details. Such are the revolt from Media, and speedy reconquest, of the vassal state of Armenia; such the successive defections to the Persian interest, of Assyrian provinces and chiefs; of the Chaldæans, Hyrcanians, Sacæ, and Cadusii; of Gobryas, Gadatas, and Abardatas. If we except, in fact, a few battles and sieges, these defections constitute the sum total of what can properly be called historical incident in the book, and by their uniform sameness, illustrate the poverty of its author's inventive genius. Xenophon seems indirectly to decline vouching for the historical identity of several of his principal characters, by suppressing their names. Thus the king of Assyria receives no other denomination than that of "the Assyrian." The king of Armenia is "the Armenian;" his wife, "Armenia;" the chiefs of the Hyrcanians and Cadusians are, in like manner, "the Hyrcanian" and "Cadusian." Persian and Assyrian names and persons are also confounded. Gobryas, who in authentic history is the chief of one of the illustrious native Persian families, is in the *Cyropædia* an Assyrian deserter to the Persian camp. The Oriental geography of the *Anabasis*, has been shown by modern research to be reasonably correct, and does credit, on the whole, to the observation, the memory, and the veracity of the

Geographical
element.

¹ I. v. 3.

author. That of the Cyropædia, whether from ignorance or carelessness is continually at fault. The Hyrcanians on the south-eastern shore of the Caspian sea, hence also called the Hyrcanian sea, are, on Xenophon's map, neighbours and subjects of the Assyrians¹; from whom they were separated, in the real geography of Asia, by the whole breadth of the Median empire. They are also described as a small people; being in truth one of the most extended of Central Asia. Their neighbours the Cadusians are, with equal disregard of topographical propriety, characterised by the Hyrcanians themselves as vassals of Assyria, and as a very numerous race²; being but a petty tribe as compared with the Hyrcanians. The Bactrians, whose frontier was about 800 miles distant from Assyria, and could only be reached from that country by a march across Persia or Media, are represented³ as having been subjected to a hostile inroad by the Assyrian king, just before Assyria itself was invaded by the Perso-Median army. The Chaldæans, on the frontiers of Armenia, are described as in habitual intercourse with India, and serving as mercenaries in the army of the Indian monarch⁴; from the nearest point of whose territory their own was really distant about 1500 miles. This strange anomaly, and the no less anomalous notices of the "Indian envoys," who wander to and fro, in the capacity of peacemakers between the contending powers, have led modern commentators, in their anxiety to save Xenophon's geographical consistency, to look, as vainly as unnecessarily, for some tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood of the Black sea.

It is difficult to believe that Xenophon could have

¹ IV. ii. 1.

² V. ii. 25.

³ I. v. 2.

⁴ III. ii. 25. seq.

been as ignorant of Asiatic geography as these details, if held to represent his real opinions, would imply. It would almost appear as if, in order to impart "romantic" effect to his narrative, he had anticipated the license of his fellow-romancers in our own age, and setting geographical consistency at nought, had conferred on his heroes unlimited powers of roaming in quest of adventures, from any one to any other corner of the earth, which suited his or their convenience. In one instance he seems to write, or to fancy himself writing, in the person of some Asiatic chronicler, rather than of a Greek man of science. After defining (somewhat vaguely) the empire of Cyrus when finally constituted, as bounded by the Erythræan sea to the east, the Euxine to the north, Egypt and Cyprus to the west, and Æthiopia to the south, he adds¹: "the regions beyond these limits," (inclusive therefore of Greece and all Europe, with the richer parts of Africa), "are either seas, arid deserts, or otherwise little adapted, owing to excess "of heat or of cold, for human habitation." This description would be appropriate in an extract from some popular Median work of geography; but reads strangely in the page of an accomplished Greek scholar and traveller.

Primitive
Persian
constitu-
tion.

Herodotus describes Persia in the time of Cambyses father of Cyrus, as a vassal state of Media²; and Cambyses as a chieftain inferior in dignity to the Median nobles of the higher class. Nor does he allude to any material difference between the Persian form of government, and that common in other dependencies of the Median empire. Xenophon on the other hand, represents Persia as an independent state, and its go-

¹ VIII. vi. 21.

² I. 107.

vernment as a limited monarchy¹; the power of the king being shared with or restricted by, a privileged order of citizens. This body he describes as similar to the Spartan aristocracy, and the titles applied to them, Coequals or Peers, are the same as, or equivalent to, those by which in his other works he habitually designates the Spartiates.² The national system of education, which according to him formed among the Persians as among the Spartans, an essential element of state policy, and the influence of which on his hero's character was a main source of his subsequent greatness, is also an idealised counterpart of that of Lacedæmon.³ It combines all the better parts of the Spartan discipline without its defects. It trains to habits of temperance, hardihood, and contempt of danger; to civil and military subordination, and reverence for age and virtue; without sanctioning the duplicity, ferocity, and other vices of the Lyncurgen system.

It is not certainly probable, that so enlightened a form of mixed monarchical and aristocratical polity, should have been matured among a rude people in the heart of Central Asia; still less that it should have presented so striking a resemblance to the Socratic theory and the Lacedæmonian practice, of which Xenophon was an admirer. As the Cyropædia therefore is the only authority for its existence, the other Greek writers who notice it having all apparently borrowed from Xenophon, and as his account, if not actually contradicted, is not confirmed by Herodotus, no great weight can attach to it. At the same time, as several of those general features of government and manners which it describes, can be recognised among

¹ I. iii. 18., v. 4., II. ii. 22.² ὅμοιοι, ὁμότιμοι³ I. ii. alibi.

other hardy races of mountaineers, Dorian, Celtic, or Teutonic, their existence to a like extent among the Persians, has been not inappropriately assumed by Xenophon, as the source of that ascendancy which the nation, under the auspices of its gifted ruler, so speedily acquired over all other Asiatic races. On the establishment, in the sequel, of his vast empire, this primitive constitution is, with equal propriety, represented as giving place to an unlimited monarchy, under his mild and beneficent sway.¹

Military
system.

A like degree of theoretical probability is observable in the Historian's account of the Persian army, when first placed under the command of Cyrus. It is described as already preeminent among those of Asia for valour and discipline, but of limited number, and deficient in military equipment. One thousand alone of the 31,000 men which it comprised, the Peers or Coequals above mentioned, were Hoplites or heavy-armed infantry; the rest were archers or other light troops.² It had neither cavalry, baggage train, nor other requisites for aggressive warfare. Such a force being of a properly defensive nature, adapted for hill-fighting and home campaigning alone, is in good keeping with the habits of a secluded mountain people, who had hitherto been content with maintaining their own independence, careless of foreign enterprise. Hence, when their alliance with the Medes placed them at the head of a great military undertaking, on a remote theatre of war, an entire change in their organisation is effected. The thousand men-at-arms are augmented to 31,000, supported by the just proportion of light troops; with cavalry, armed cha-

¹ VIII. i. sqq.

² I. v. 5.

riots, and all the requisites for prolonged marches and field movements.¹

4. Among the miscellaneous customs described in the *Cyropædia*, there occur no doubt many genuine traits of Persian life. But there are also not a few, which we know from authentic sources not to have been Persian, and the greater part of which are very palpably Greek; while other characteristic Persian customs, mentioned by trustworthy authors, are overlooked. The want of originality in many of Xenophon's notices, appears from a comparison with the concise summary given by Herodotus, assuredly from good sources², of the peculiarities in which the Persians chiefly differed both from the Greeks and other nations. While few of these are mentioned in the *Cyropædia*, a great part of those described in its text are unnoticed by Herodotus. According to the latter, the only deities worshipped by the Persians were the elements; Jupiter, as symbolic of the celestial sphere;

Miscellaneous
customs.

Religious
worship.

¹ I. v. 5., II. i. 9., I. vi. 10., IV. iii. 4. Forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry are afterwards added to the 31,000 hoplites; making up in all 81,000 (v. v. 3., VI. ii. 7.), besides chariot-drivers and military engineers. Yet in I. ii. 15. it is said that the whole Persian male population amounted to only 120,000. Xenophon has here forgotten himself, as in some other similar instances. The commendations so frequently and cordially bestowed on the Persians, for the frugality and abstemiousness of their diet (I. ii. 8. 16., III. 4., IV. v. 4., v. ii. 16., VIII. viii. 15.), are completely vitiated by II. ii. 3. sqq., VIII. ii. 3. The statement in VIII. i. 23., that the priesthood of the Magi was first instituted by Cyrus after the conquest of Babylon, is at variance with IV. v. 14., VII. v. 57. The statement in VIII. viii. 9. that the Persians took but one meal a day, is disproved by VI. iv. 1. compared with VII. i. 1. From a comparison of v. iii. 27., 28., and iv. 4. 6. 7., it appears that Cyrus performed in three days a journey which had shortly before been stated to be impossible in less than seven. The Persians are represented at one time as taking their meals in a sitting posture (VIII. iv. 2. sqq.); at others, as reclining at table in the Greek fashion (II. ii. 3. 28.).

² I. 131. sqq. : conf. Strab. p. 732. sqq.

the Sun and Moon; the Earth, Fire, Water, and the Winds. Several of the Hellenic names by which, according to Greek custom, Oriental deities are designated in the *Cyropædia*, such as Zeus, Hera, Vesta, may reasonably be assumed to indicate members of the same cosmogonical pantheon described by Herodotus. Xenophon however attributes in general terms to the Persians, much of the proper Greek polytheistic system. His warriors invoke Mars¹ on entering battle, and the local gods and heroes of the several countries through which they march, on crossing their frontier.² They talk of the gods as subject to the influence of sensual love towards mortal heroines.³ They habitually designate their own royal family as of divine blood, and as sprung from the same Hellenic hero Perseus⁴, to whom Greek popular tradition traced its origin. Herodotus⁵ denies that the Persians offered burnt sacrifice or libations in their religious rites. Xenophon⁶ represents them as sacrificing their holocausts and pouring their libations, in pure Greek fashion, even to the precise number of goblets enjoined by Hellenic usage for particular occasions.⁷ They also practise the Greek art of divination in its various forms.⁸ Xenophon everywhere dwells on the frugality of their meals, and the sobriety of their habits.⁹ Herodotus describes them as fond to excess of delicate viands, and as ridiculing the frugal fare of the Greeks; as greatly addicted to wine, and as under an obligation to intoxicate

¹ VII. i. 26.² II. i. 1., III. iii. 21. sqq. alibi.³ VI. i. 36.⁴ I. ii. 1., IV. i. 24., VII. ii. 24.⁵ I. 132.⁶ VIII. iii. 24., III. iii. 21. sqq., III. iii. 40., VII. i. 1.⁷ II. iii. 1. : conf. Schneid. ad loc.⁸ II. iv. 18., 19. : conf. I. vi. 2. 23. 44. sq., VI. iv. 12. sq.⁹ I. ii. 8. 16., I. iii. 4—10., V. ii. 16., IV. v. 1. sq., VIII. i. 36.

themselves on certain occasions, as a matter of public business.¹ The account given of their system of education also differs in each author.² Both mention their strict regard for truth, and their adoption of the Median dress. To the licentious polygamy which Herodotus³, doubtless with all justice, describes as inveterate in Persia, there is no allusion in the *Cyropædia*. While not one of the principal heroes is represented as the husband of more than one wife, the small amount of romantic interest which the author imparts to his narrative, hinges on the devoted attachment of spouses to their one object of connubial affection. As Herodotus alleges the several traits of character here mentioned to be consistent with his own knowledge, considering his unblemished reputation for truthfulness, and Xenophon's slender sense of that obligation, little weight can attach to the authority of the latter on points where they differ. That the military system attributed to Cyrus in the *Cyropædia* is in great part borrowed from Lacedæmon, appears, as well from the general correspondence of the two, as from the identity of particular usages. Such are the inauguration of battles or other hazardous enterprises by crowning the head⁴; the chanting of the pæan before commencing the attack⁵; the formation of the front rank of the pha-

Persian art of war compared with that of Sparta.

¹ I. 133.

² *Cyrop.* I. ii.; Herodot. I. 136.

³ I. 135.: conf. Strabo, p. 733. Other Persian peculiarities pointed out by Herodotus (I. 133. sqq.), but unnoticed by Xenophon, are their excessive reverence for, and sumptuous modes of celebrating their birth-days; their custom of distinguishing rank by forms of salutation, and of estimating human character by geographical position; their veneration for running streams, and peculiar modes of manifesting that feeling.

⁴ III. iii. 40. 42.: conf. *Anab.* IV. iii. 17.; *De Lac. Rep.* XIII. 8.; *Plutarch*, *Lycurg.* 22.

⁵ III. iii. 58., VII. i. 9.: conf. IV. i. 6.

lanx exclusively of officers¹; the preference of red as the colour of military costume²; the frequent changes of station in open campaigning.³ Several of the more complicated field manœuvres, described by Xenophon in his *Lacedæmonian Polity* as peculiar to the Spartan art of war, and beyond the ability of less practised Greek armies⁴, are also represented as habitually executed, in all their extent and subtlety, by the troops of Cyrus.⁵

Composi-
tion and
style:
their
merits

The merits of the *Cyropædia* as a literary composition, apart from its pretensions as a historical record, are: its unity of epic action; the elegance and purity of its style; the harmonious flow and liquid perspicuity of its language, attributes in which it surpasses all the other productions of its author; the just and noble sentiments in which it abounds; the lessons of wisdom which it inculcates; and its many graphic descriptions of events, and traits of character. The defects of the work are: its meagreness and monotony of historical substance, and poverty of incident; the consequent great disproportion between the narrative and the illustrative portions of the text; and the diffuseness of every part of it, principal subject and episode, narrative and description, set speech and familiar dialogue. That the *Cyropædia*, while the most bulky of Xenophon's historical works, is the most deficient in historical material, may be seen from our epitome of its contents, which, though not less ample in proportion to that material, occupies less space by nearly a half than the corresponding

and
defects.

¹ III. iii. 57. : conf. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. XI. 5. ; Hipparch. II. 6.

² VII. i. 2. : conf. VI. iv. 1. ; Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. XI. 3. ; Agesil. II. 7.

³ III. iii. 23. : conf. De Rep. Lac. XII. 5.

⁴ De Laced. Rep. XI.

⁵ Cyrop. VI. iii. 21. sqq., VII. i. 5. sqq.

abstract of the Hellenica. The principal action consists of two military campaigns, comprising three battles, two sieges, and the usual proportion of subordinate operations. Of dramatic plot the work is barren. The hero marches and fights steadily on, without a serious check to his career of victory. The episodes are all of one character, the successive defections to Cyrus, of Assyrian subjects, dissatisfied with their own sovereign. They are in fact mere duplicates of each other. The action in the proper sense may also be said to be all on one side. The Medo-Persian camp or court is the only stage; Cyrus, his family, and adherents, the only actors. Except one short address by "the Assyrian" to his army, no member of the adverse party is ever introduced on the foreground, unless in the capacity of a prisoner or a deserter. This skeleton of main narrative is fleshed up to its existing corpulence, by descriptions of military manœuvres and camp convivialities; disquisitions on the art of war in all its branches; on speculative points of moral and social economy; on the character and habits of Cyrus, his system of government, its provincial divisions, and public institutions.

These illustrative details are all more or less tainted with the defect above noticed of excessive verbosity; a defect which is but little relieved by the usual expedient of distributing portions of the text, in the form of oration or dialogue, among the principal actors. Cyrus is everywhere the chief orator; but the secondary characters are also charged, each according to his share in the action, with their proper share of superfluous loquacity. The most trivial incident of everyday life is described, at as great

Rhetorical
element.

length and with as solemn gravity, as the most momentous undertaking. The plainest course of policy, with all its probabilities of success or failure, the most evident motives of conduct, in all their shades of merit or demerit, are analysed, censured, or vindicated, with a like superabundance of equally self-evident argument and illustration. The subjects treated being themselves of a uniform character, their treatment is no less remarkable for monotony than prolixity. The same lessons of political government and military tactics, the same exhortations to valour and discipline, recur from time to time, under so little variety of form, that the novelty of effect scarcely amounts to what we experience on meeting an old friend, in a dress slightly differing from what he wore when we were last in his company.

Dialogue.

5. We have already, in treating of Xenophon's other works, noticed his undue tendency to embody in the form of dialogue, statements which, in so far as worth expressing, would be better expressed in the mode of direct narrative. The spirit of colloquial discourse, in literary composition as in real life, depends, first on the subject discussed possessing in itself a certain interest, secondly on its being treated in a spirited manner. Of this twofold principle Xenophon seems to have had no clear perception. He seems to have thought, that nothing more was required, to impart lively effect to the discussion of the most commonplace matter, than that it should be discussed closely and carefully, in the form of question and answer, by two or more of the persons concerned.

Its diffuseness.

This conversational prolixity and the general disproportion between the narrative and the didactic

element of the book, are jointly exemplified in the journey of Cyrus, in company with his father, to take the command of the Median army, and in his dialogue with his uncle Cyaxares on arrival. The journey, while not marked by a single incident, occupies near forty pages of the text, descriptive of conversations by the way between the two travellers.

“Having beguiled the route with these discourses,” the narrative proceeds,¹ “they were cheered as they approached the Median frontier, by the auspicious flight of an eagle on the right hand. After offering prayers to the gods and heroes who preside over the Persian territory, graciously to bless and prosper their course, they crossed the border. On reaching the other side, they offered up prayers to the gods who preside over the Median territory, graciously to bless and prosper their arrival within its bounds. Having performed these duties, and embraced each other, as it was natural they should, Cambyses returned home, and Cyrus continued his journey to the Median capital, the residence of Cyaxares. On reaching the Median capital, the residence of Cyaxares, the two princes first embraced each other, as it was natural they should, and then Cyaxares asked Cyrus what was the strength of the army which he brought with him. Cyrus replied, ‘There are the 30,000 whom you have already taken into your pay, and there are others on their way, of the class called Peers, who have never yet served abroad.’ ‘How many of these are there?’ said Cyaxares. ‘Their number,’ said Cyrus, ‘when you hear it, may not perhaps altogether satisfy you; but you must know that these so called Peers, few as they are, easily maintain authority over all the other Persians. But do you really need them; or has it been a false alarm, and will the enemy not come after all?’ ‘Come he will, by Jupiter,’ said Cyaxares, ‘and in great force.’ ‘How has this been ascertained?’ ‘On the information of many, arriving by different roads, but who all tell the same story.’ ‘We must then prepare to engage them?’ ‘As a matter of necessity,’ said Cyaxares. ‘Were it not well then,’ rejoined Cyrus, ‘that you should let me know, if you are yourself informed, what is the strength of the invader, and also what our own; in order that, being instructed on both points, we may take

¹ II. i. 1.

counsel as to our conduct of the war.' 'Listen to me then,' said Cyaxares : 'Croesus of Lydia, it is said, will bring into the field 10,000 horse, and more than 40,000 archers and other light troops.'¹ . . . 'You calculate therefore,' said Cyrus, 'our cavalry at less than a third, and our infantry at about one half, of the corresponding force of the enemy.' 'How so?' said Cyaxares; 'do you consider as a trifle the remaining Persians whom you promise to bring?' 'We will consider presently,' said Cyrus, 'how far we may or may not require more men; but let me hear now, what is the customary mode of fighting in each army.' 'Nearly the same with all; for both their men and ours are either cavalry, archers, or other light troops.' 'The battle therefore with men so armed, will necessarily be one of missile weapons?' 'Necessarily,' said Cyaxares. 'If so,' remarked Cyrus, 'the victory must be on the side of numbers; for the few are likely to be much more speedily slain or disabled by the many, than the many by the few.' 'Such being the case, O Cyrus, what better resource have we than to send to the Persians, reminding them, that should any disaster happen to the Medes, they will be joint sufferers, and soliciting an increased amount of force?' 'But you surely know,' said Cyrus, 'that even were all the fighting men in Persia to come forth, we should not outnumber our adversaries.' 'What better expedient then can you suggest?' 'Had I the means,' said Cyrus, 'I would with all speed provide the whole of my Persians with the same arms as are borne by my thousand Peers; with a strong breastplate, and shield for their left arm, and a sword or scimitar for the right; and if you can furnish these, you will render our charge on the enemy so effective, that they will find it more advisable to run than to hold their ground.'"

By any writer, free from the spirit of conversational garrulity by which Xenophon was possessed in composing the *Cyropædia*, the substance of this tedious circumlocution would have been summed up as follows:

Cyrus learns from Cyaxares, that the hostile army, then about to take the field, and comprising Assyrians proper, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, Æolian Greeks, &c., outnumbered his own in the ratio of more than two to one, and was composed, like

¹ We omit the ensuing "Homeric catalogue" of the component parts of each army.

his own, chiefly of light-armed troops. In order therefore to make up by weight of arms for deficiency of numbers, he decides on equipping the whole of his thirty thousand light infantry as Hoplites or men-at-arms.

Every part of the work abounds in passages of the same kind, through which the reader is obliged to plod, page after page, in order to possess himself of the few grains of real information which they supply.

From the first part of this extract it will be seen, that Xenophon, among other expedients for imparting epic effect to his narrative, has resorted to the Homeric one of reproducing notices of familiar objects or occurrences, in the same commonplace forms of expression. This practice he has at times carried to a Homeric excess, which in a prose work savours strongly of affectation, or even of absurdity. Not only do the Persian warriors embrace each other, and propitiate their gods and heroes, in certain prescribed forms, expressed by certain conventional phrases, but they are sent to bed¹, sit down to dinner, rise from table², and perform other acts of human necessity, with much of the same epic ceremony as Agamemnon and Nestor in the *Iliad*, or the suitors in the *Odyssey*. Where so many other less important matters are discussed at so great length, it was also but reasonable that the question of the dinner hour, or the quantity and quality of the food, should be honoured, at times, with something more than a mere formal notice. After the storming of the Assyrian camp, the cavalry and light troops, consisting chiefly of foreign allies, are sent in pursuit of the fugitive host. Cyrus and

"Homeric
common-
place."

¹ II. iii. 1., iv. 22. 26. 30., III. i. 43., ii. 2., iii. 28., v. iii. 35., iv. 19., vi. iii. 37., vii. iii. 1., III. i. 41., III. ii. 31., vi. i. 1. alibi.

² III. ii. 11., iii. 42., 43., v. iv. 21., 22., v. 38. sqq., vi. iii. 7. 8. 37. alibi.

his Persian men-at-arms remain to guard the newly occupied position. As the pursuing detachments were long absent, the question arose, whether the Persians should go to dinner without them or await their return; upon which point Cyrus delivers himself to the following effect :

“ My friends, we are, I know, at liberty, if we think fit, to go to dinner at once, in the absence of our allies, and enjoy the very complete repast both in meat and drink which has been provided for us. But it does not appear to me that you would be so much benefited even by so good a dinner, as by showing your concern for your allies; nor should we derive from the best of cheer, as much strength, as we should add to our cause by encouraging their zeal for its support. Were we, while they are risking their lives in the pursuit of our enemies, to seem so regardless of their comfort as to sit down to table before hearing how it has fared with them, I fear our conduct might be deemed dishonourable, and might weaken our interest by alienating our friends. But if we prove our anxiety that those who are now labouring and suffering for the common good, should, on their return, be well provided for, our own meal, I feel sure, will afford us greater pleasure, than were we at once to gratify our appetites. You will further consider, that even were we not withheld by respect for them, we are hardly ourselves as yet entitled to our fill either of food or liquor; the work we have in hand being not yet complete, and still demanding all our attention. It seems to me therefore, my friends, that it would better become us, for the present, to be content with such a moderate amount of meat and drink, as would neither produce drowsiness nor intoxication,” &c.¹

The absurdity of all this is the more glaring, from the pains taken, in the sequel, to impress on the reader the more than Spartan indifference of the Persian warriors to the pleasures of the table²; and their voluntary restriction of their diet, even when guests at a board covered with delicacies, to the most frugal fare.

¹ IV. ii. 38. sqq.

² IV. v. 4.

6. It is on the approach of some great battle, or other momentous crisis of affairs, that the superfluous matter is accumulated to greatest excess, and in the most provoking manner. We feel as if we should never get at the point. The same speeches recur over and over again, in slightly varied form; the same descriptions of the most obvious things; the same long dialogues about nothing; the same sacrifices to the gods; the same exhortations to the men, and advices to the officers. Attention may be directed to the part of the narrative preceding the last great battle between the contending powers. The preliminaries to this event are diluted through some fifty pages of the text. While Cyrus is preparing to break up his winter quarters and take the field, after extensive improvements¹ in the organisation of his forces, fully detailed in the previous text, word is brought by the "Indian envoys," that the hostile army under Cræsus is already in motion; and the nations of which it is composed are again enumerated. The account of its numbers spreads alarm in the camp.² Cyrus therefore assembles the troops; and, with other advices, recapitulates, for their comfort, the improvements (formerly described) in their own body.³ It is then resolved that no time must be lost in advancing to meet the foe.⁴ But before setting out, he announces that the enemy is still upwards of fifteen days' journey distant; and an elaborate lecture ensues on the several branches of military economy, commissariat, pioneering, carpentry, cookery, essential to the progress of an army on a long march; just as if, after campaigning during the previous

Diffuse-
ness of the
narrative.

¹ VI. i. 26. sqq., 48. sqq., ii. 4. sqq.

³ VI. ii. 14. sqq.

² VI. ii. 9.

⁴ II. 24.

year across the length and breadth of Central Asia, they had never before heard of such things. Minute instructions are given as to the requisite stores of bread, wine, flour, meal, fresh water, and other eatable and potable articles to be laid in for a twenty days' march; on the art of economising wine by admixture of water; on the provision of handmills for grinding corn; of baking apparatus; of spare belts, straps, and thongs, for mending harness; of saws, planes, axes, and other tools for mechanical purposes; of grinding-stones, hones, strops, for sharpening those tools; of spare timbers, for mending chariots and other wheel carriages.¹ Such details could hardly be tolerable in classical composition, even in the mouth of a chief commissary giving directions to his subordinates, and are purely burlesque in the oration of a mighty king and commander-in-chief to his assembled army. How it happened that Cyrus, or his biographer, should have previously overlooked these requisites for renewing the campaign; or how, when the thought struck him, they could possibly have been got ready in the course of a few hours (for the army seems to have marched immediately after the speech), the Historian does not explain. Then follows a technical description of the order of march, still as if it were the first yet performed. At length the two armies are brought into contact; the enemy's outposts are within sight; and we begin to hope that the crisis has arrived; but we have still much preliminary matter to wade through. After a dialogue of the usual diffuse commonplace between Cyrus and some captured stragglers, his own favourite spy Araspas returns from the hostile

¹ VI. ii. 25. sqq.

camp, and gives a second edition of the "Indian envoys' " report of the Assyrian force, with a description of its line of battle.¹ The Persian plan of tactics is then arranged, and the field orders are issued in a series of exhortations, separately addressed by Cyrus in person to each of the principal officers of different services; not omitting the chiefs of the baggage train, those of the women's waggon train; of the camels, and of each detachment of troops appointed to escort or support these several bodies.² Another morning is occupied with sacrificing, and dining, and description, and dialogue; and after another long exhortation from Cyrus to his generals, in support or recapitulation of his previous exhortations, he dismisses them to their posts in the line of battle.³ Now at least we expect that the end is come; but it is still only the beginning of the end. The attack does not take place until after a further interval, represented by some seven or eight additional pages, in which Cyrus again dines, drinks, and distributes meat and drink to those of his soldiers who appear to stand most in need of it; again offers prayer and libation; holds several more consultations on the points already discussed, and on affairs in general; and delivers himself of numerous other shorter exhortations to officers and men, in which duty he continues engaged with unremitting zeal and loquacity, up to the actual moment of attack.⁴

The element of romance, in the narrower sense, or chivalrous love adventure, contained in the *Cyropædia*, is comprised almost exclusively in the episode

Its
romantic
element.

¹ VI. iii. 12. sqq.

³ VII. i. 1.

² VI. iii. 21—35.

⁴ VII. i. 22.

of Abradatas and Panthea, an outline of which is here subjoined: ¹

Episode
of Abra-
datas
and Pan-
thea.

Panthea, the most beautiful woman of the age, wife of Abradatas of Susa, a powerful subject of the Assyrian king, is taken by the Persians in the storming of the hostile camp, her husband being then absent on a mission to Bactria. She is selected, on account of her rank and beauty, for the special solace of Cyrus in his hours of relaxation. The prince's stoical temperament renders the sanctity of her marriage vow safe in his guardianship. Foreseeing that her captivity, and his generous conduct towards her, may hereafter be turned to political account, he commits her to the care of Araspas, one of his favourite officers, to be treated with the honour befitting her station. The danger to which Araspas might be exposed in the execution of his trust gives occasion for a discussion between him and Cyrus, on the antagonistic powers of sexual passion and stoical continence; in the course of which Araspas expresses his contempt for all amorous affection, and for all who yield to its seductions. Cyrus intimates his doubts; but leaves the issue to the test of experience. Araspas, as no modern reader of romance can have failed to anticipate, becomes desperately enamoured of Panthea. Foiled in an attempt to seduce her, he threatens violence. She complains to Cyrus; who more amused by the foolish predicament in which the self-confidence of the culprit had involved him, than offended by his breach of trust, treats his fault with indulgence; and as the best security for the future, sends him on a secret mission to the Assyrian camp. Panthea informs her protector, that her husband entertains no friendly feeling towards his own sovereign, who had himself conceived designs against her honour; and on her suggestion, a message is sent to Abradatas, inviting him to transfer his allegiance to Cyrus. Apprised of the generous treatment of his wife, he passes over to the Persian camp with a thousand men. He is there reunited to Panthea, and admitted to a high place in the esteem of Cyrus, which he continues to enjoy until his death in the last great battle against his former master. Touching descriptions are given of the parting scenes between Panthea and her husband prior to the action, and of her grief for his death. Cyrus, sympathising with the bereaved princess, unites with her in paying the last honours to his remains. On his approaching the bier, and grasping the hand

¹ IV. vi. 11., v. i. 2, sqq., vi. i. 31. sqq., iv. 2. sqq., vii. iii.

of his deceased friend, it comes away from the arm, the wrist bone having been severed by a wound. He delivers the hand to Panthea, who refits it to the arm. As the body is about to be consigned to the grave, Panthea stabs herself, and dies with her head resting on the bosom of her beloved. The remains of the devoted pair are entombed under a single lofty monument. At its foot are still seen the humbler graves of three favourite eunuchs, who slew themselves by the side of their mistress.

7. This narrative was highly esteemed by antient critics¹ for tenderness and pathos, but is less well adapted to modern taste in romance. The amorous sentiment on which it is founded, matrimonial affection, while forming, owing to causes considered in another place², the chief source of interest in antient love adventure, is little esteemed, scarcely recognised as legitimate, in the modern romance or novel. The episode possesses however the attraction of being the earliest specimen of a prose love story in Greek classical literature. To ingenuity of plot it has no pretension. Those complicated lovers' crosses, jealousies, persecutions, now so indispensable in amorous fiction, are altogether wanting. The captivity of the heroine, while attended with no present hardship, proves the immediate source of future happiness to herself and her husband. In most other stories of the kind, and there are numbers closely similar in fable and in history, the strong point of interest is the passion of the victor for the

Judged by
the
standard of
modern
love
romance.

¹ Hermog. De form. Orat. p. 396. ed. Porti ; Plutarch, Non posse suavi vivi, &c. p. 1093.

² Vol. II. p. 234. sqq. That Xenophon's sense of the amorous pathetic was, like that of Homer, limited to the matrimonial relations between the sexes, appears from the few other incidents of the kind in the Cyropædia. Such are the dialogue between Tigranes of Armenia and his wife, on their restoration to each other; and the apostrophe by Croesus of Lydia to his conjugal happiness, in his interview with Cyrus. III. i. 36., VII. ii. 28.

captive lady, followed, either by his importunities and her heroic resistance, or by his generous sacrifice of his feelings to his sense of moral duty or regard for her happiness. The character of Cyrus gave no room for any such complication; and the motive by which Xenophon represents him to have been guided, that of keeping the princess in good condition, as an instrument for promoting his political schemes, imparts a prosaic turn to his share in the adventure.¹ The only real calamity that afflicts the constant couple, is one from which no matrimonial bliss is exempt, separation by death; and the suicide of the survivor is but a trite, as it is to modern taste an offensive expedient, for escaping the sorrows of widowhood. The pathetic scenes contain touching passages; but are most of them marred by some defect of management, proving that Xenophon, while not by nature a poet, had studied the art in the school of Euripides, rather than that of Homer or Sophocles. The tears of Panthea, after arming her husband for the battle, and her effort to conceal her emotion, though not original, are fine images, and finely expressed. But this burst of tenderness ought, as in the *Iliad*, to have closed the interview; to have accompanied the final farewell. Xenophon's inveterate turn for amplification superadds several pages of formal leave-taking, vows, and speeches, before the lovers are parted for ever. When at last Abradatas drives off in his chariot, her running after it and kissing the panel of the vehicle, as a last salute to its owner, is

¹. v. i. 17. The consignment by Cyrus of the custody of a beautiful woman to a lively young courtier, with unlimited access to her person, seems an obvious impropriety, whether with reference to antient Oriental, or to modern European custom.

a poor conceit. Still worse is the incident of the amputated hand, which seems to be paraphrased from the wild Egyptian legend of the Treasury of Rhampsinitus.¹ The suicide scene, down to the moment of the heroine's death, is well worked up; but the subsequent restriction of her share in the honour of self-immolation to but a fourth of the whole, the other three parts being allotted to her eunuchs, if it does not actually bring the catastrophe within the bounds of the ludicrous, removes it beyond those of the sublime.

This episode has the further defect, of uncongeniality with the main body of the narrative. If amorous romance was to form an element of the work, it ought to have been interwoven in some more natural manner with the main action, and the destinies of some one of the principal heroes. The introduction of these two secondary personages, for no other purpose than to act, by a side current of adventure, the part of poetical lovers, among a dramatic company of so very prosaic a character, and the alternate chequerings of lovers' tears and complaints with statistical and military disquisitions, have an incongruous effect.

The most touching and natural picture of wounded domestic affection, and one of the most eloquent passages in the *Cyropædia*, is the description given by Gobryas, of the murder of his son by the Assyrian tyrant, and of the effect produced by the calamity on his own feelings and prospects in life.²

Other
pathetic
passages.

Xenophon exhibits as little fertility of invention in the martial, as in the amorous branch of romantic description. In his imaginary battles we miss that graphic reality, which animates the real engagements

Descrip-
tion of
battles.

¹ Herodot. II. 121.

² IV. vi. 2. sqq.

of the *Hellenica* or the *Anabasis*. The *Cyropædia* is, in fact, as compared with those two works, a continual illustration of the difference between the art of describing well what a man himself has seen, and the talent of conceiving and conveying to others vivid impressions of fictitious events. Its battle pieces, mixed up as they are with commentaries on technical points of military science, are laboured and artificial. When on the other hand, the issue is made to depend rather on hand to hand valour than generalship, Xenophon's attempts to dramatise (as in the subjoined passage) the more striking incidents of a battle field, the shout, the charge, the collision, have more of bombast than Homeric fire:

"The word having passed through the ranks, Cyrus sang forth the customary pæan, the whole army joining in chorus, with pious devotion and loud voices. . . . After the pæan was ended, the Persian peers, advancing steadily, bright in aspect, well marshaled, looking one to the other, each calling by name, now his neighbour in the ranks, now his rear-rank man, and repeating from time to time, 'Come on gallant friends, come on brave fellows,' encouraged each other to press forward; while those in the rear, hearing their voices, responded by cries to the front ranks to lead on valiantly; and the whole army was full of zeal for Cyrus, of emulation, energy, boldness, exhortation, discretion, obedience; all which, it may be conceived, was most terrible to the enemy. . . . When they had advanced within the range of weapons, Cyrus called out: 'My brave warriors, now let each man show what he is, by quickening his step, and urge his neighbour to do the like.' As this injunction passed along the line, some, in their eagerness and rage, and ardour for the conflict, began to run, when the whole phalanx followed at the same pace, and Cyrus himself, forgetting the prescribed march step, led the charge, shouting, 'Who will follow, who is valiant, who strikes down the first enemy?' and all the others, hearing this and taking up his words, also shouted, 'Who will follow, who is valiant?' As the Persians advanced in this manner, their adversaries, unable to stand the shock, turned and fled."¹

¹ III. iii. 58.

Where Xenophon found the original of this description, or whether he had any in view, may be a question. But neither his own notices of real battles, nor those by other contemporary authors, warrant the belief that such displays of disorderly and loquacious valour could have been tolerated, in any army so thoroughly disciplined in the Spartan style as he describes the army of Cyrus to have been. His object may possibly have been, to idealise the tumultuous ardour with which, in his own age, the Persian column made its attack, as compared with the steady advance of the Lacedæmonian phalanx.

Of the speeches properly so called, the greater part Speeches. are spoken by Cyrus, and on subjects affording little scope for eloquence. The few that occur on topics of more general interest are also, with rare exceptions, solemn and monotonous. The dialogue, with much that is tedious or trivial, also comprises, where the debate assumes a graver turn, what are on the whole the most agreeable specimens of rhetorical style. Such are the valedictory discourses, in which Cambyzes imparts to Cyrus on entering life the benefit of his own past experience. These passages, while in better keeping no doubt with the porticoes of the Lyceum than the palace hall of an Asiatic prince, are yet in a singularly pleasing, as well as sound and instructive style of paternal admonition.

8. For genuine portraiture of character little scope Delineation of character. was afforded, in a work founded on the principle of investing semibarbarous chiefs with the attributes of Greek statesmen and Socratic philosophers.¹ Cyrus Cyrus.

¹ As examples of pure Socratic doctrines, placed in the mouths of Cyrus, Cambyzes, and other primitive Persian heroes, compare *Cyrop.* i. vi. 5. sq.; *Memor. Socr.* i. i. 9. : *Cyrop.* i. vi. 12. sq.; *Memor.* iii. i.

himself, as the type of a perfect social system, is a character which, while it does not exist in real life, is proverbially insipid in romance. He is however not only the ruler and father of his people, but their familiar friend and companion. He not only prescribes their duties, but promotes their amusements, and contributes his share to the sportive jest of their convivial meetings. Even a more skilful master of the comic art than Xenophon, might have had difficulty in making jocose humour sit easily on Cyrus. But it is difficult to understand how any writer of ordinary judgement, in his efforts to enliven the gravity of his model hero, could have placed in his mouth the contemptible nonsense of which he is occasionally made to deliver himself. In an entertainment given to his principal officers after the conquest of Babylon, the conversation turning on matrimony:

His facetious
humour.

"Whenever," said Cyrus,¹ "any one of my friends thinks of taking wife, let him apply to me, and he will soon discover how able I am to help him." "And if," said Gobryas, "one of us wants a husband for his daughter, to whom is he to apply?" "To me," said Cyrus, "in that case also, for I am singularly well skilled in this art." "What art?" said Chrysantas. "The art of suiting wives and husbands to each other." "Tell me then, by the gods," said Chrysantas, "what sort of a wife would you consider best suited for me." "In the first place," said Cyrus, "you would need a little wife, because you are yourself a little man; and were you to marry a tall woman, and were desirous of kissing her in a standing posture, you would be obliged to spring up, as the little dogs do." "You are right there," said Chrysantas, "for I am in truth but a

5. sqq. : Cyrop. i. vi. 21.; Memor. III. iii. 9., ix. 11. : Cyrop. i. vi. 22.; Memor. i. vii. 1., II. vi. 39. : Cyrop. i. vi. 27.; Memor. III. i. 6. : Cyrop. v. i. 16.; Memor. i. iii. 13. : Cyrop. vi. iii. 25. sqq.; Memor. III. i. 7. sqq. : Cyrop. VII. v. 75.; Memor. i. ii. 19.

¹ VIII. iv. 17. sqq.

bad jumper." "In the next place," continued Cyrus, "you would require a snubnosed wife." "Why so?" "Because you are yourself hooknosed, and you must see at once that hook and snub will best fit each other." "Do you not also think that, for a man who like me has just eaten a good supper, a supperless wife would be the best?"

The prince's reply to this question, while not less puerile than his previous sallies, is also offensively obscene. Xenophon seems here himself to be conscious of the discreditable light in which he exhibits his hero. For in the sequel of the dialogue he introduces one of the speakers alluding, in a not ineffective vein of indirect sarcasm, both to the poverty of the royal jester's wit, and to the coldness of his temperament:¹

"'Can you also tell us,' continued Chrysantas, 'what sort of a wife would best suit the frigid humour of our king?' At this both Cyrus and the others laughed heartily; when Hystaspes remarked: 'On one account, O Cyrus, above all others, I envy you your royal station.' 'What is that?' said Cyrus. 'That frigid as may be your wit, you always find laughers.' 'Then you would readily, no doubt, pay a good sum to secure for yourself the character of a witty man with the lady whom you wish to please.' In this way were they accustomed to jest with each other."

The liveliest part of the hero's biography, is the account of his boyhood. The scenes at the court of Media, are singularly pleasing sketches of domestic manners, whether Oriental or Greek. The all-engrossing interest of the kind-hearted old Astyages in his little grandson; the matronly serenity and motherly anxiety of Mandane; the playful humour and boyish precocity of the future conqueror, are characteristic and well sustained. The convivial dialogue of the

His boyhood.

¹ VIII. iv. 22.

family circle at Ecbatana, is also in better taste than that of the Babylonian banqueting-hall. Nor is the exuberant license of animal spirits ascribed at this early age to Cyrus, inconsistent, as might on first view appear, with his subsequent character: it being certain, that both in our own species, and in the analogous case of various animals, such excess of vivacity in early youth, is often the forerunner of placid gravity in mature age. There is hence much ethic spirit in the description of the ingenuous boy's growing consciousness of the propriety of assuming a more staid demeanour as he approaches manhood.¹

Next to its commencement, the part of the *Cyropædia* which exhibits its hero in the most favourable light, is its close. His parting address to his family is the finest passage in the book, and the most creditable specimen of Xenophon's philosophy or of his rhetoric, in his collective works. That highest doctrine of natural religion, the immortality of the soul, is here inculcated in a practical form, and with a persuasive eloquence, better calculated to bring it home to the minds of the mass of mankind, than volumes of elaborate argument. After dwelling on the mutual obligations of the two sons whom he leaves behind, he proceeds:²

His death-bed.

"I adjure you then, by the gods of our fathers, and as you value my own happiness, that you continue to love and cherish one another. For let it be far from you to imagine, that when I have passed the term of this human existence, I shall cease to live. Even in this life my soul has never been visible to you, and your knowledge of its existence is derived from its acts alone. But you

¹ I. iv. 4.

² VIII. vii. 17. The greater part of this address has been transferred by Cicero to his own text, in his tracts *De Senectute* and *De Legibus*. Schneid. ad loc.

cannot have failed to observe the terrors with which the spirits of injured men inspire guilty consciences, or the avenging dæmons which they send to torment the impious. Nor can you surely believe, that the custom of paying honour to men after their death would have become so inveterate, if their spirits had no perception of those honours. For myself, I never could be persuaded that the soul lives only so long as it dwells in a perishable body, but dies in the moment of its emancipation from that body. When I see that even mortal bodies, while the soul remains within them, are preserved alive, how can I believe that the soul itself, when separated from a lifeless body, becomes lifeless? It is when the spirit is purified from material contact, that its own animation ought to be most perfect. On the dissolution of a human frame, the return of every portion of it to its kindred element, is manifest to the eye, except that of the soul, which has never yet been seen either present here or departing elsewhere. Remember also, that nothing in the life of man so nearly resembles death as sleep; yet it is in sleep that the soul is in its most spiritual state, and as most free from present contamination, is best qualified to penetrate futurity. If then it be, as I have supposed, that the soul in death is merely released from the body, let your reverence for my soul induce you to obey my dying commands."

Thus far the argument, in the spirit of antient metaphysics, is conclusive. But at this point Xenophon, with his characteristic levity, suddenly shifts his ground, and makes his hero virtually demolish his whole system of morality, by admitting that the religious dogma on which he had taken such pains to found it, may after all be fallacious; and by suggesting in its stead another, which, however valuable in support of the first, and no less beautifully expressed, is, as it stands alone, both worthless and self-contradictory:

"But even," he continues¹, "if it be not so, if the soul, being inseparable from the body, dies with it, yet let your veneration for the gods, who, themselves eternal, omniscient, and all powerful, maintain and preserve the order of the universe, in all its boundless

¹ VIII. vii. 22.

extent and beauty, imperturbable, imperishable, unfading, let your veneration for them restrain you from ever conceiving or perpetrating any base or impious action."

Cyaxares.

9. The only character of the *Cyropædia*, distinguished by genuine ethic spirit, is the hero's uncle Cyaxares; whose petty vices form a sort of offset to the lofty virtue of his nephew. A naturally well-disposed, but weak man, he is a kind parent to Cyrus in his infancy, and gratefully appreciates his youthful services for the common weal. He speedily however takes alarm at the magnitude of the war in which the young hero had embarked. His achievements, with the zeal of the Median warriors in his service, and their growing contempt for his own authority, inspire him with rancorous jealousy. He henceforward exerts himself, to the best of his sluggish ability, in obstructing his nephew's victorious progress. In the sequel, however, he becomes reconciled to the new state of things, partly by the welcome accessions which foreign conquest brings to his sensual enjoyments; and natural affection again resumes its sway in his breast. In the reconciliation scene between him and his nephew, his resentful sullenness and womanish emotion, the respectful bearing and soothing eloquence of Cyrus, and the gradual reaction of good feeling in the bosom of the pettish monarch, are all true to nature, and render this the most effective piece of dramatic action in the *Cyropædia*.¹

"The Assyrian."

Of the other leading royal personages, the Assyrian emperor, with appropriate subserviency to the Historian's object of exhibiting Cyrus in the right in his career of conquest, is described as a bloodthirsty tyrant, the aggressor in the quarrel, and whose acts

¹ v. v. 8.

of oppression drive his vassal chiefs into the ranks of the enemy. Cambyzes displays, in his didactic eloquence, all the wisdom and virtue which would have qualified himself for a Cyrus, had he possessed the same opportunities. The Cræsus of the *Cyropædia* is a degenerate copy of the Cræsus of Herodotus. Xenophon omits his predecessor's beautiful legend, concerning the source of the conqueror's sympathy with the Lydian king's misfortunes; and the act of clemency so gracefully performed by the Cyrus of Herodotus, is attributed by Xenophon (as in the case of Panthea) to political expediency. The dialogues between the two monarchs are prosaic paraphrases of parallel texts of Herodotus; evincing, with other passages, Xenophon's familiarity with the work of his predecessor.¹ The favourite officers of Cyrus are all estimable, but uninteresting specimens of the "fidus Achates" order of secondary hero; Araspas alone forms a gentle exception to the general rule of blameless propriety.

Cambyzes.

Cræsus.

Other
secondary
characters.

The concluding chapter, or Epilogue, as it has been styled, of this work, is a commentary in a bitter vein of sarcasm, on the degeneracy of the Persian nation under the successors of Cyrus. Its genuine character has been questioned by modern critics; and doubtless, if uncongeniality of one part of a work with the remainder is in any case to be held sufficient proof of spurious origin, there would here be little room for difference of opinion.

The
"Epi-
logue"
of the
*Cyropæ-
dia*.How far
genuine.

Whatever change may have taken place in the Persian character, between the age of Cyrus and that of Xenophon, it is certain that in every part of

¹ VII. ii. 9. sqq.; conf. Herodot. I. 46. sqq. 88.: VIII. vi. 17.; conf. Herodot. VIII. 98.

his collective works, with the exception of this Epilogue, when mentioning the Persian government and people as they existed in his own day, he mentions them, if not in such terms of encomium as in the *Cyropædia*, at least in terms of respect. In the previous text of the *Cyropædia*, not only are his praises of the hero's political system commonly so expressed, as to apply equally to the present and the past, but several of the institutions held up to admiration, are specified as still maintaining their ground. Yet these very institutions are described in the Epilogue as extinct, or superseded by gross abuses. Similar discrepancies are observable between the Epilogue and other genuine works of Xenophon. Anomalies of this kind could hardly be the result of oversight; and if Xenophon himself is responsible for them, they must have been introduced wilfully, under some peculiar influence or for some peculiar purpose.¹

Apart from its merits as a historical document, the Epilogue is a tasteless excrescence on the main body of the work. Among the beauties which chiefly compensate for the defects of the *Cyropædia*, attention has above been directed to its unity of epic action. The just epic conclusion of the narrative was obviously the death of the hero; and the evident care, as well as skill, with which Xenophon has worked up the death-bed scene, seems to evince his anxiety to show how well he understood the art of completing,

¹ The more palpable discrepancies are observable in *Cyrop.* i. ii. 11, 12. 16.; comp. viii. viii. 8. : i. iii. 2., viii. i. 6. 8. 36.; comp. viii. viii. 15. : iv. iii. 23.; comp. viii. viii. 13. : viii. vi. 14.; *Anab.* i. ix. 3. sq.; comp. *Cyrop.* viii. viii. 13. sqq.; *Æconom.* iv. 5. sq.

The statement in the Epilogue, viii. viii. 9., that the Persians in Cyrus's time ate but one meal a day, is contradicted by several passages of the previous text: vi. iv. 1. : conf. vii. i. 1. alibi.

as well as designing an epic narrative. The less easy is it to comprehend, how he could have deliberately defeated his own object, by dragging his readers, after the final catastrophe, through a long chapter of moral commentary, on a state of things altogether extraneous to his proper subject. The *Cyropædia*, it is true, is a didactic as well as a narrative work. But the principle of its composition is, that it should convey its lessons through the medium of epic or dramatic action. Here the author suddenly steps from behind the scene, and delivers in his own person his superfluous postscript. Nor must we overlook the grave stigma which it plants on the honour of the deceased hero, by representing the institutions which he had spent his life in establishing, as destitute of all organic bond of cohesion, and falling to pieces the moment his personal influence was removed. "No sooner," we are told, "was Cyrus dead, than his descendants began to quarrel among themselves. The subject cities and states revolted, and everything went rapidly from bad to worse."¹ In the sequel the mixture of flippancy, rhetorical casuistry, and vulgarity, in his attempts to impart humorous point to his satire, are the more offensive, from the contrast with the beauty and solemnity of the immediately preceding text.

These considerations, while all-powerful as reasons why the Epilogue ought not to have been composed at all, are not perhaps all-conclusive evidence of its not having been composed by Xenophon. On the affirmative side of the question may be urged, the absence of all doubt among native critics as to its genuine character, and the correspondence of its general

¹ § 2. sq.

style with that of the Historian's ascertained works. If, on these grounds, we may not be permitted to exculpate him from the charge of disfiguring the most elegant production of his genius, the more lenient view of his offence would be to assume, that the *Cyropædia* was originally composed in its just epic unity, at a time when the author still retained his early friendly feeling towards Persia and her institutions; that in his old age this feeling, from whatever cause, had given place to bitter animosity, under the influence of which the Epilogue was composed, as an antidote to any favourable impression left on the reader's mind by the previous narrative.

The only passages of the *Cyropædia* containing criteria for fixing the date of its composition, are in the Epilogue. Mention is there made of two events, which took place in the year 361 B.C., about ten years before the probable date of Xenophon's death. But from the apocryphal character of this portion of the text, suspicion must attach to these data.

CHAP. XV.

XENOPHON: HIS MINOR COMPOSITIONS.

1. HIS "POLITIES." "POLITY OF LACEDÆMON." "POLITY OF ATHENS." DATE OF ITS COMPOSITION.—2. A POLITICAL PASQUINADE. NOT BY XENOPHON.—3. "HIERO," OR THE TYRANT.—4. "ON THE ATHENIAN REVENUES." CAUSES OF THEIR DECLINE. REFORMS SUGGESTED.—5 "AGESILAUS." A GENUINE WORK OF XENOPHON. PARALLEL OF THE HELLENICA, IN PARTIALITY, IN SUPPRESSION, IN MISREPRESENTATION.—6. THE "MEMORABILIA" OF SOCRATES. PARALLEL OF THE AGESILAUS. SCOPE OF THE WORK. CHARACTER OF SOCRATES, AS CONCEIVED BY XENOPHON.—7. HIS RANGE AND METHOD OF SCIENTIFIC INSTRUCTION.—8. HIS MORAL SENTIMENT AND DISCIPLINE. THE "APOLOGY OF SOCRATES." HOW FAR A GENUINE WORK OF XENOPHON.—9. "THE SYMPOSIUM." PLAN OF THE WORK. PART ALLOTTED TO SOCRATES. EPITOME OF THE CONTENTS. THE JESTER. THE BALLET-MASTER. PANDERISM OF SOCRATES. HIS COMPETITION FOR THE PALM OF BEAUTY. HIS ALTERCATION WITH HERMOGENES, AND WITH THE BALLET-MASTER. LASCIVIOUS DANCE.—10. PARALLEL OF PLATO'S SYMPOSIUM. XENOPHON'S FACETIOUS HUMOUR.—11. "THE ŒCONOMIST." ATHENIAN SYSTEM OF HOUSEKEEPING, AND OF AGRICULTURE.—12. "ON THE EQUESTRIAN ART." DIRECTIONS FOR PURCHASING A HORSE. HIS STABLING AND KEEP. ART OF EQUITATION. "THE HIPPARCHUS," OR COMMANDER OF CAVALRY.—13. "ON HUNTING." HARE-SNARING AND NETTING. DEER-CATCHING. BOAR-HUNTING. HUNTING OF LIONS, LEOPARDS, AND OTHER WILD BEASTS. USE AND VALUE OF THE ART OF HUNTING IN PEACE AND WAR. SOPHISTICAL OBJECTIONS COMBATED.

1. As the two short treatises entitled Polity of Lacedæmon, and Polity of Athens, possess, besides their kindred subject, several features in common, it will be desirable, before any separate notice of each, to offer a few remarks on the two conjointly. While entitled to rank in common as the earliest preserved examples of Political essay, neither supplies what its title appears to promise, a specific account of the particular system of government of

The
Politics
of Xeno-
phon.

which it treats. Each is but a series of commentaries on certain more prominent characteristics of the system. We have no history of its origin, no description of its several magistracies or legislative bodies, their separate powers and functions; or of the different classes of citizens, and their respective rights and duties. The reader is assumed already to possess a competent knowledge of these fundamental points; and the few descriptive notices bestowed on them are but incidental to the author's speculative remarks. Some accordingly are noticed in detail; others are passed over altogether. In the Lacedæmonian Polity, the Homœi or Peers are mentioned¹ as a privileged body, but without any explanation of their quality or position in the commonwealth. We must look elsewhere for the fact that they were the Spartiate aristocracy, as distinguished from the secondary class of freemen, the Pericœci, and Neodamodes. Neither of these secondary classes, nor the Helot, or servile population, assuredly no unimportant, though humble element of the Lacedæmonian Polity, are so much as mentioned. The Athenian Polity is perhaps, still more than the sister tract, a critical rather than a historical treatise, on a state of things assumed to be familiar to the well-informed reader.

How far this purely speculative mode of treatment may have been peculiar to these two essays, how far common to such political dissertations in Xenophon's time, are questions to be further considered in connexion with the miscellaneous literature of the Attic period, to which the essays themselves properly belong. It may here suffice to remark, that in neither case can the common defect, if such it be, form a rea-

¹ x. 7., xiii. 7.

sonable argument that the tracts, as modern commentators¹ have conjectured, are but imperfect epitomēs of originally more ample works. The fallacy of this hypothesis seems to be evinced, by the feature of each essay on which it is founded. The province of an epitomist is to condense the substance of the work on which he operates, by discarding its illustrative details. Here the process would have been reversed, the speculative commentary retained, the material substance rejected. It has further been conjectured², that each treatise is but a fragment of some more comprehensive work on Political government. This theory rests partly on the same alleged desultory mode of treatment; partly on a certain abruptness in the opening passages, indicating, it is supposed, the continuation of a previous text. But here again the analogy of Greek literary usage is unfavourable. This same abruptness of commencement seems, from the age of the *Odyssey* downwards, to have been a common expedient for relieving the formality of a regular exordium. Its prevalence among popular essay-writers in Xenophon's time, especially those of the Socratic school, appears from a comparison of other works in his own collection, and of kindred compositions by contemporaneous authors.³

The title of either work to be a genuine production of Xenophon has been questioned, with good reason in

¹ Weiske, *De Auctor. et Integr. Lib. de Rep. Lac.* 5.

² Schneid. *Proleg. ad Libr. de Rep. Athen.* p. 79. sqq.

³ The coincidences of verbal expression between the opening passage of the *Laced. Polity* and those of the *Cyropædia* and *Convivium*, can leave no reasonable doubt that the former is genuine. Compare also ii. 1. with *Cyrop.* i. ii. 2, 3.

the case of the sister tract on Athens, but on no sufficient grounds in regard to

THE POLITY OF LACEDÆMON.

Polity of
Lacedæ-
mon.

The best evidence of the genuine character of this essay is supplied by its own text. No work in the collection is more broadly marked by the ordinary characteristics of Xenophon's style; by meagreness of substance and partiality of judgement; by his peculiar Laconian predilections manifested in his peculiar manner; by the discussion of military matters in the same technical forms familiar in the *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*. The text consequently abounds in characteristic phrases, recurring in others of his acknowledged works.¹

The mode of commentary is that of contrast between the Spartan institutions and those of other states, imparting at times a tone of antithetical man-

¹ See especially the comparison, common to the *Hellenica*, of the attack of a phalanx to that of a war galley: *De Rep. Lac.* xi. 10.; *Hellen.* vii. v. 23. The only ancient author mentioned as sceptical, is Demetrius Magnes, a second-rate grammarian in the time of Cicero, ap. *Diog. Laert. Xen.* 57. His opinion can have little weight against those of Polybius, Plutarch, Longinus, and the general sense of the classical public. See Weiske, *de Auct. et Integr. Lib. de Rep. Lac.* ap. Schneid. tom. vi., and Sauppe, *Preface to the 2nd edit. of Schneider's text*, tom. vi. p. xx. sqq. The objections which have been urged by modern commentators are valid only against the short section xiv., contrasting the former purity of the system with its corruption in the days of the essayist. This, there is every reason to believe, is an interpolation. It has no connexion either with what precedes or with what follows, and is as completely out of character, as it is out of place in the text. It represents Xenophon, not only as expressing opinions foreign to his habits, but as in broad contradiction with himself; the whole eulogistic portion of the tract bearing reference to the existing state of things. The single half page which the spurious passage occupies, also contains at least three expressions foreign to Xenophontean usage: ἀρμόζοντα (in the sense of "filling the office of harmost"), θρασύως εἰπεῖν, and ἐπιψέγων.

nerism to the style.¹ The Spartan code of law and social discipline, is indiscriminately held up to admiration, as superior in all respects to all others. Some of its more offensive features, such as the Cryptia, child-murder, and more glaring atrocities of the Helot system, are suppressed; while the legalised thieving², adultery³, and other unnatural practices⁴, are placed in the most favourable or least odious light. The arrangement of the author's limited stock of materials is not wanting in method. He begins with the laws regarding the procreation of children⁵, passes on to their education, from boyhood to youth and mature age, and describes the duties and occupations of those different stages of life. The only political office treated in any detail is that of the kings⁶, as specially charged with the military organisation, which engrosses a large share of attention.⁷ Xenophon subscribes to the popular tradition which represented Lycurgus as the founder of the Spartan constitution; but dissents from that tradition, by carrying his age back to the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus.⁸

The essay contains no specific data for judging of the time of its composition. It is not however likely that Xenophon should have taken the interest which it manifests in Spartan home politics, prior to his settlement in Peloponnesus. Although therefore the work has above been ranked, conjointly with the sister essay, as the earliest specimen of this kind of political treatise, the title to priority as between the two is altogether in favour of

¹ Compare i. 2, 3., ii. 12, iii. 1., vi. 1., vii. 1., viii. 2.

² i. 8.

³ xiii., xv.

⁴ ii. 13.

⁵ xi., xii.

⁶ ii. 6. sqq.

⁷ i. 3.

⁸ x. 8.

THE POLITY OF ATHENS.

Polity of
Athens.

Date of its
composition.

A political
pasquin-
ade.

The whole tone of this spirited little tract shows it to have been written at a stage of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenian arms had not yet experienced any decisive reverse. The sway of the imperial Democracy over her dependent states, and her hold on her foreign possessions, are represented as still firm; her revenues as undiminished, her prosperity unimpaired. The essay must therefore have been composed before 413 B.C., the year of the Syracusan disaster, which so rapidly changed the condition and prospects of the republic. To these more general arguments may be added special points of internal evidence. From Thucydides¹ we learn, that in the year 415 B.C. the direct tribute paid to Athens by her maritime allies was abolished, and in lieu of it a transit duty of five per cent was imposed on their import and export trade. In the essay the tribute is mentioned as still exigible in its previous form; and is so mentioned, not incidentally or in a general way, but in the author's special notice of the public revenue.² The witty remarks to be quoted in the sequel, on the colonial jurisdiction of Athens, also indicate a state of things to which the Syracusan catastrophe speedily put an end.³

2. The treatise is thus clearly entitled to rank as the oldest recorded work in this department of composition. It possesses however still another claim to originality, as the oldest extant specimen of a political pasquinade. Under an assumed mask of apology,

¹ vii. 28.

² iii. 5. : conf. 2. ii. 1.

³ For other more detailed arguments, see Schneider, *Proleg. ad Libr. de Rep. Athen.*; Roscher, in *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1841, No. 42., and in his *Leben, &c., des Thucydides*, p. 526. sqq.

which, though purposely made to sit but loosely, has imposed on very learned commentators, the essay is conceived throughout in a lively and bitter tone of sarcasm against the abuses, real or imputed, of the Athenian Democracy. The plan of satirical treatment is announced by the author in the opening passage here subjoined :

"I cannot indeed commend the Athenians for having, in their choice of a form of government, preferred one in which rogues fare better than honest men. This much however I will engage to prove, that having once made their selection, in those parts of their conduct for which they are blamed by other Greek politicians they act consistently, and in the interest of their own commonwealth."

The engagement here contracted he proceeds to fulfil in an insidious vein of irony, or "persiflage;" with just so much interspersion of practical remark, as may help to maintain, in outward show, the gravity in which he pretends to conduct his argument. All the more glaring iniquities or abuses in the working of the system are justified, as being necessary to give effect to the fundamental principle of abuse and iniquity on which the system was based. The following extracts will suffice to illustrate the general spirit of the text to which they belong :

"Surprise has been expressed that in Athens, rogues, paupers, and low people, should be more favoured than better men. But this seems to be required for the support of the Democracy. It is by maintaining and increasing the number of these rogues, paupers, and low people, that the Democracy itself is strengthened and extended. Were the body of the people to encourage prosperity in the wealthy and respectable class, they would be adding weight to the interest adverse to themselves."¹

"Any worthless person is entitled (at Athens) to propose in council what he thinks best for himself and those like himself: But,

¹ i. 4. sq.

I hear some one remark: Surely no such person can be expected to suggest anything beneficial either to himself or to the public. The Athenians however argue, that the ignorance and vice of such a councillor, friendly to themselves, is better than the wisdom and virtue of an honest man ill-affected to their interest. Granting that this may not be the best mode of governing a state, it is the best mode of maintaining a Democracy.”¹

“Nowhere is so great license permitted to slaves and aliens, as at Athens. You are not allowed to strike a slave; nor will he stand out of your way in the street. Of this I will explain the reason. If a freeman were permitted by law to strike slaves or aliens, he would be continually striking an Athenian by mistake, supposing him to be a slave. For the Athenian people are no better dressed than the slaves or aliens, nor in any respect better in appearance.”²

“The Democracy seems also open to censure, for compelling its allies to bring their law pleas for decision before the Athenian tribunals. But to this the Athenians reply, that the practice is to them a source of many advantages. For, in the first place, it adds to their annual income as judges and jurymen; and besides, they are thus enabled, sitting at home, without foreign armaments, to uphold their party in those states, by favouring such litigants as belong to that party, and ruining by their verdicts those of the opposite interest.”³

“I have also heard people complain, that it is sometimes impossible to get business transacted at Athens, either before the supreme or the inferior courts, although a man should await their pleasure during a year. But the only reason of this is, that owing to the quantity of business to be done, it is not practicable to get through it with dispatch. Can it be considered wonderful, that men, who, besides all their legislative duties, all the affairs of state foreign and domestic to which they must attend, with all the trouble of collecting tribute from their allies, have twice as many feasts and holidays to celebrate as any other Greek community, and more law pleas, civil and criminal, on their hands, than the whole remainder of the human race, should have some difficulty in finding time to transact ordinary business with all and sundry? . . . It has indeed been said, that if a man appears in council or court with money in his hand, his business will be

¹ i. 6. sq.² i. 10. sq.³ i. 16.

dispatched. This I admit ; much may be done at Athens by means of money ; and much more might be done, were more people able and willing to pay money. But still I maintain, that even an unlimited supply of money would not enable the Athenians to get through the amount of business which they are called upon to perform.”¹

“ I find no fault with the democratic order itself, for preferring a democratic government, everyone being entitled to look first to his own interest. But a man, not of that order, who selects as his place of abode a city under democratic rather than one under aristocratic rule, must be actuated by some nefarious motive ; well knowing, how much more easy it is to play the rogue without detection, under the one than the other form of government.”²

This broadly satirical tone is relieved by acute remarks on interesting points of national economy. Such are the commentaries on the policy, power, and resources of Athens, in her relation both to the subject states and the rival confederacy, and on the comparative strength and weakness of her naval and military establishments.³

The title of this treatise to rank as a genuine production of Xenophon has been questioned by modern critics, more generally, and with better reason than that of any other in the list of his reputed works. There is no appearance of their doubts having here been anticipated by the antients, whose notices of this tract are indeed so few, and of so low a period, as to imply that it was less read and appreciated by the native public than it deserved.

Not a
genuine
work of
Xeno-
phon.

The first objection that offers itself, is the date of its composition. In 414 B.C., the lowest that can be assigned to it, Xenophon was but twenty-one years of age ; and if, as is probable, its composition took place a year or two sooner, the improbability

¹ iii. 1. sqq.

² ii. 20.

³ ii. 1. sqq., 11. sqq.

bility of his having commenced authorship so early and in so spirited a manner, would be the greater. This difficulty, if it stood alone, might not perhaps be insuperable. The tone of the essay, in its lively familiarity, effervescing at times into petulance, with a certain quaint tendency to egotistical *prosopopœia*¹, savours perhaps more of juvenile license than of mature taste and practice in composition. It were nothing incredible that a clever young Athenian Aristocrat should, even at so early an age, have thrown together, in this form, his thoughts on the ultrademocracy of his native city. There is more in the general style of the work, and in the order of talent which it displays, than in its age, to disconnect it with Xenophon. It would not be easy to discover in any one of his ascertained productions, a continuous text of equal length, distinguished by a similar combination of subtle thought, caustic argument, and concise expression. The vein of satire here also differs widely from the "frigid humour" of the *Cyropædia*, or the licentious pleasantry of the *Symposium*. If Xenophon is the author, we must assume, as in the case of his hero Cyrus, that the stock of genuine wit with which nature had endowed him, had been so largely drawn upon in early youth, as to leave little more than the dregs to savour the eloquence of his maturer years.

As the circulation in Athens of such a libel on her government, either at the time when it was written,

¹ i. 11., ii. 11., 12. The remark may be extended to the familiar exclamation *φέρε δὴ* (iii. 5. 7.) which occurs in this tract alone of the collection; also to the expression *ὅσα ἔτη* (iii. 4.) used thrice in the sense of *ἐκάστου ἔτους*; and to that of *λελήθασιν μανθάνοντες* (i. 19.), where the verb *λανθάνω* seems to be used in a purely "subjective" sense peculiar to this passage.

or during any period of Athenian independence, would have entailed on its author the penalty of death or banishment, it may be inferred that he was either a foreigner or an exile; and his mode of expressing himself is that of a person writing beyond the limits of Attica. This forms another bar to Xenophon's claim to be that person; the suspension of friendly relations between himself and his native republic being of long posterior date. Nor is it likely that he could have written the passage¹ in which it is said, that "Athenian citizens were never lampooned "on the stage, unless distinguished either for rank "or wealth, or by their meddling and factious opposition to popular rights;" Socrates having been lampooned by Aristophanes in B.C. 423, and by other contemporary comedians, long before Xenophon could have commenced authorship.²

HIERO, OR THE TYRANT.

3. In the historical romance of the *Cyropædia*, Hiero,
or the
Tyrant. Xenophon has developed his theory of a perfect system of monarchy. In the *Lacedæmonian Polity*, he has illustrated what he considered the best form of a mixed monarchical and aristocratical constitution. In the "*Hiero*" he treats of that spurious species of monarchy called by the Greeks a "*Tyranny*," or in other

¹ ii. 18.

² Diog. Laert. Vit. Socrat. 28. The evidence as to the precise year in which the tract may have been written, derivable from the allusions in its text to the Attic comedy, have been discussed by Schneider (ad ii. 18. and Proleg. p. 93.), Roscher (op. sup. cit. p. 531.), and Boeckh (*Staatsk. der Ath.* vol. i. p. 434. 2nd ed.). Boeckh conjectures Critias to have been the author; but the playful humour of the tract seems even less in keeping with the genius of that gloomy tyrant, than of Xenophon.

words, a Despotism, founded on the overthrow of constitutional government. There is however this difference between the Hiero and those other compositions, that its tendency is not properly political, but ethic. It examines neither the modes in which a tyranny may originate, nor the policy by which the constitutional party may best counteract the despot's schemes, or undermine the tyrannical government in its turn. The argument is mainly directed against the vulgar opinion, that the possession of tyrannical power, with its unlimited sources of personal gratification, is necessarily a source of happiness, or the tyrant a happier man than the private citizen. It is urged that the disquietudes inseparable from his dignity, disqualify him for the same enjoyment of life which is common to other men. The greater part of the treatise is, in fact, a commentary on the familiar anecdote of the sword of Damocles. A relief is afforded at the close, to the general gloom of the picture, by the admission, that an enlightened tyrant, who studies to promote the good of his people, may himself enjoy a share of that happiness, which a generous-minded man experiences in contributing to the welfare of others.

The treatise is shaped in the form of a dialogue between Simonides the lyric poet, and Hiero tyrant of Syracuse. The popular view is advocated by Simonides, who recapitulates most of the popular reasons why a tyrant is, or ought to be, the happiest of men. Hiero in reply puts forth, in formidable array and with the greater force, speaking as he does from experience, the reasons why a tyrant is of all men the most unhappy. He maintains, that even the unlimited power to gratify desire, which on first view may appear a blessing, tends, like the excess of grati-

fication, to produce the satiety which mars enjoyment¹; that no man can be happy who lives in a perpetual state of alarm, and that such is the lot of every tyrant. His power being founded on injustice, he must be an object of hatred to all virtuous men; every man is justified in putting him to death, and every good citizen ready to take his life, where it can be done without risk to his own. It follows that the destruction of the best citizens must be his ruling policy; that his only protectors are his paid guards, and those whom he can induce by like mercenary means to espouse his interests²; and the funds for these purposes being raised by extortion from the community, the bitterness of their hostility is proportionally increased; that a tyrant is a slave in many things where the private man is free; he can neither in his own country, with safety to his person, freely pass from place to place in pursuit of business or pleasure, nor freely visit other countries with safety to his government at home.³ His house is to him like a besieged camp⁴, perpetually on the alarm against the open assaults or secret intrigues of enemies. In proof of the fatal influence of tyrannical power on the tenderest ties of natural affection, he points to the number of cases in which tyrants have slain their own sons, or have themselves been slain by their children, their wives, their brothers, or the friends in whom they chiefly trusted.⁵

To these and other such arguments Simonides replies by the very natural question: "Why then does he not abdicate a dignity which has proved to him a source of misery?"⁶ The answer is, that the

¹ i. 17. sq.² v. 1. sqq., vi. 5.³ i. 11, 12., ii. 8.⁴ ii. 7. sqq., vi. 4.⁵ iii. 8., i. 38.⁶ vii. 11.

impossibility of taking this step, unless at the risk of self-destruction, is one of the greatest hardships to which the tyrant is subjected; that if once denuded of his power, the vengeance of those whom he had oppressed, or whose friends he had put to death, would speedily overtake him.

The remainder of the argument is left in the hands of Simonides, who maintains, and with good effect, that it is quite possible, in spite of all that Hiero has said, for an enlightened tyrant, by a wise and philanthropic exercise of his power, to be both a powerful and a popular ruler.¹

This dialogue is among the most pleasing of Xenophon's didactic compositions. The characters are well preserved, and the argument well conducted. The apologetic side of the question has been appropriately allotted to Simonides, whose fine genius and amiable qualities secured him favour at the courts of the Greek princes who form the subject of the dialogue, and many of whom were distinguished patrons of literature. Several of those whose confidence he enjoyed, might also have been cited as illustrating by their characters the latter part of his own argument. On others he is recorded, in more strictly historical accounts, to have exercised the beneficial influence which he is here endeavouring, with doubtful success, to establish over Hiero. The other side of the question has with equal propriety been assigned to Hiero; who, as neither the best nor the worst of his class, is without inconsistency made to condemn the course of life in which, on the Macchiavellian grounds alleged, he yet feels constrained to persevere.

¹ viii. sqq.

ON THE REVENUES OF ATHENS.

4. In this patriotic tract, Xenophon recommends certain reforms in the financial system of Athens, and in connexion with them, other beneficial changes in her policy. During the flourishing age of the republic, the great body of the citizens had been trained to habits of idleness.¹ They lived at the expense of the state, or rather of those tributary allies, by whom the charges of the state were then almost entirely borne; partly on the fees paid for the performance real or nominal of civic duties, partly on the sums distributed to each citizen, ostensibly as entrance money to places of public entertainment. This abuse once authorised, came to be recognised as an indefeasible right. It entailed consequently in after times, when the disasters of the republic had dried up her foreign sources of supply, an oppressive burthen on her ordinary revenue, and on the upper class of citizens, by whom the deficit of that revenue required to be made good. In his proposed scheme of reform, Xenophon does not venture to strike at the root of the evil, by withholding, or seriously curtailing, the wages of idleness. He is content with pointing out the modes in which the internal resources of the republic, if skilfully developed, might be made to suffice for her expenditure, without the imposition of burthensome taxes, either on her provinces or her own citizens. He dwells² on the abundance of her natural productions, especially her mineral wealth, and her advantages as an emporium of trade, in respect to geographical position and otherwise. He suggests measures for increasing the number and improving the condition of the "Metæci,"

On the
Revenues
of Athens.Causes of
their de-
cline.Reforms
suggested.¹ Boeckh, *Staatsab. der Ath.* II. 13.² i. 2. sqq.

or resident foreigners, of whom chiefly consisted the free portion of the labouring class, and who were also the chief or only regular tax-payers. He would extend their right of holding property, with their other municipal franchises; would relieve them from their present obligation to serve as soldiers, and restrict that duty to the citizens.¹ He would promote commerce, and augment the customs duties, by holding out greater inducement to foreign ships to frequent the ports of Athens, by a more honourable treatment of merchants, by enlarging the public marts and warehouses, and otherwise facilitating the transaction of mercantile business.² He further suggests that the government should itself undertake commercial enterprise; partly with the public funds, partly by voluntary subscriptions from the citizens, who should share in the profits, as a dividend on their investments.³ It is however to the Laurian silver mines that he more especially directs attention, as calculated, under proper management, to prove the most fertile source of national income. He gives some interesting details of the early history of these works, and argues from the great profits realised by private speculators, even under the present imperfect system, how much might be done by an improved mode of development, under the direction of the state. He urges therefore on the government the expediency of taking the management into their own hands on a principle similar to that proposed for their commercial navy, of admitting private adventurers to a share in the capital stock and its returns.⁴

After combating objections⁵ which, he anticipated,

¹ ii. 2.

² iii. 1. sqq., 12. sqq.

³ iii. 6. sqq., 14. sq.

⁴ iv. 1. sqq.

⁵ iv. 34. sq.

might be urged against his views, he dwells on the importance of a durable peace, and hence of a peaceful policy, to the success of every measure of national improvement.¹ He refutes the doctrine that a habitual state of warfare was necessary to uphold, either the patriotic feeling or the military energies of a nation, or in any other respect conducive to national prosperity; and concludes with a pious injunction to his fellow-citizens, before acting on his advice, to test its value, by an appeal to the Dodonæan and Delphic oracles, and to be guided by their decrees in the adoption or rejection of his plans.²

This tract, composed about 354 B.C.³, has been assumed on plausible grounds to have been addressed to Eubulus of Anaphlystus, the Attic statesman to whom Xenophon is reported to owe his recall from banishment⁴, and who was then in active management of the Athenian finances. Although written towards the close of the author's long life, it shows no symptoms of old age or impaired faculties. The tone of the work is in all respects creditable to the writer, indicating a spirit not only of reconciliation with his native country, but of affectionate interest in her welfare. His views are distinctly explained and modestly asserted. Few of them are much in accordance with modern principles of political economy; some palpably fallacious. But the spirit at least in which they are conceived is rational; and many of his suggestions, if honestly carried into effect, might have helped to promote industrious habits, and freshen up the languor and decay of Athenian financial and commercial policy.

¹ v.² vi.³ Supra p. 182.⁴ Schneid. ad iii. 7.: Boeckh, Staatsh. der Athen. iv. 21.

THE AGESILAUS.

The
Agesilaus.

5. In this treatise, the notices of Agesilaus contained in the *Hellenica*, have been digested into a separate memoir, with supplementary remarks on the latter part of his life, not comprised within the period of which the *Hellenica* treats. Although a biographical work, it is not a Biography. It gives not even an outline of its hero's entire life; no account of the forty years of it preceding his accession to the Spartan throne; none of his death, beyond the fact that he died before the memoir was composed. The first half of the text is historical, containing an abridged description of such of his acts or undertakings, as conduced to his honour; everything of an opposite tendency being omitted. This part consists in a great measure of passages common to the *Hellenica*. The other half is an encomiastic commentary on what precedes. The work may be defined as the concentrated essence of Xenophon's morbid veneration for his model Spartan warrior. The modes in which this weakness is exemplified in the *Hellenica* and in the *Agesilaus*, are so much the same, as to render what has been said regarding it in treating of the one work equally applicable to the other. The few remarks here subjoined will be directed in a great measure to the proofs which that sameness supplies, that the *Agesilaus* is a genuine work of Xenophon; its title to that honour having been questioned by modern critics.

A genuine
work of
Xenophon.

It is not probable, in the first place, that any other writer of the same age as Xenophon, or of any other age, should have carried his admiration for this particular Spartan king, to the same idolatrous extent as that of Xenophon has been carried.

Still less probable is it, that if possessed by this monomania, he should also have given expression to it in modes so curiously identical with those resorted to by the rival panegyrist; modes, in themselves so subtle and peculiar, as to indicate a certain idiosyncrasy of thought and character, not likely to fall to the lot of more than a single philo-Laconian man of letters. It is improbable, thirdly, that if qualified so well to imitate the style and method of Xenophon, he should have marred the originality of his own production, by composing it to the extent of one fourth, of passages pirated from the Hellenica. That this plagiarism should have been adduced, as it has been, in proof of non-Xenophontean origin, seems a reversal of the just order of reasoning. It is not easy to see what advantage a different author could have derived from such a course. But it was quite in the spirit of Greek classical literature, for the same author, in undertaking a separate Biography of one whose acts he had already recorded in a general history of his time, to avail himself, when describing the same events, of the same once well-digested set of passages. Those passages, it will also be observed, are rarely reproduced to the letter: and the modifications which they have undergone, are not only in pure Xenophontean style, but in not a few instances are improvements on the text of the Hellenica; indicating a revisal by the original author, rather than the tampering of a plagiarist.¹

The best proof that the Xenophon of the Hellenica and the Xenophon of the Agesilaus are the same person, is the correspondence of the manner in which,

Parallel of
the Helle-
nica and
the Agesi-
laus:

¹ Conf. Schneid. nott. ad locc., and Lord Brougham: Demosthenes; Edinb. Rev. vol. xxxvi. p. 86.; and Works, ed. 1856, vol. vii. p. 176.

in partial-
ities ;

in
suppres-
sion ;

in mis-
representa-
tion.

by each, the merits of the common subject of encomium are exaggerated, and the counterclaims of rivals in celebrity depreciated, or kept out of view. In each may be observed, where the less honourable portions of the hero's history are under treatment, the same systematic concealment of his errors, and the same cunning method of diverting attention from such uncongenial topics, by lavish commendation of trivial merits, or elaborate justification of his conduct from imaginary censures. For the actual suppression of discreditable matter, the *Hellenica* afforded, in one respect, less favourable opportunities than the *Agésilæus*. In a historical work in the proper sense, it was more or less indispensable that events of great notoriety, whether creditable or otherwise to particular individuals, should be mentioned, whatever partial colouring might be spread over them. But in a biographical commentary, the writer was free to mention or omit at discretion. Of this freedom the author of the *Agésilæus* has largely availed himself. Not a single fact in any way compromising his hero's character is noticed. The seizure of the *Cadmea*, immediately after the peace of *Antalcidas*, the sanction of which act by *Agésilæus* is the worst blot on his character, could not be suppressed by the Historian. It has been carefully suppressed by the Biographer. In noticing the changes in the fortune of *Sparta* during the period subsequent to that peace, he leaps at once over her principal misdeeds to an event which, in the true spirit of Xenophontean misrepresentation, he calls¹ "the slaughter of the *Lacedæmonians* by their adversaries in *Thebes*." None but a reader intimately conversant with Xenophon's historical method, would ever guess that

¹ ii. 22.

what is here meant, is the recovery by the Thebans of their citadel, from the perfidious Spartan band, who had seized it in defiance of the faith of treaties. The sequel of the same context is another example of Xenophon's mode of masking the real delinquencies of Agesilaus, by vindicating him from imaginary imputations. In the *Hellenica* the seizure of the Cadmea is described¹, in several characteristic passages, both as the primary source of Sparta's calamities, and as having been sanctioned by Agesilaus, against the better feeling of his countrymen. In the *Agesilaus*, as already said, there is no allusion to this matter. But in noticing the ensuing military disasters at Leuctra and elsewhere, the Biographer strenuously vindicates his hero from all responsibility in regard to them. "No man," it is said, "would venture to assert, that they took place under his leadership."² This passage, in the strict connexion of the text, means simply that Agesilaus was not in command of the Spartan forces defeated on those occasions; but its ambiguous latitude of expression is plainly calculated to be misunderstood by the general reader, as exculpating him from having been in any respect instrumental to the national misfortunes. The Biographer has here also suppressed another fact discreditable to his hero, which the Historian has felt himself constrained to mention; the refusal of Agesilaus, on unworthy pretexts, to take the command of the national army, in those same disastrous wars in which, by his own impolicy, his country had been involved.³ This silence regarding the affair of the Cadmea, and other discreditable transactions recorded in the *Hellenica*, such as the reprieve

¹ See above, p. 309. sqq.² ii. 23.³ See above, p. 309.

of Sphodrias, and the coercion of Phlius and Mantinea, enables the Biographer, without incurring the charge of self-contradiction, to enumerate among the other admirable qualities of Agesilaus, his scrupulous good faith and pious respect for the sanctity of treaties.¹

The care with which the Historian evades allusion to rivals whose deeds tended to eclipse those of his favourite, has been more than emulated by the Biographer. We hear something of Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, and other minor opponents of Agesilaus. But the names of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, so rarely introduced in the *Hellenica*, are altogether excluded from the *Agesilaus*. The invasion of the Spartan territory is referred to, and with all justice, as a crisis in which the patriotism and military virtue of the Spartan king shone conspicuous. But the terms in which the invasion itself is described, are so framed as to deprive its leaders of all merit in the matter. "When Laconia," it is said, "was invaded by the Arcadians, Argives, Eleans, and Boeotians," &c.² Who, not previously cognisant of Xenophon's method of misrepresentation, could suppose that this expedition, in which the Boeotians are allowed to take part in the wake of three or four other second-rate powers, was the triumphal march of Epaminondas at the head of his anti-Spartan confederacy, from the field of Leuctra to the mouth of the Eurotas? Where, on the other hand, the fortune of war was reversed, as at Corinth and Coronea, and the subject on hand was the triumph of Agesilaus over an army of which "The Thebans," those special objects of his hatred, formed part, their share in the defeat is readily conceded.³

Other more pleasing evidence that the Biographer

¹ iii. 2. sq.

² ii. 24.

³ ii. 9. sqq.

was a contemporary and personal friend of Agesilaus, are the passages allusive to his death, as to a recent event of deep interest to the writer; passages conceived in a tone of genuine feeling, which seems to vouch both for their authenticity and their sincerity.¹

The most plausible argument on the sceptical side, is founded on the rhetorical tone of the concluding chapter, which, it has been justly remarked, is little in keeping with Xenophon's ordinary style. The genuine character of passages must however in such cases be tested, not by comparison with an author's ordinary style, but with other portions of his works which are equally exceptions to the general rule. It is certain that Xenophon's language, commonly so easy and natural, is apt to become rhetorically sententious, to an almost Thucydidean extent, on occasions where he is ambitious, as here, of imparting emphatic point to his descriptions of character. The same antithetical tone is observable in other parallel texts: in the *Anabasis* for example, in the characteristics of the slain generals, especially of Menon.² The only difference between the cases seems to be, that in this concluding summary of Xenophon's favourite hero's excellences, the effort is greater and more prolonged, in proportion to the writer's greater enthusiasm for his subject.³

This tract was probably written shortly after the death of Agesilaus, to which it alludes, and which took place in 360 B. C.

¹ x. 3., xi. 15. sqq.

² II. vi. 21.

³ For other coincidences of style, between the *Agesilaus* and the ascertained works of Xenophon, tending to establish community of authorship, compare *Ages.* v. 6., with *Anab.* II. vi. 28.; *Ages.* ii. 7., with *Cyrop.* VII. i. 2., VI. iv. 1.; *Ages.* v. 6. in fine, with *Memorab.* I. i. 11.; *Ages.* vi. 4., with *Cyrop.* VII. i. 30.

THE MEMORABILIA OF SOCRATES.

Scope of
the work.

6. This composition bears to the entire life of Socrates a relation similar to that which the Agesilaus bears to the life of its hero. Both are biographical works, but neither of them is a Biography; such historical notices as each contains of the person celebrated, being but ancillary to the more immediate object of illustrating his character.

As the most effectual mode of achieving his object, Xenophon opens his series of commentaries, not with the birth, youth, or manhood of his friend and master, but with his death, as being, in truth, the most important and interesting part of his history. He begins by expressing wonder, how the Athenians could ever have been persuaded by the enemies of Socrates, to condemn him on charges so futile as those contained in his indictment, the heads of which he subjoins: I. That he disavowed the gods whom the state acknowledged, and introduced other gods in their stead. II. That he had corrupted the morals of the Athenian youth.

On the first he remarks, that its falsehood was evinced by the philosopher's habitual performance of sacrifice to the national deities, both on the public altars and in his own dwelling.¹ He refutes the allegation that the divine warnings with which Socrates professed to be favoured, were at variance with the national faith, or differed in any essential degree from those which other pious men were in the habit of drawing from omens, dreams, or similar manifestations. He maintains that the philosopher's doctrine on this point evinced his reverence for the gods in

1. i. 2.

two ways. While he condemned any recourse to the arts of divination in the daily affairs of life, as superfluous and disrespectful to the deity, who by endowing men with reason had enabled them in such cases to judge for themselves, he both enjoined and observed the duty of calling to aid the divine counsel in greater emergencies.¹ The other charge of attempting to corrupt the morals of youth, is met by a reference to the purity of his own life, and the absurdity of supposing that one, himself of unblemished habits, should endeavour to seduce others into vicious courses.² He repudiates the fallacious argument of his master's accusers, that a school which produced such disloyal citizens as Alcibiades and Critias, must itself have been a seminary of mischievous doctrines. He urges as a counter-argument, the many other excellent characters trained in the same school; and shows, by interesting notices of those two men, that their lives had at least been kept in wholesome restraint while under the philosopher's tuition, and that their evil qualities were first developed under the evil influence to which they were afterwards exposed.³

His vindication of his master from these calumnious charges is followed by a commentary on the real excellence of his character⁴, his piety, virtue, wisdom, patriotism. His philosophic doctrines, his habits of thought, and of social intercourse, are illustrated by reports of those dialogues with his disciples and friends, through which he was accustomed to convey his instructions. The subjects treated in these discourses are numerous and varied, extending from the

¹ I. i. 4. sqq.³ I. ii. 12. sqq.² I. ii. 1. sqq.⁴ I. iii.—v.

more important obligations of life, moral, political, and religious, to its ordinary arts and occupations. Among those who take part are found, accordingly, besides his own disciples and friends, men of all classes; military officers, sculptors, painters, and artificers of humbler rank.¹ The treatise concludes with a few brief notices of the last hours of his life.² It contains no detailed account of his trial, or the line of defence which he adopted. Its general composition, while in substance, as usual with Xenophon, meagre and superficial, is not deficient in order and narrative connexion.

Character
of Socrates

It is not our intention here to embark on the wider range of speculative discussion, for which the moral and intellectual character of Socrates has furnished material. The subject is one, the detailed treatment of which, in so far as properly within the scope of this history, belongs to another place. Our present object is to consider, not so much what Socrates really was, as what Xenophon has represented him to be.

as con-
ceived by
Xenophon

In any attempt to form, by reference to the two standard sources of authentic information, the texts of Plato and Xenophon, a correct estimate of their master's character, we are met at the outset by a broad, and to all appearance irreconcilable discrepancy between those authorities, on a point of fundamental importance. Xenophon describes Socrates as a man of great integrity and simplicity of manners, of sound judgment and competent acquirements, who devoted his time to inculcating the moral and social duties, in homely, but ingenious forms of instruction; but who condemned the higher

¹ I. vi. sqq., II.—IV.

² IV. viii.

branches of learning, and all speculative philosophy, as unprofitable, or even mischievous pursuits. Plato and by Plato. represents him, not only as distinguished by the same purity of life, but as a sage, whose comprehensive genius embraced, or appreciated all science, from the sublimest mysteries of natural religion or ideal metaphysics, to those practical objects and occupations, which with Xenophon constitute his sole or chief range of instruction.

The extent to which the Socrates of Xenophon carried his disapproval of those studies and speculations, in which Plato represents his Socrates as habitually engaged, appears from the following passage of the Memorabilia :

7. " He recommended the study of geometry, in so far as necessary for the measurement and division of land, which amount of knowledge might easily be acquired by observation and practice. But he discouraged the more difficult branches of the science, although not himself unversed in them, as of no practical value, and their cultivation as an obstruction to other more useful pursuits. He approved of such an amount of astronomical knowledge, as would enable a man to calculate the periodical returns of the years, seasons, and months, or the length of the nights and days, as being useful in navigation, on military service, and in other necessary business ; and to this extent any one might qualify himself, by conversing with professional nightwatchers, pilots, or other persons to whom such knowledge was indispensable ; but to the study of astronomy in the higher sense, as directed to the position and motions of the heavenly bodies, the orbits of the planets and comets, the lengths or causes of their periodical revolutions, with their distances from the earth, he altogether objected. He declared his inability to perceive the advantage of such researches (though not himself a stranger to them) ; while their pursuit was calculated, he thought, to engross a man's whole life, to the detriment of other better occupations. He also discouraged all speculations regarding the nature of the deity or his functions, as mysteries unfathomable to human minds ; nor, he thought, was it respectful to the gods, for men to pry into what the gods had not themselves vouchsafed to

His range of scientific instruction.

make known. He considered those whose heads were occupied with such things to be in danger of disordering their intellects; as happened to Aristagoras, the man who claimed to have speculated most profoundly on the attributes of the gods. . . .¹ Nor was he ever heard to discuss those much vexed questions, as to how what the sophists call the universe was held together, or how the celestial system was regulated. Those given to speculations of this kind he looked upon as beside themselves, . . . some supposing that physical existence was but one, others that it comprised an infinite number of elements; some that all things were in continual motion, others that nothing ever moved; some that all things were in turn created and annihilated, others that nothing was ever either created or destroyed. 'What,' he was accustomed to ask, 'would they make of this superhuman science if they possessed it? Do they think to turn it to account, as other men do sounder knowledge, in conjuring up at their pleasure such winds, or rains, or changes of season as they may wish for? Or would they be satisfied with simply knowing how these various things are ordered?' "²

This series of doctrines and definitions would indeed restrict within a very narrow compass, the sphere of instruction in the first philosophical school of Athens, together with the range of intellect or liberal thought in the author of the restriction. Every sentence of it is however, directly or indirectly, belied by Socrates himself in the Dialogues of Plato. It is not easy therefore to escape the conclusion that he has been misrepresented by one or other of his disciples. While apart from this difference in their range of scientific research, there is in some other respects a general resemblance between the Platonic and the Xenophontean Socrates, in their eccentric simplicity of habits, in their mode of teaching, in their independence and integrity of life, the one is in every respect a greatly inferior being to the

¹ IV. vii. 2. sqq.² I. i. 11. 14. sqq.

other; inferior in his religious views, in his intellectual powers, in his rhetorical faculty, in his moral conduct. Were we indeed to form our judgement solely on the descriptive portion of the *Memorabilia*, Socrates would be far from wanting in the fundamental attributes of a wise and good man. By Xenophon as by Plato he is described, within the more limited range of genius conceded to him, as faultless in his philosophy, his piety, his moral sentiment. But here, as commonly happens with Xenophon's objects of hero-worship, there is a lamentable discrepancy between the descriptive and the dramatic element of his ethic portraiture. It is when the Xenophontean Socrates is introduced acting and speaking for himself, that he not only appears sadly inferior to the Platonic Socrates, but degenerates, to use the mildest phrase, into a very ordinary being. The dialogues in which he expounds his doctrines, are rarely distinguished either by sound argument or persuasive oratory. Not a few are sophistical to a degree, which would go far to establish the charge brought against him by his enemies, of being ready as it suited his convenience to take either side of a question. He is in fact introduced in different discourses, advocating and demonstrating, to Xenophon's satisfaction it must be presumed, diametrically opposite opinions.¹ Some of these discussions have no other apparent object, but to bewilder and perplex the opposite disputant²; in some his opponent has the best of the argument.³ Many are altogether pointless; descanting in trivial circumstantiality of detail

¹ Appendix Q. No. 1.² Appendix Q. No. 2.³ Appendix Q. No. 3.

on totally uninteresting topics. Such are most of his lectures on the humbler pursuits and occupations of life. One or two specimens are here subjoined :

“ Entering the shop of an armourer called Pistias, and having been shown some cuirasses of fine workmanship, ‘ By Juno, Pistias,’ said he, ‘ this is a noble invention, which hath devised a protection for the exposed parts of the body, without preventing the free use of the arms. But tell me, how is it that, without either making your cuirasses stronger, or of richer material than do other artists, you obtain a higher price for them ? ’ ‘ Because, O Socrates, I make them of better proportion.’ ‘ How do you estimate this exactness of proportion ? does it depend chiefly on the weight, or on the measure ? For I presume you do not make them all of the same size and form, if you wish them to fit well.’ ‘ Fit well they must,’ said Pistias ; ‘ otherwise, by Jupiter, a cuirass would be very little worth.’ ‘ But are not some men’s bodies well proportioned, and others ill proportioned ? ’ ‘ To be sure they are.’ ‘ How then do you manage to adapt a well proportioned cuirass to an ill proportioned body ? ’ ‘ By making it fit ; for proportion in a cuirass, consists in fact in its fitting.’ ‘ You are not then speaking of proportion in the abstract, but in reference to the man who uses the armour ; as if one were to say, that a shield is well proportioned in so far as it suits its bearer, and the same with a cloak, and many other things. There are also perhaps other advantages in a thing fitting well.’ ‘ Say on, Socrates, if anything further occurs to you.’ ‘ The weight of a cuirass that fits well is much less felt than that of one which fits ill. Those which fit ill, by either hanging altogether on the shoulder, or galling other parts of the body, are cumbersome and oppressive. But those that fit well, having their weight properly distributed, part on the neck and shoulders, part on the breast, part on the back, part on the belly, appear almost like portions of the body rather than burthens on it.’ ‘ It is in these respects that I consider my cuirasses chiefly valuable. Some people care little what a cuirass is, if it is richly gilt and enamelled.’ ‘ Truly if they buy on this account cuirasses that don’t fit, they seem to me to buy but a gilt and enamelled nuisance. But since the body does not remain in the same position, being sometimes erect, sometimes bent, a cuirass made to sit very close could hardly be a good fit.’ ‘ Certainly not.’ ‘ You would say then that it is not the cuirass that sits closest, but the one which is

least oppressive in use, that fits the best.' 'That is what I would say, Socrates; and you evidently understand my meaning.'"¹

"On some one remarking that the water in his well was too warm to be pleasant for drinking; 'If so,' said Socrates, 'you will at least have a warm bath at hand, when in want of one.' 'But it is rather too cold for warm bathing.' 'Do your servants complain of its being unfit either for drinking or bathing.' 'Not at all. Indeed I have often wondered at their putting up so well with it for both purposes.' 'Which is the warmest, the water in your house, or that in the temple of Æsculapius?' 'That in the temple.' 'Beware then of being more difficult to please than servants or sick people.'"²

"Hearing some one, about to visit Olympia, complain of the length and fatigue of the journey: 'You have no cause to be uneasy,' said Socrates. 'Are you not in the habit, when at home, of walking about the greater part of the day? In like manner, when on the road, you will walk before dinner, and before supper, and before going to bed? The walks you take in five or six days when at home, if extended in one line, would easily bring you from Athens to Olympia. But you had better start a day sooner than necessary, rather than a day later. It is severe on a traveller to make journeys of extra length; while a day to spare may greatly alleviate the fatigue. It were wise therefore rather to accelerate your departure, than be hurried on the road.'"³

It is quite possible that a philosopher, even of superior order to Xenophon's Socrates, might, in careless gossiping mood, deliver himself to the above effect. But that Xenophon should have transmitted to posterity such trivial stuff, in a series of choice illustrations of his favourite sage's wisdom and persuasive eloquence, is as discreditable to himself as injurious to the honour of his master. The natural inference must be, that he had nothing better to fill the place allotted to it. But, in truth, there is so much analogy between these passages and other specimens of solemn trifling in the *Cyropædia*, for which Xenophon him-

¹ III. x. 9. sq.

² III. xiii. 3. sq.

³ III. xiii. 5.

self is responsible, as to awaken the suspicion, that he has here made his master, like Cyrus or Chrysantas, merely the mouthpiece of his own conceptions.

Among the few passages of the *Memorabilia*, distinguished by eloquence or philosophical spirit, one is the discourse on the evidence of a deity, as displayed in the more beautiful and beneficial phenomena of the universe.¹ Another is the Allegory of Hercules at the crossroad.² This discourse Socrates, or Xenophon as acting for him, has not disdained to borrow, partly it would appear in the original author's words, from Prodicus, a distinguished member of that order of fellow-teachers whom, under the name of Sophists, Plato represents his master as habitually holding up to ridicule.

His moral
sentiment
and disci-
pline.

8. It is however in his moral attributes, that the defects of Xenophon's Socrates, as portrayed by his own words and acts, are most painfully perceptible. Among his virtues chiefly commended by Xenophon, is his continence in regard to sexual intercourse; a virtue which he is also made, in serious didactic mood, emphatically to inculcate on his disciples. But the effect of these lessons is sadly counteracted, by the morbid satisfaction with which he is habitually introduced discussing the most offensive forms of the vice he professes to deprecate, on those social occasions, where evil example in a senior and professing sage, must be far more effectual in encouraging profligacy, than volumes of formal disquisition in promoting virtuous habits. Illicit amorous intercourse, especially of the kind most repugnant to modern taste, is the favourite topic of the Socratic circle. The Philoso-

¹ IV. iii.

² II. i. 21.

pher, when he does not himself introduce the subject, is always ready to join in it, and too often in a tone of levity, which it is difficult to believe could, even according to the ethic standard of that age, have been consistent with respectability in an elderly Athenian citizen and father of a family. But this levity is not confined to language. The same Xenophon, who asserts in his own words the immaculate purity of his master, makes his master himself admit, in facetious vein, but with too much appearance of sincerity, that he sinned at times, in deed as well as in word, against the doctrines which he preached.

The person who appears in Xenophon's Socratic commentaries, as the favourite disciple and associate of the philosopher, is a certain Critobulus. This youth, unlike those whom other authorities describe as enjoying the highest place in his master's esteem, Alcibiades, Critias, Plato, or Xenophon himself, is altogether devoid, not only of great or good qualities, but of any talent or accomplishment. He is remarkable for nothing but his beauty and his pæderastian profligacy.¹ The philosopher informs us² that Crito, the father of the young voluptuary, had consigned him to his care, for the purpose of being reclaimed from his vicious courses; and the semblance of Mentor is occasionally maintained by a gentle rebuke, to the effect of which an antidote is speedily administered, by the indirect encouragement which the philosopher habitually holds out to perseverance in the fault reprehended.³ Of the two occasions where Socrates, in the *Memorabilia*, reproves a disciple for irregular conduct, one is⁴

¹ *Memor.* i. iii. 8. *sqq.*; *Sympos.* iii. 7., iv. 10. *sqq.*

² *Sympos.* iv. 24.

³ Compare *Sympos.* iv. 21. *sqq.* 27. *sqq.*

⁴ i. iii. 8.

where he taxes Critobulus with having taken an improper liberty with a youth whom he admired; the other¹ where he remonstrates with Critias on behaviour, described by himself as "swinish," towards a younger fellow-pupil. In the festive dialogue of the Symposium, Xenophon makes Socrates jocosely allude to his former censure of Critobulus; when a friend of the latter retorts on the philosopher, that such prudery but ill became him, as he had himself lately been seen acting towards Critobulus, in the same manner for which he had reproved Critias. Socrates admits the justice of this accusation, and laments, in a tragi-comic tone of remorse, his having indeed on that occasion succumbed to the "swinish" influence; but protests that he had since done penance for his fault. Then, turning to Critobulus, he adds: "I now therefore charge you, before these witnesses, never again to come into close personal contact with me, until the hair of your beard shall be equal in length to that of your head." "In this way," as Xenophon winds up the anecdote, "they went on sporting and jesting with each other."² This illustration of his master's moral purity receives its finishing touch, from the incidental allusion by Socrates in the course of the dialogue, to the fact, that Critobulus was a newly married man.³

Nor is it on convivial occasions alone, that Socrates is introduced by Xenophon, abetting immorality. Among the didactic dialogues of the Memorabilia, is one between the philosopher and an itinerant courtesan, of the more licentious class of her profession. It having been mentioned to Socrates that this adven-

¹ I. ii. 30.

² Symp. iv. 27. sq.

³ Symp. II. 3.

turess, by name Theodota, then on a visit to Athens, was very handsome, and her lodging much frequented by artists for the purpose of modelling the more striking beauties of her person, he proceeds, surrounded by his pupils, to make her acquaintance.¹ The reader, whose impressions of his character are derived from other more ideal portraits, will naturally suppose, that his object was to reclaim her from her vicious course of life. But on entering he informs her, in highly complimentary terms, that he visits her, as he was in the habit of visiting other professional persons, for the purpose, by his advice and instructions, of improving her skill and promoting her success in her calling. He accordingly, in most untranslatably offensive detail, explains his views of the best modes of turning her allurements, both of body and mind, to account, in securing and maintaining her hold on her victims. At the close of the interview Theodota, expressing her gratitude, proposes, naturally, that he would afford her opportunities, in his own person, of showing how well she had profited by his lecture. But, while admitting that she had inspired him with a desire to partake of her favours, he excuses himself on the ground of having more important business on hand. All this passes in the presence of those young friends, whom his biographer describes him as habitually warning against the fascinations of vice and vicious companions. If Xenophon's report of this extraordinary interview be correct, whatever may have been the harshness of the punishment, it would be difficult to impugn the justice of the verdict, which pronounced Socrates "a corrupter of the Athenian youth."

¹ III. xi.

THE APOLOGY OF SOCRATES.

How far
genuine.

The tract entitled *Apology of Socrates*, which forms a sort of appendix, or epilogue to the *Memorabilia*, contains reports of conversations held by the philosopher with his friends, before and after his trial, with portions of his defence in court. It is made up in great part of passages of the *Memorabilia*, some repeated word for word, others slightly varied. Its claims to rank as a genuine production of Xenophon have been questioned by modern commentators, and not without reason.¹ It is difficult to see what object Xenophon could have had, in throwing together so small a quantity of original matter as is here contained, into a separate form, rather than uniting it with the more complete biographical treatise to which it so naturally belonged; still less why he should have done so at the cost of so much plagiarism from the text of that treatise. The identity between passages of the *Hellenica* and the *Agexilaus*, offers it is true a parallel, but not altogether a similar case; those two works being different in their general character, although the subject of each admitted of certain portions of the one being equally well adapted to the other. Yet it is perhaps even less likely that a literary forger, qualified so well to imitate the style of Xenophon in the greater part of his supposititious text, would have thought it worth while to mar the original effect of that part, by the admixture of so much palpably stolen matter.²

¹ See L. Schmitz, in the *Cambr. Philolog. Museum*, vol. II. p. 221.

² See Weiske, *Xenoph. Opp.* i. iv. p. 410.; Bornemann, *De Xen. Apol. Socratis*.

THE SYMPOSIUM (CONVIVIUM, OR BANQUET).

9. In the foregoing remarks on Xenophon's portrait of Socrates, regard has been had to the contents, not only of the *Memorabilia*, but of the *Symposium* or *Banquet* by the same author; to which latter work attention is now more especially directed. The illustrations which this curious narrative supplies, of the weaker points of the philosopher's character as conceived by Xenophon, are still more pointed than those derived from the *Memorabilia*.

The class of composition to which the *Symposium* belongs, became popular in Greece at an early period. An elegant fragment of a lost work of the kind, but apparently in superior style, by Ion of Chios, has been quoted in the previous volume.¹ The tract of Xenophon here under consideration, and another under the same title by his fellow-disciple Plato, are the most antient which we now possess.²

The object of Xenophon in the composition of his *Symposium* is to illustrate, partly the tone of convivial society in the Athenian literary circles, chiefly the genius of his master, as exhibited in a variety of forms, such as it could with less propriety be made to assume in his graver biographical commentaries. Socrates accordingly is the principal actor in the piece. The scenes described are little to the honour of any

Plan of
the work.

¹ Vol. IV. p. 207.

² Their respective claims to priority, have been disputed among commentators; and an argument in favour of each has been grounded on the existence in its text of indirect references to the contents of its rival. Certain remarks or allusions are, it is true, common to both; but no clear evidence has yet been adduced, that these passages have in either case been borrowed by the one from the other. Schneid. *De Conviv. Xenoph.* tom. v. p. 140. sqq.; K. F. Hermann, *Philologus*, Götting. 1853, p. 320.

Part
allotted to
Socrates.

of the performers. But the part allotted to Socrates is, in all respects, so unworthy either of a wise and virtuous man, or of a man of ordinary taste and judgment, that were the real authorship less clearly ascertained, one might suppose the work to be an insidious attempt by some Aristophanic libeller, under the mask of an admirer, to hold the philosopher up to ridicule. The moral discourses by which he is made from time to time to season the general levity of the proceedings, would serve, by the pedantic drollery of the contrast, to impart additional zest to the satire.

The banquet described is represented as having been given by Callias, a distinguished Athenian citizen, in the year 421—420 B.C., to Autolycus, a youth of whom he was enamoured, in honour of a victory gained by the same Autolycus in the Pancratic contest "of the Boys," in the Panathenæa of that year.¹ The company comprised, besides Autolycus and Callias, Lycon, the father of Autolycus; Niceratus, son of Nicias, the same probably slain by the Thirty tyrants²; Socrates, with his favourite Critobulus, and four other pupils: Xenophon; Antisthenes, afterwards founder of the sect of Cynics; Hermogenes, brother of Callias; and Charmides, a cousin and partisan of Critias, who fell, together with his patron, in the battle of the Piræus.³ The fact of Autolycus having been victor in the Panathenæa of this year is certain. How far the banquet in celebration of his victory may have been a real event is open to question. The introduction of real personages in a composition of this kind, acting imaginary parts, in connexion with real transactions, was quite compatible with literary privilege

¹ Conf. Schneid. De Conv. Xenoph. p. 143. sqq.

² Hellen. II. iii. 30. Schn. ad loc.

³ Hellen. II. iv. 19.

in that age as in our own. Nor would the ethic value of the piece be materially diminished by such a want of historical substance. As at the supposed date of the banquet, Xenophon, like Autolycus, was a youth of about fifteen, he could hardly have been qualified very accurately to observe or commit to memory the details of what took place. Nor consequently would his narrative, even if in so far founded on fact, have afforded a better illustration of the men and manners described, than a similar composition, the framework of which alone was imaginary, while the characters were drawn from the real life by one well acquainted with their peculiarities.

In the subjoined epitome, several of the more characteristic passages have, for the sake of closer illustration, been cited in their integrity.

Epitome of
its con-
tents.

Soon after the guests were assembled, a professional jester named Philippus knocks at the door, and in a humorous tone of supplication, asks and obtains permission to enter and partake of the feast. His attempts to promote mirth are long unsuccessful; the stupor of admiration into which the company had been thrown by the beauty of the principal guest, having rendered them callous to his jokes. In the end, his burlesque mode of showing his mortification provokes a certain degree of hilarity.¹ Supper being ended and the tables removed, a Syracusan ballet-master is introduced with a small troop of choristers, consisting of his own son and two females, proficient in music and dancing. Their inaugural performance is much admired, and Socrates compliments Callias on the excellence of his entertainment. A proposal is made to distribute perfumes among the company. But to this Socrates objects. He argues, that such luxuries ought to be appropriated to women; that the oil of the Gymnasium was the only cosmetic which became a man, and that the most fragrant of all perfumes was the odour of a virtuous life. The performance of several dances by one of the girls, elicits from Socrates a remark on the comparative genius of the male and female sex², which An-

The
jester.

The
Syracusan
ballet-
master.

¹ c. i.

² ii. 1—4.

tisthenes follows up by rallying the philosopher on the particular genius of his wife Xantippe. Socrates in reply, argues, that to a man of philosophic mind there are great advantages in a cross-tempered wife. Congratulating the Syracusan on the skill of his performers, he expresses his intention of learning some steps himself from so accomplished a master. The burst of laughter which follows this announcement, provokes from Socrates a dissertation on the utility of all kinds of athletic exercises, and not least of dancing, to men of every class and age. Callias admits the truth of this doctrine, and promises, as soon as the philosopher begins his lessons, to become his fellow-pupil.¹

"Pander-
ism" of
Socrates.

Philippus mimics with good effect the gestures of the dancers. On his complaining of thirst, the cup is handed round; when Socrates moralises on the various influences of wine, for good or for evil, on the minds of men, which he likens to the influences of rain on the vegetable world.² Callias, on the suggestion of Socrates, gives a more intellectual turn to the entertainment, by proposing that each guest shall describe the talent on which he chiefly prides himself. He sets the example by stating, that he considers himself to excel in the art of improving men's characters. Niceratus boasts of his knowledge of Homer; Critobulus of his beauty; Antisthenes, after cavilling at some of the previous answers, of his wealth; Charmides of his poverty; Socrates, with great dignity of manner, of his skill as a pander, or go-between. He declares, amid the general mirth of the company, that he feels confident, were he to devote himself to that profession, he would soon realise a good fortune. Lycon prides himself on the victory of his son; Hermogenes on the possession of many friends.³ Socrates then insists that each man shall give a nearer definition of his boasted quality, and of the grounds on which he rests his claim. Callias explains, that his mode of rendering men better is to give them money; those who have something to spend, being least under temptation to steal. Niceratus, among other beauties of his favourite poet, commends the passage in which he prescribes an onion as a good relish for drink; and proposes that some should be handed round. Charmides remarks, that Niceratus naturally wishes to smell of onion, in order that his wife, on his return home, may not suspect him of having been kissing other people.⁴ Critobulus then enlarges, with enthusiastic eloquence, on his zeal and success in the pursuit of his amours, on his own personal charms, and on those of

¹ ii. 9—20.

² ii. 21—iii. 3.

³ iii. 4—14.

⁴ iv. 1—9.

Clinias, the youth whom he chiefly loves. Socrates boldly denies his title to the palm of beauty, asserts his own preferable claim, and calls on the company to decide between them. In the discussion which follows this challenge, Socrates taxes Critobulus with indulging in impure love; but is forced in his turn to admit, that his own amorous inclinations are not always confined within the just limits prescribed by himself in his lectures.¹

Charmides, expatiating on the blessings of poverty, describes how much happier a man he had been since he had been ruined by the war, than when in the possession of extensive estates. Antisthenes defines the wealth of which he boasts, to be identical with the poverty of Charmides, consisting of a bare competence with contentment. Hermogenes explains the friends in whose favour he glories, to be the gods, and is commended by Socrates for his piety. The philosopher also defines the figurative sense in which he boasted of his qualifications as a pander.²

The contest for the palm of beauty between Socrates and Critobulus now commences. Subjoined are the chief points of the philosopher's case, as argued in his favourite inductive method:

His competition for the palm of beauty.

Socr. Do you consider beauty to be a property of men alone, or common to other objects?

Crit. By Jupiter, I think a horse or an ox may also be beautiful, and a sword, or a shield, or a spear, and many other things.

Socr. But how can all these things be beautiful, being all unlike each other?

Crit. They are beautiful, in as far as they are so born, or so formed, as to be best adapted each to its particular purpose.

Socr. For what purpose are man's eyes required?

Crit. For the purpose of seeing.

Socr. Then my eyes must be more beautiful than yours.

Crit. How so?

Socr. Because yours can only see straight forwards, while mine squint all around.

Crit. You must admit then that a crab has, of all animals, the most beautiful eyes.

Socr. No doubt; because she has the best and strongest.

Crit. Be it so. And do you also consider your nose to be the handsomer of the two?

Socr. Assuredly; if noses were made by the gods for the pur-

¹ iv. 10—28. : conf. p. 450. *supra*.

² iv. 29. *sqq.*

pose of smelling. For your nostrils are turned down towards the ground, while mine are widely spread out, so as to collect odours from all sides.

Crit. In what other respect is a snub nose handsomer than a straight one?

Socr. Because it does not obstruct the view from the eyes, but allows them a clear look out; while a high nose is like a hostile rampart in front of them.

Crit. With regard to the mouth I give up my case; for as mouths were made for biting, yours I admit is much better at that than mine.

Socr. But do you not also think, that my lips being so much thicker, my kiss must be much softer than yours?"

In spite however of this ingenious argument, the case is decided in favour of Critobulus, who receives as the prize of his victory the kisses of the company.¹

His altercation with Hermogenes,

Hermogenes having, during a long interval, taken no part in the conversation, is chid by Socrates for his silence; when the following altercation ensues:

"*Socr.* Can you tell me, Hermogenes, what it is 'to be the worse for wine?'

Herm. If you ask me what it is, I don't know. But I can tell you what I think it is.

Socr. Well, let us hear.

Herm. I consider a man to be the worse for wine, who bores a friend while enjoying his wine.

Socr. Do you not bore us by your silence?

Herm. While you yourselves are talking?

Socr. No; but when we stop, and your turn comes.

Herm. Do you think it would have been possible for me to squeeze in half a syllable, much less a whole remark, during the intervals of your talk?

Socr. Callias! Can't you help a man who is getting a set down?

Cal. I will do my best. Were we not silent while the flute was playing?

Herm. Would you have had me mar the music with my voice, as Nicostratus the actor does, when spouting his tetrameters? . . ."

and with

Socrates is now, in his turn, attacked by the Syracusan, whom

¹ v.—vi. l.

he had offended by diverting the attention of the company from his choric entertainments to sophistical discourses. the ballet-master.

"*Syr.* Are you Socrates, called the Thinker?

Socr. Better to be called the Thinker than the Thoughtless.

Syr. Not when a man's thoughts are always up in the air.

Socr. Can a man's thoughts be too lofty when they are fixed on the gods?

Syr. But your thoughts, by Jupiter, as I am told, are altogether visionary.

Socr. If visionary, they may well be fixed on the gods, to whom we owe both vision and provision.¹ If my wit is shallow, you have yourself to blame for provoking it.

Syr. Leave this trifling, and tell me: How many lengths of a flea's foot are there betwixt you and me? for that they say is the kind of geometry in which you excel."

Antisthenes and Philippos interpose, and the altercation becomes general. Socrates calms the excitement by commencing a song, and the rest join in chorus; after which he allays the wrath of the ballet-master, by a learned commentary on the conjuring tricks performed by the troop.² He then, in support of his boasted office of Pander, expatiates with much eloquence on the passion of love, illustrating his subject by examples drawn from history, human and divine. He compares the attributes and rites of the Aphrodite Urania, or Celestial Venus, who presides over the love of the mind, with those of the Aphrodite Pandemus, or Material Venus, who presides over the love of the body. He warmly advocates the claims of the former, and repudiates those of the rival goddess to the worship of her votaries.³ His lecture on love.

The solemnity of this lecture is relieved, and the entertainment concluded, by a pantomimic dance of the Syracusan choristers, representing the consummation of the marriage rite of Bacchus and Ariadne. A graphic, but not very chaste description is given, of the effect produced by this performance on the younger members of the company.⁴ Lascivious dance.

10. From the parallel between this description and that given by Plato of his Socratic banquet, it may be inferred that Xenophon has here represented, more Parallel of Plato's Symposium.

¹ The pun in the text is not literally translatable; but we venture to think that our own free copy is not worse than the original.

² vi. 6. sqq., vii.

³ viii.—ix.

⁴ ix. 2. sqq.

Xenophon's facetious humour.

or less faithfully, the general plan of such entertainments in the Athenian literary circles. The further inference however, that the peculiar vein of conversational wit which enlivens his Symposium, was prevalent in polite Athenian society, is not borne out by other evidence ; neither by that of the same Platonic convivium and of the fragment of Ion already cited, nor by those remains of the Athenian comic drama which reflect the more chaste and classical, as distinct from the popular Attic taste ; nor generally, by the allusions which occur in classical literature to such convivial meetings. In the Platonic banquet the tone, even of Aristophanes, when treating too a not very delicate subject, is comparatively subdued and delicate. That much of the wit of the Xenophontean banquet is Xenophon's own, is further implied by the near resemblance which portions of it bear to parallel specimens in his other works. With the Socratic definition of beauty above quoted, may be compared the discussion in the *Cyropædia* between Cyrus and his officers on the subject of matrimony.¹ The Persian hero's boast of his skill in match-making, also finds its parallel in the philosopher's pride in his panderism. Xenophon's humour indeed, everywhere savours more of the camp life of his maturer years, than of the Periclean polite society in which he passed his youth. There can also be little doubt that, in so far as his taste was formed on classic models, the one preferred was Aristophanes. The case of direct plagiarism from the *Clouds*, in the philosopher's quarrel with the ballet-master, did it stand alone, might not supply ground for any positive inference.

¹ p. 408. *supra*.

But the Xenophontean wit is generally of the Aristophanic order; broad and palpable, often obscene; abounding in personal allusions and punning repartees. We miss however the power, brilliancy, and ease of Aristophanes. Xenophon's humour everywhere bears the stamp of effort. His jokes with rare exception are flat; his puns farfetched; his repartee laboured and artificial, degenerating at times into mere trivial commonplace. The passages above cited have been selected as fair average specimens; and as being free from that excess of indelicacy, which renders others, especially when placed in the mouth of Socrates, unfit for citation.¹

Of the graver passages interspersed here and there, the most effective are, the joint dissertations of Charmides and Antisthenes on the Blessings of poverty, and that of Socrates on Love. The two younger moralists recapitulate with some spirit, the usual arguments in favour of their Utopian paradox. The merits of the philosopher's disquisition are placed in a great degree, by the very nature of its subject, beyond the reach of modern criticism; the species of amorous affection to which it exclusively relates, being one repudiated by modern taste and morality, as hardly fit for discussion either in polite conversation or in writing. Admitting however, in its full extent, the dignity and propriety of his line of argument, as judged in the spirit of his own times, the broader becomes the contrast between his doctrine and the part he is made to perform in the previous scenes. A stranger anomaly can hardly be imagined than that with which Xenophon has here, unconsciously

¹ Conf. iv. 53. sqq.

it would seem, presented his readers; by introducing the same man, during a whole afternoon, taking part in licentious discourse, enjoying lascivious dances, and jocosely alluding to his own lascivious acts, and then concluding the day's entertainment by an elaborate lecture on the beauty and advantage of moral purity.

THE ŒCONOMIST, or HOUSEHOLDER.¹

11. This treatise comprises two separate dialogues. The first is between Socrates and his favourite pupil Critobulus. The second is a recapitulation, by the philosopher, of one formerly held by himself with a friend called Ischomachus. In the former Socrates is, as usual, the instructor. In the latter this duty is performed by Ischomachus, and Socrates is the supposed listener.

Athenian
system of
house-
keeping.

The subject of discussion is domestic economy, or, in the literal sense of the Greek phrase, Housekeeping; which, for reasons assigned by Socrates, is made to comprehend agriculture. In the first dialogue, the philosopher takes a general view of the combined topics. He commences by defining in the usual interrogatory form, the term Œconomy, or Housekeeping. Then follows a disquisition on the origin, nature, and value of property, its use and abuse; with more immediate reference to the circumstances of himself and his friend; to the proverbial wealth of Critobulus, and his own poverty.² He then undertakes, at the request of Critobulus, a special application of what has been said to the case of the latter.

¹ The original title *Οἰκονομικός*, like that of *Ἰππαρχικός* in the sequel (p. 471.), depends on the noun *λόγος* understood. We have given to each a turn better adapted to our own idiom.

² i. ii.

He impresses on him the propriety of making a better use of his riches, of introducing order into his domestic arrangements, and of assigning to his wife, hitherto a mere cipher in his estimation, her proper position in his establishment. He commends agriculture, as the only one among the industrial arts worthy of being cultivated by a free and warlike people.

In the sequel he disclaims any such knowledge of the details of domestic economy, as could qualify him properly to instruct others. He therefore has recourse to his recollection of a series of lessons formerly delivered to himself by his friend Ischomachus, one of the best citizens and most accomplished men of business in Athens.¹

Ischomachus enjoins, as the first step in the formation of a domestic establishment, the acquisition of a virtuous and prudent wife. He describes how he had trained his own, at the time when he espoused her an inexperienced girl of fourteen, to the duties of her position. The account that ensues of the functions of an Athenian married lady, would be applicable, if we except the greater restriction on her personal liberty, to a hired housekeeper of the present day. Her business is to nurse her children, to maintain discipline among her slaves; to be diligent herself at her web, in the management of her kitchen, larder, and bakehouse, and in her care of the furniture, wardrobe, and household property of all kinds; to select a well qualified stewardess to act under herself, but to allow no undue confidence in her to interfere with her own habits of personal superintendence; to remain continually within doors;

¹ iii.—vi.

she will find abundance of exercise in her walks to and from different parts of the premises, in dusting clothes and carpets, and baking bread or pastry.¹ From all this it appears, that what are now considered essential qualifications in a married lady of the upper class, presiding at her husband's table, receiving his guests, or enlivening by her conversation his hours of domestic retirement, entered as little into the philosopher's estimate of a model wife, as into that of his countrymen at large. Like Pericles, Socrates, according to Xenophon, could appreciate female accomplishment in an Aspasia or a Theodota, but was not, like Pericles, alive to their value in a virtuous Athenian lady.

Athenian
system of
agricul-
ture.

Passing on to the agricultural branch of his subject, Ischomachus first enjoins the obtaining a good land-steward, as being to the farm what a good wife is to the house. He considers it better for a landlord to train one for himself, than purchase one in the market; all the members of the establishment being, it would seem, of the servile order. In the management of his hinds and labourers, leniency is enjoined as preferable to harshness; reward for good conduct as more effectual than severity against offenders. The different qualities of soils are then examined, in their adaptation to different kinds of produce. The proper seasons and modes of ploughing, sowing, harrowing, weeding, reaping, threshing, winnowing, are prescribed. Similar directions are given for the culture of olives, vines, and figs. The essay concludes with an exhortation to diligence and thrift in every branch of management, as more important even than skill; there being more cases of bankruptcy among

¹ vii.—x.

skilled agriculturists deficient in the former requisites, than among careful husbandmen of inferior science.¹

The part of this dialogue devoted to domestic economy, or housekeeping in the proper sense, is the most copious; and comprises all the more fundamental principles of that art, in so far as reducible to written rules. The agricultural commentaries are less detailed. No distinction is made between the different kinds of culture adapted to different species of grain, or to those numerous other vegetables, which, then assuredly as now, formed a large proportion of the sum total of agricultural produce in Southern Europe. The directions as to ploughing, sowing, reaping, &c., are given in the aggregate, without distinction of the different seasons or modes, adapted to different kinds of produce. Wheat and barley alone are mentioned; nothing is said of lentils, millet, beans, pease, hemp. As little of sheep-husbandry, the cow, or the dairy. The rules for planting olives and vines are more specific. No remarks occur on the several kinds of agricultural implement. Manure is mentioned, as a necessary aid to growth; but no directions are given for the mode of its application to different soils or crops.

The style, in the more practical parts of the dialogue, is concise and to the purpose, but at times not free from the characteristic diffuseness of Socratic dialectics. The excursions on the Persian system of agricultural policy, and on the character and death of the younger Cyrus², are undue excrescences on the text of a short didactic essay. In the one last mentioned, Xenophon indirectly describes this dialogue as held, or as feigned by him to have been

¹ xii.—xxi.

² iv. 5. sqq. 16. sqq.

held, in the interval between the death of his Persian patron, in September, 401 B.C., and that of Socrates in June, 399. He has been guilty therefore either of a blunder, or more probably perhaps of a wilful license, in representing himself as present on the occasion. Apart from the general evidence elsewhere adduced, that his return to Athens after his Thracian campaign was prevented by his banishment, his transfer of the Cyreian army from the service of Seuthes to that of Thimbron, did not take place till the summer, or at soonest the spring of the year 399. It is impossible therefore, even had he revisited Athens in time to have found his master alive, that he could have found him freely following his old pursuits. The tract contains no further data for judging of the time of its composition.

The Athenian land-
ed gentleman.

The description by Ischomachus of the ordinary outdoor occupation of an Athenian gentleman, is graphic and characteristic:¹

"I rise in the morning, about the hour when I may count on finding at home any person on whom I have occasion to call, and attend to such business as I may have in the city. This affords me as good a morning walk as I require. If there is nothing to detain me in town, I send my horse and groom into the country, and proceed thither myself on foot; which I consider a better walking exercise than I can have in the city porticoes. On reaching my farm, I inspect any planting, ploughing, sowing, or harvest work, in which my people may happen to be engaged, and suggest any change or improvement in their operations that may occur to me. I then commonly mount my horse, and exercise him and myself, as nearly as may be, in the war practice of the cavalry, sparing no kind of pace or passage, in flank or front, over fence or ditch, unless where the nature of the ground might risk the laming of my charger. My ride being ended, the groom, after resting and cooling him,² leads him home, carrying with him

¹ xi. 14.

² Literally, "allowing him to roll himself:" conf. *De re Equest.* v. 3.

anything that may be required for family use from the farm. I return as I went, on foot ; and on reaching the city, repose and clean myself, and partake of a moderate repast."

The supplementary touches in this essay do not improve the moral character of Socrates, as portrayed in the *Memorabilia* or the *Convivium*. Critobulus, in spite of his master's alleged efforts to reclaim him, and though now of the mature age of forty, is described¹ as still an idle man of pleasure ; and admits, in reply to a question which Socrates in his usual jocose vein addresses to him, "that his wife was among the "people with whom he had least pleasure in conversing."² The intimacy therefore between him and his preceptor, during the twenty years or upwards that he had remained incorrigible, can hardly be reconciled with the Socratic dogma, so emphatically inculcated in the *Memorabilia*, that it is the duty of a wise and good man to select wise and good men for his associates, and to break off intercourse with those of an opposite character.

ON THE EQUESTRIAN ART.

12. The three remaining works of Xenophon, two on the Equestrian art, the third on the Chase, are among the most carefully composed in the collection, and display a thorough knowledge of the subjects treated. Of the two on equestrian affairs, the second, entitled "*Hipparchicus*," relates to the duties of the Hipparchus, or Commandant of cavalry, in the state of Athens ; the first, here more immediately under review, is a manual of the properties and uses of the riding-

¹ ii. 7.

² iii. 12.

horse, and of the qualifications of the judge of horses, the rider, and the groom. The art of farriery is not included; nor that of horsebreaking in the stricter sense, for the reason intimated by the author¹, that it appertains to professional persons rather than the knight, or gentleman cavalier, for whose benefit his work is chiefly intended. The rules laid down, if allowance be made for certain distinctions between antient and modern usage, apply equally well to the present² time. They have, for the most part, been inherited in our own practice, and in various instances are preferable to those now in use.³ Rarely has a subject of so commonplace, yet technical a nature, been treated with greater elegance and spirit, or within the limits prescribed, with greater completeness and accuracy.

The equestrian art had, before the time of Xenophon, supplied material for literary treatment. In the opening passage of this tract, he mentions an author named Simon, to whom he was indebted for useful suggestions embodied in his own text. He arranges his subject under the two general heads of Horse-purchasing⁴, and the use and management of the horse when acquired.⁵ Under the first head he describes the qualities or points of a horse, good or bad; a knowledge of which is essential for the guidance of the buyer. Horses, as marketable objects, are considered as of two classes, young unbroken colts, and animals already trained and fit to carry. The sub-

¹ ii. 2.

² See Berenger's notes to his translation of this tract, in his *History and Art of Horsemanship*, vol. i. p. 219. sqq.

³ Berenger, p. 234. 238, 239.

⁴ i. 1. 2. sqq.

⁵ iv. 1. sqq.

joined remarks on the first class may be taken as a fair sample of the style:¹

"In purchasing a colt, the shape and points are mainly to be considered; the criteria for judging of the temper being, in an unbroken animal, wanting or fallacious. Attention must first be paid to the feet. For as a house would be little worth, however good its upper story, if its foundations were bad, in like manner a charger with bad feet would be of no value, however good its other points. For this one defect would render them all worthless. The part of the foot to be first examined is the hoof. A thick hoof is to be preferred to a thin one, a deep hoof to a shallow one, both in the fore and the hind feet. A deep hoof keeps the frog well off the ground, while in a low flat foot, as in that of a knock-kneed man, the hard and the tender parts are alike exposed to the roughness of the road. It has been well remarked by Simon, that sound is a good test of a horse's foot; for a firm hollow hoof rings like a cymbal on the ground. Proceeding upwards, the pastern, or space between the fetlock and the horn of the hoof, ought not to be over straight or upright, as in the foot of a goat. For the action of a foot so formed is apt to jar the rider in his seat, and cause inflammation of the horse's legs. Neither should that part be too low, for then the fetlock itself is exposed to drag in the mud or among the clods. The leg bones, as the supports of the body, should be thick, but free from flesh, or puffiness in the veins. . ."

Rules for
purchasing
a horse.

In the same lively strain, he analyses the several properties to be approved or condemned, in the knees, the thighs, the breast, neck, head, eyes, nostrils, shoulders, flanks, carcass, loins, coupling, &c.

The rules for purchasing an already broken horse, comprise definitions of the chief qualifications of the rider and the groom, as required for testing by experiment the capacities of the animal. The age having been ascertained by inspection of the teeth, the horse is mounted, and its temper and mouth, its activity and speed, in the several paces, undergo the necessary trials; in the stall and the stable-yard, with

¹ i. 2.

bit, halter, and leading-rein; in the field or on the road, alone or with other horses. In a war horse, as with us in a hunter, further proofs are required of his proficiency in the different kinds of leap, over wall, ditch, or fence, and in his ability to cope with irregular or precipitous ground.¹

His stabling and keep.

Art of equitation.

The horse having been acquired, attention is directed to his lodging and keep, to his feeding, as regards both quality and economy; to his bedding, grooming, and general treatment in the stable.² Passing on to the art of equitation in the proper sense, the author commences with the bridling. This operation is described with a graphic precision of terms, which, in an English version, would be equally intelligible and instructive to an English groom lad. Directions are given for the handling of the bridle, and the formation of the "hand;" light but firm, with slack, or tight rein, as suited to different paces and movements. As stirrups were not used by the Greeks, the act of mounting was performed with more difficulty than now; and, to suit the convenience of different riders, in a variety of modes which, as here described, contrast curiously with our own simple method.³ The Seat is next considered, also, like the Hand, in its adaptation to the different motions of the horse. The directions for sitting a leap, bear obvious reference to contingencies arising from the want of stirrups. Instructions are also given in cavalry skirmishing, and in the sabre and lance exercise. Special rules are given for the management of cross-tempered horses, the one golden precept being steadily kept in view, that everything should be done, where possible, by gentle and persuasive treatment, by coax-

¹ i.—iii.

² iv.—vi. 1—6.

³ vi. 7.—vii. sqq.

ing, humouring, and force of habit; as little as possible by chastisement or coercion.¹ A detailed description follows, of the different kinds of bit, their structure and use, as adapted to different tempers and mouths. The treatise concludes with some account of the best kinds of cavalry armour, for the protection of both horse and man, and of the weapons best adapted for cavalry combat.

In this exposition of the subject, two omissions chiefly strike the modern reader. Nothing is said of the saddle, beyond the mention of its name, and of the fact that such an article was used. No notice is bestowed on its form, material, position, or mode of fastening upon the horse. The chapter on shoeing, of vital importance in the modern book of equitation, is also a blank page in that of Xenophon; the Greek horses not having been shod. Great importance is hence attached, in the description of the stable and stable-yard, to the kinds of pavement best calculated to harden the foot, without impairing its strength and elasticity.

This essay seems, from an allusion at its close, to have been written about the same time with the "Hipparchus;" consequently, as we gather from the internal evidence of the latter treatise, after Xenophon's restoration to his rights of citizenship.

THE HIPPARCHUS, OR COMMANDER OF CAVALRY.

The essay on the Equestrian art closes with the remark, that its contents are chiefly intended for the benefit of private cavaliers. The present treatise applies more especially to the duties of a Hippar-

¹ viii. ix.

thus, or Commandant of cavalry, and is addressed to the person holding that office in Athens, in a friendly confidential tone, indicating a personal intimacy between him and the author.

His first duty is to maintain the muster-roll of his corps, under the powers vested in him by the state for this purpose, at its full legal complement. In selecting his men, from the class liable to cavalry service, those to be preferred in the first instance, are citizens distinguished for rank and wealth; lest, if these were permitted to evade their turn of duty, others of inferior station should have a pretext for holding back. In furtherance of this object, he ought to retain orators to support his interest in the council, by denouncing the recusants, and in other ways influencing the legislature in favour of his claims. Care should be taken that the recruits come provided with good horses; and that all beasts affected with any blemish or vice, especially kickers in the ranks, should be discarded.¹

Detailed instructions are given for the maintenance of both men and horses in a fully efficient state, by judicious discipline in quarters, and regular practice in field evolutions, and martial exercises. Improvements are also suggested in the existing system of cavalry tactics. A large portion of the text is bestowed on the parade duties of the cavalry during the great national festivals, where they contributed to the effect of the ceremonial by the splendour of their appearance, and by the performance of mimic fights, and other manœuvres customary on such occasions.²

Attention is then directed to the graver responsibilities of a commander when on active service; on the

¹ i. 1.—15.

² i. 16. sqq., ii. iii.

march through a difficult country, or in presence of the enemy; in reconnoitring, skirmishing, foraging; and in providing for the comforts of the men in camp and quarters. It is suggested, as a measure calculated, for reasons assigned, to promote the efficiency of the service, that the cavalry force of the republic should be augmented to the number of a thousand men, by an addition of two hundred foreign mercenaries to the existing eight hundred Athenians.¹

This essay possesses value as a manual, by an experienced tactician, of the cavalry branch of military service in Athens, about the time of Xenophon's restoration to his civic rights², when that service, judging from his glowing account of the feats of the Athenian horse in the Mantinean campaign, was in a high state of efficiency. How far this may have been owing to Xenophon's suggested improvements we have no means of judging. The style is concise and to the point, but less spirited than that of the sister tract on Horsemanship.

ON HUNTING.³

13. This treatise is not calculated to speak home very powerfully to the sympathies of the British lover of field sports. It were natural to expect, that if Xenophon, who had so long been engaged in that species of human warfare which most nearly resembles the pursuit of ferocious wild animals, were ever led by his love of the chase, to digest his views on the

¹ iv. sq.

² Conf. Krüger, *Hist. Philol. Stud.* II. p. 282.

³ No antient critic has questioned the genuine character of this work. For the usual amount of vague speculation on the subject by modern commentators, see Sauppe, *Præf.* to the 2nd ed. of Schneider's text, tom. VI. p. LVII.

subject in a written form, his illustrations would chiefly have been derived from encounters with the noblest kinds of game; if not with the lion, tiger, or elephant, animals foreign to the soil of Greece, at least with the wolf, the bear, the lynx, and other fiercer denizens of his native forests. This expectation is sustained by the exordium of the book, in which the author panegyrises the art of hunting as an invention of the gods, and enumerates, in brilliant array, the divinities and heroes, who had ennobled it by their achievements. It is hence with some surprise, it may be with some little amusement, that the reader discovers, on penetrating further into the text, that the portion of it occupied with the hunting of the hare, and that in modes, snaring and netting, which an English gentleman sportsman disdains to employ, as the exclusive province of the night poacher, is four times greater than the space allotted to the pursuit of all other animals. The chase of the fallow deer, and that of the wild boar, are described in terms indicating that they were occasionally practised by Xenophon.¹ In his chapter (vi.) on the lion, leopard, panther, bear, "and other such animals," which occupies a single short page, he evidently speaks from hearsay.

Hare-
snaring
and net-
ting.

The functionaries for whom his favourite sport of hare-hunting provides employment are: the snarer or netter; and the huntsman in charge of the dogs, with which the hares are driven into the snares and nets. The qualifications of the former are described

¹ IX. x. Yet in the passage of the *Anabasis*, v. iii. 10., describing the game provided from Xenophon's preserves for the entertainment of his guests, at the festival of Diana, venison and wild boar alone are mentioned, nothing being said of hares.

with much precision. A good snarer must, it is said, "have a natural talent for his business; and a "good knowledge of the Greek tongue; must be "twenty years of age; of light but athletic habit of "body, and cheerful hearty disposition; qualities "which render him both fond of the work, and proof "against the hardships to which it exposes him."¹ Less importance seems to have been attached to the personal attributes of the huntsman; he is merely required to be lightly and loosely clad, well shod, and to carry a staff in his hand.²

The apparatus required in the snarer's department, the filaments, threads, twists, twines, &c., of which the nets and snares are composed; the meshes, cavities, chambers, &c., into which they are subdivided, and the loops, rings, knots, and other mechanism on which they work, are particularised with extreme minuteness, and by a corresponding variety of technical terms. A great part of these are as unintelligible to the modern Greek scholar, as the ideas which they represent, even if vernacularly defined, would probably be to the most accomplished modern poacher.³

Before or about daybreak, the snares and nets are so disposed as to command the outlets of the covert, from which the hares are driven with dogs, hunting by scent, partly in small packs like our beagles or harriers, sometimes separate like ground spaniels.⁴ The hounds employed, their breed, points, and modes of breaking and hunting, their collars, couples, slips, leading-strings, body-cloths,—are described with a diligence similar to that bestowed on the nets and

¹ ii. 3.² vi. 11.³ ii. 4. sqq.⁴ vi. 11. sq.

snares, and displaying a thorough acquaintance with the natural history and habits of the animal. A list is given of towards fifty of the names most appropriate for hounds male and female.¹ In the sequel we have a still more detailed commentary on the natural history and habits of the hare; in the field or the woodlands, the mountain or the marsh, by night or by day, when in form or on the run, in feeding, playing, bucking, breeding, sleeping, waking.²

The snares being set and everything ready, the active operations of the chase, the drawing of the covert, finding the scent, and the actual pursuit of the game, are described with a burst of enthusiasm, contrasting almost ludicrously with the insignificance of the object pursued:

“Off they now go, joyously, heartily, keen on the scent, in twos, in threes, still steadily on, now on this track now on that, ranging here turning there, harking forward trying back, into the thicks, over the clear, through the rough, along the smooth, eager to be first, with tails wagging high, ears flattened down, eyes flashing fire. On nearing the hare, they soon let the huntsman know whereabouts they are, their whole bodies vibrating, as if but a part of their tails; fiercely darting forwards, vying for the lead, now clustering together, again spreading abroad, again dashing on, until at last they approach the form, and rush in upon the hare. Up she springs, and away she starts, the pack in full cry behind her, the huntsman's voice resounding after them, Halloo dogs! fie, fie dogs! steadily again dogs; well done good dogs!” &c.

This sort of description is kept up during several pages, with other mimic specimens of the huntsman's stentorian eloquence, as addressed to the snarer, to the dogs, or to the passing peasant, where a check occurs, or information is required. Directions are also

¹ iii.—v. vi. l. sqq., vii.

² v.

given, as to the proper modification in each case of the tone or key of his voice, loud or moderate, high or low: "Look to her boy, look to her boy; mark her boy; mark her boy; Holloa you there—have you seen the dogs there?" &c.¹

If the game is found, but escapes, the covert is drawn afresh; if unsuccessfully, an attempt is made to regain and follow up the scent of the lost hare in the open field, tire her out, and kill her in the mode of a modern harrier-hunt.² The swiftness of the hare is described as so great, that no dog could cope with her in fair running.³ Coursing accordingly in the modern sense is nowhere mentioned, and may be presumed, with the nobler kind of greyhound, to have been unknown to Xenophon. Tracking in the snow is the only other variation of his favourite sport which he particularises.⁴ Hares, if we may judge from his description, were not plentiful in Greece, at least in his hunting-grounds. Hence possibly may be explained the extraordinary importance attached to their pursuit. "Blank days" are alluded to as not uncommon, and a single hare seems to have been considered as a fair day's sport.⁵

The modes of catching fawns, as described at some length in the sequel, are curious, and different from anything now practised. Full-grown deer are chiefly taken by a peculiar kind of snare or trap, which, remaining fast as a clog on the foot, impedes the animal's course, and enables either dogs or men to track, overtake, and destroy him.⁶ The wild boar, like the hare, is taken by nets, of great size and strength. When well trammelled in the meshes, he is attacked

Deer-catching.

Boar-hunting.

¹ vi. 15. sqq.

² vi. 24. sqq.

³ v. 29.

⁴ viii.

⁵ vi. 24. sqq.

⁶ ix.

and slain by the huntsmen with javelin or spear; not without danger at times to men as well as dogs. The male seems never to have been pursued and engaged in open combat; but the female, being by nature short of wind, is described as frequently killed in this manner, though seldom without the loss of several dogs.¹ Foxes are mentioned, not as objects of field sport, but as an impediment to its enjoyment; as a sort of ground vermin, injurious to the harrier, by drawing him off the legitimate scent; standing therefore in the same relation as the hare with us, in a thickly-stocked game preserve, to the unsteady fox-hound.²

It is remarkable that throughout this treatise, nothing is said of what in modern times is considered the noblest form of the chase, hunting on horseback; nothing of the capture of any kind of winged game; nothing of the use of the bow and arrow; although these in the Greek heroic legends, are described as favourite weapons of distinguished hunters, from Hercules downwards; and although Diana, the patron deity of the chase, bears them as her emblems of office.³ From numerous allusions interspersed in the text, it appears that Xenophon knew or recognised no game season.⁴ He hunted equally at all times of the year, unless when extremes of weather interfered.

Use and

The essay concludes with a eulogy of the chase,

¹ x.

² vi. 3.

³ The description however which Xenophon, in an illustrative passage of the *Cyropædia* (i. vi. 39.), gives of the netting of winged game by means of lure birds, much in the mode now common in Italy, shows him to have been familiar with that art. The same work also contains descriptions of hunting on horseback, as practised among the Persians.

⁴ v. *passim*, vi. 26.

as a school for the art of war, as a recreation contributing to health of body and equanimity of mind, and far more innocent and useful in all respects, than many of the forms of labour or indolence, in which those who affect to despise it are accustomed to spend their time. Severe reflexions are passed, in a digression of some length, on the Sophists; or in other words, on certain anti-Socratic literary men of the day, who had expressed themselves disparagingly of the author's favourite pursuit, and are contemptuously contrasted with the Philosophers, by whom it had been more favourably judged.¹

value of
the art of
hunting.

"Sophistical"
objections
combated.

¹ xi.—xiii.

CHAP. XVI.

THE REMAINING HISTORIANS OF THE ATTIC PERIOD.

1. LOSS OF THEIR WORKS. MORE EXACT DEFINITION OF THE ATTIC PERIOD. CTESIAS. HIS SERVICE AT THE PERSIAN COURT. HIS BIRTH AND AGE.—2. HIS WORKS. HIS PERSICA. HIS SYSTEM OF EARLY ORIENTAL HISTORY, COMPARED WITH THE SYSTEMS OF BEROSUS AND HERODOTUS.—3. ITS UNCITICAL CHARACTER.—4. HIS PERSIAN HISTORY PROPER.—5. HIS INDICA. HIS MENDACITY. HIS MINOR WORKS. HIS STYLE. DINON: HIS PERSICA.—6. PHILISTUS. HIS AGE. HIS CONNEXION WITH DIONYSIUS I. OF SYRACUSE. HIS BANISHMENT. HIS RESTORATION UNDER DIONYSIUS II. HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER. HIS WORKS. HIS IMITATION OF THUCYDIDES.—7. THEOPOMPUS. HIS LIFE AND TIMES. ORATOR AND HISTORIAN.—HIS AGE.—8. HIS CHARACTER. HIS WORKS. HIS EPIHOME OF HERODOTUS. HIS HELLENICA. HIS PHILIPPICA.—9. ANALYSIS OF ITS CONTENTS. HIS HONESTY. HIS CENSORIOUSNESS.—10. HIS LOVE OF THE MARVELLOUS. HIS STYLE. HIS RHETORICAL WORKS.—11. EPHORUS. HIS AGE. HIS EDUCATION. HIS HISTORICAL WORK.—12. ANALYSIS OF ITS CONTENTS.—13. HIS CREDIT AS A HISTORIAN AND GEOGRAPHER. HIS SECONDARY WORKS. HIS STYLE.—14. CRATIPPUS. SOPHÆNETUS OF STYMPHALUS. HERMIAS OF METHYMNA: HIS SICULA, ETC. TIMONIDES OF LEUCADIA: HIS EPISTOLARY HISTORY. ATHANAS OF SYRACUSE: HIS SYRACUSAN HISTORY. DIONYSIODORUS AND ANAXIS. CHERPISODORUS. ZOÏLUS OF AMPHIPOLIS. DEMOPHILUS.—15. PHANIAS OF ERESUS: HIS ERESIAN PRYTANES; OTHER WORKS. CLIDEMUS: HIS ATTHIS. OTHER ATTHIDISTS. PHANODEMUS.—16. CALLISTHENES. HIS BIRTH. CONNEXION WITH ALEXANDER. HIS CHARACTER.—17. HIS DEATH. HIS WORKS.—18. HIS HELLENICA. HIS HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. HIS PERIPLUS. HIS SCIENTIFIC WORKS. HIS TREATMENT OF MYTHOLOGY. HIS STYLE.

Loss of
their
works

1. The remaining historians of the Attic period are numerous; but no integral work by any one of them has survived. There may thus be observed, in regard to this branch of composition, a near correspondence between the commencement and the close of the period. It began with fragments, and it ends with fragments. The analogy may be extended from History to Poetry and Philosophy. In each department destiny has been favourable in preserving, amid

the general wreck, what was most worthy of being preserved. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plato, still exist in their integrity; and we possess Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Aristotle, each in sufficient fulness to admit of our appreciating their excellence. It may indeed seem but the natural course of events, that the best and most popular works should be best able to struggle through the obstacles interposed by time or barbarism to their passage to posterity; although the history of literature, in Greece as in other countries, offers some notable exceptions to this rule.

The epoch which has here been adopted as the close of the Attic period, is the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. In the adjustment of literary dates by this epoch, reference will be made, less to the birth or death of each author, than to the circulation of his works. Where the whole, or the more important part of them, were published prior to 323 B.C., he will be considered as belonging to the Attic, in the opposite case to the Alexandrian period. It may not be easy in every instance to draw the precise line of distinction; but there will be no serious difficulty in regard to historians of higher celebrity; and where doubt exists in regard to others, it will matter but little under which period their works may be classed.

Closer definition of the Attic period.

As a general rule the authors who, under the title of Historians of Alexander, occupy towards the close of the fourth century B.C. a large space in the field of Greek historical composition, will be considered as belonging to the Alexandrian age. Even where their lives may have fallen in great part within the present period, the works to which they chiefly owe their

reputation, must with rare exception have been published after the death of the principal hero whose actions they record: or, in the few cases where they may have been circulated during his lifetime, it will be desirable to class them with the rest, as appertaining to a single age, as well as a single branch of literary composition.

The writers of whom, consistently with these limitations, it remains to treat, are about twenty in number. But of these, many are in themselves of so little value, or the knowledge we possess of their lives and compositions is so slight, as to entitle them to a small share of notice in this work. While the list contains no author who can presume to cope either in excellence or celebrity with Herodotus or Thucydides, several may claim to rival, if not to surpass Xenophon, taking his qualifications as historian alone into account, in the esteem with which they were honoured by the antient public.

CTESIAS,¹

son of Ctesiochus, was a physician of Cnidos, a Lacedæmonian colony on the coast of the Asiatic Doris. He is described by Galen as a kinsman of Hippocrates, and as belonging like him to the family of the Asclepiadæ; which latter notice is to be understood, it may be presumed, in regard to each author, in a figurative rather than a literal sense. Seventeen years, the best probably of his professional life, were

His service at the

¹ J. C. Bähr, *Ctesias Cnid. Reliquiæ*, 1824; C. Müller, *Ctes. Cnid. Reliq. in Didot, Frgg. Hist. Gr.* The fragments are cited according to Müller.

passed at the court of Persia¹; where it had long been the custom to employ Greek physicians. He lived fourteen years in the service of Darius Ochus, three in that of his son Artaxerxes, and returned to Greece in 398 B. C.² His first entry on office must therefore have taken place in 415 B. C. Assuming him to have been then thirty years of age, his birth would fall in the year 445 B. C., or about ten years prior to that of Xenophon.³ He is said by some authorities to have been made captive in war by his royal patron, and retained in a professional capacity about his person.⁴ But this is not probable; there having been no war between Persia and the Greek states in 415 B. C. The mistake originates, there can be little doubt, in a misunderstanding, by superficial biographers, of the notices, by Ctesias himself in his Persica and by Xenophon in the Anabasis⁵, of Ctesias having been present at the battle of Cunaxa, and having dressed the wound which Artaxerxes received from Cyrus. Ctesias further describes himself as one of the envoys, sent by Artaxerxes to treat with the Greek commanders after the battle. This statement has been denounced by Plutarch⁶ as a falsehood, because Xenophon⁷, who was himself present at the conference, and mentions another Greek as a member of the mission, says nothing of Ctesias. It is not

Persian
court.

His birth
and age.

¹ Auctores ap. C. Müller ad Ctes. Rel. p. 1. sqq.

² Diodor. II. 32.; Photius, in Frg. 20. p. 58. Didot.

³ No apology will here be necessary, for having slightly disturbed the chronological order of our subject in treating of the two authors, by giving precedence to Xenophon, as the continuator of Thucydides, and as the only Greek historian of the century whose works have been preserved.

⁴ Diodor. loc. cit.; alii ap. Müller, loc. cit.

⁵ In Artox. 13.

⁶ I. viii. 27.

⁷ Anab. II. i. 7.

impossible that Ctesias, as an author of proverbially doubtful veracity, may here have been guilty of falsehood. But the ground on which the charge has been brought against him by Plutarch is hardly conclusive. Ctesias might be present without being recognised by Xenophon. If he wished, and he may have had reasons for wishing, to remain unknown, the Persian dress which he wore, or was entitled to wear as a court functionary, would easily prevent his being recognised.

Ctesias further describes himself as having exerted his utmost influence with Artaxerxes to alleviate the captivity of Clearchus; and as having refused to supply him in his prison with a weapon for the commission of self-destruction.¹ But his efforts were unavailing to procure the pardon or save the life of his unfortunate countryman. He was afterwards employed by Artaxerxes in diplomatic services²; first in an attempt to adjust certain disputes between Evagoras, king of Salamis, and the other petty Cyprian princes, vassals of the Persian monarch; and in the sequel as plenipotentiary in the negotiations between Artaxerxes and Conon, which resulted in their league against Lacedæmon. For this honourable office he was indebted, if we may trust a report mentioned by Plutarch³, to his fraudulent insertion into a confidential letter from Conon, which he had been commissioned to deliver to the king, of a passage recommending his own appointment. He was subsequently charged with a mission to Sparta⁴,

¹ Frg. 29. § 60. : conf. Plutarch, *Artox.* 18., who here again indirectly taxes him with "romancing."

² Phot. ap. Didot, *Frg.* 29. § 63.

³ *Artox.* 21.

⁴ Photius in *Frg.* 29. § 63.

of what precise nature we are not informed; and soon after permanently resettled in his native city. Of the latter part of his life, or the date and circumstances of his death, no record has been preserved.

2. The two principal works of Ctesias were his *Persica*, or Persian history; and his *Indica*, or Descriptive notices of India. Three other minor productions were attributed to him, a *Periplus*, a tract On Mountains, and another On Rivers.¹

The *Persica* treated, in twenty-three books, the history, not only of Persia in the proper sense, but of the portion of Central Asia over which the Persian empire extended, from the earliest time, down to the close of the author's residence at the court of Artaxerxes, in 398 B.C.² It was hence divided into three parts: I. The history of the first, or old Assyrian empire of Asia; II. The history of the Median empire, by which in the theory of Ctesias that of Assyria was supplanted; III. The history of the Persian empire proper, which supplanted that of the Medes. The first and second parts comprised three books each; the third part the remaining seventeen.

The pretensions advanced by Ctesias, and in some degree conceded by the Greek public, to a superiority over previous historians in the treatment of Asiatic subjects, were based on the greater facility of access which his long residence at the Persian court, and the position he there occupied, had afforded him to authentic native sources; especially to the original

¹ Müller ap. Didot, ad. Frg. p. 3. 107. The title *Περὶ πόρων* has been, perhaps with reason, understood by Müller as belonging to a book or subdivision of the *Persica*.

² Suid. v. Ctes.; Photius ap. Didot, Frag. 29. § 1.; Clinton, Fast. Hell. in an.

archives in which the vicissitudes of those several dynasties were recorded.¹ These pretensions may have been well founded in regard to Persian history in the proper sense, especially that portion of it immediately connected with his own time. Nor is it improbable, even in the then backward state of philological science, that a Greek man of letters, officially employed during many years at Susa, may have acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to enable him to consult the Persian written records. He cannot however be supposed to have possessed an equal familiarity with the other Asiatic tongues, radically distinct from the Persian, in which the chronicles of the previous Median and Assyrian dynasties were written. Nor indeed does Ctesias appear to have distinctly asserted a claim to such high philological qualifications; his appeals to original sources being limited to the "Persian" registers. There can however be little doubt of his having meant, by this vague generality of terms, to convey to his countrymen, slightly conversant as they were in such matters, the impression that the whole original records of Asiatic history were stored up in those Persian repositories. It is also possible that the Persian state chronicles may have contained, in the time of Ctesias, a Persian digest of those of the other older conquered dynasties.

compared
with the
systems of
Berosus
and Hero-
dotus.

His pretensions to have embodied, in the first two divisions of the *Persica*, the genuine substance of the native oriental records, from whatever source derived, will be most effectually tested by a comparative estimate of the conflicting claims to a similar merit,

¹ Diod. II. 32. : conf. Fragg. Ctes. 18. 29. § 1.

on the part of the two other more accredited organs of older Asiatic tradition, Herodotus, and Berosus the native Babylonian compiler of the Alexandrian age.

The result of this estimate is conclusive in favour of Berosus. As a native Assyrian he possessed qualifications for original research, to which Herodotus did not pretend, and Ctesias had no just pretensions. He was considered, and with apparent reason, by the Greeks an honest writer, whose object was neither to invent nor adorn, but to digest for their benefit, in their native tongue, the traditions contained in the antient historical books of his country. Those traditions, as they appear in his remains, also bear internal evidence of genuine character, both in their oriental forms, and in their correspondence with the Jewish history, in many points regarding which we know that there existed a community of tradition, reflecting a community of origin, between the Mesopotamian and Hebrew races. This correspondence becomes, in the later historical period, so close, both in regard to names and events, as to evince the good faith of the Chaldee chronicler, and hence to justify our confidence in his correctness in other cases. Of such internal evidence either of completeness or correctness, but little can be discovered in Herodotus, and still less in Ctesias. We subjoin a brief summary of each of the rival systems.

In the Assyrian tradition of Berosus¹, the very extravagance of the fables concerning Chaos, the Creation, and first foundation of the Assyrian empire, combined with their orientally mystical tenor, seems to guarantee their genuine origin. The analogy

¹ In Didot, *Frgg. Hist. Gr.* vol. II. p. 495. sqq.

which, without any trace of piracy, they here and there present to the Mosaic tradition, becomes complete with the Deluge. The description of that catastrophe is, in its substance, an exaggerated version of the Scriptural account. We have, under Chaldæan forms and names, a Chaldee Noah; a Chaldee Shem, Ham, and Japhet; the tower of Babel, the future site of Babylon; the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of the human race. The whole antediluvian period, as measured by the antient mystical arithmetic, lasted 432,000 years. With the dispersion, the correspondence between the Assyrian and Biblical tradition is interrupted. The first postdiluvian dynasty comprised 86 Chaldee kings and 34,000 years. Then followed a Median conquest of Babylonia, and a dynasty of eight Median kings, of 224 years' duration; then 11 other kings of uncertain race or length of reign. Next follow 49 Chaldee kings, reigning 458 years; 9 Arab kings, 245 years; 45 Assyrian kings, 526 years. Hitherto names are rare in the extracts. The catalogue from Phul and Sennacherib who succeed, down to Nabonedus the last of the line, becomes clearly historical; both names and events correspond in all essential particulars with those recorded in Scripture. With Nabonedus, conquered by Cyrus, the Assyrian empire is brought to a close, and the Persian empire succeeds.

Ctesias commences his Asiatic history with the conquest of the greater part of Asia by the Assyrian founder Ninus, who constructs the metropolis called after himself Nineveh. His widow and successor Semiramis, builds Babylon, and by her own victories extends her empire over Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya,

and part of India.¹ She is followed by thirty-one sluggard kings, whose reigns are signalised by no remarkable event but the mission of "Memnon" to assist Priam against the Greeks. The last of the line is Sardanapalus, who is conquered by one of his own satraps, Arbaces the Mede. The whole duration of the Assyrian empire is 1306 years.² The Median empire succeeds, extending, like the one supplanted, over Central Asia. It comprises nine kings and 317 years. Astyages, the last of these kings, is subdued by Cyrus the founder of the Persian empire, which still flourished in the time of Ctesias.³

Herodotus has an Assyrian empire of 520 years, and a Median empire of four reigns and 150 years. The details of his system, as compared with that of Ctesias, have been considered in treating of his own work.⁴

3. We have already had occasion to notice, as evidence of the factitious nature of the popular Hellenic digests of oriental history, their tendency to concentrate the destinies of each empire and its rulers, on the person and acts of two or three notable kings; on a primeval founder, a Ninus or a Menes, and a great foreign conqueror, a Semiramis or a Sesostris; the remaining members of the dynasty, with rare exception, being drone or sluggard kings, of whom little more than the existence had been recorded. A comparison of Ctesias and Berosus seems to prove, that the same method of centralisation was resorted to in dealing with dynasties, as with separate kings. The antediluvian period of Berosus, which the critical modern reader will appreciate as a fundamental ele-

Its uncritical character.

¹ Fragg. 1—16.

² Fragg. 25—28.

³ Fragg. 17—21, 22.

⁴ Vol. IV. p. 333. sqq.

ment of the original system, is struck off by Ctesias altogether; as appertaining doubtless, in the estimation of so critical a compiler, to mythology rather than history. The alternation in Berosus, of native Assyrian, Median, Arabian, and Chaldee dynasties, reflects evidently a series of struggles among the rival Asiatic races, for the supremacy which, as enjoyed by each, still continued to rank as "The Assyrian empire;" just as in the parallel course of authentic Egyptian history, we have native Egyptian, Ethiopian, and Asiatic dynasties, competing for the imperial crown of Egypt. It is the more easy therefore to recognise in the two distinct Assyrian and Median empires of Ctesias, the one supplanting and extinguishing the other, two successive centralisations, for the benefit of the Greek public, of the Babylonian compiler's less compact and symmetrical series of oriental vicissitudes; just as all the achievements of the thirty-three Assyrian kings and legislators are concentrated on Ninus and Semiramis; all their sluggishness on the one pre-eminent sluggard Sardanapalus. Although Berosus, among other proofs of his impartiality, admits a Medo-Assyrian dynasty in his general course of national revolution, he evidently admitted no permanent Median supremacy in the sense of Ctesias, prior to that jointly established by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus. That none such existed is also clear from the contemporaneous Bible records. These, collated with Berosus, prove that during the whole 317 years of the alleged Median empire of Ctesias, a powerful Assyrian monarchy continued to flourish, under the to us familiar kings, Phul, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Nabonassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Evil-merodach, &c. Of these names

or persons Ctesias knows or professes to know nothing. He expatiates at some length¹ on the achievements of his Median kings, against the Cadusians, Parthians, and Sacæ, but without a hint of their standing in any relation either of dependence or rivalry to a still existing Assyrian empire. If he and his authorities therefore are so greatly in the dark, regarding events on which the light of history clearly shines, small faith can be due to their statements regarding those where that light is dim or altogether extinguished. The system of Herodotus, while also representing the old Assyrian empire of Asia as overthrown by the Medes, and in other respects but a variety of that of Ctesias, yet recognises a remnant of independent Babylonian monarchy, as continuing to subsist. He also knew and mentions the exploits of the warlike monarch Sennacherib.²

The greater apparent probability of the Ctesian chronology is one of the strongest arguments of its

¹ Ap. Diodor. II. 33.; Didot, p. 42.

² Traces of partiality may also perhaps be discerned on the part of Berosus, in his suppression of all notice of a separate Median monarchy, existing by the side of that of Assyria, during the declining stages of the latter. That such a Median kingdom did exist, and if not permanently, for a time in a virtual state of independence, there can be little doubt. Berosus probably viewed its sovereigns, and perhaps with some reason in the light of revolted vassals rather than legitimate princes. (Frgg. 12—14. Didot.) As himself a Babylonian, or Chaldean, he also appears everywhere to speak of the Babylonian as equivalent to the Assyrian empire, and of Babylon as its sole metropolis; Nineveh being overlooked or left in the background. There can however be no doubt, both that Nineveh had been at times the more favoured metropolitan seat of the consolidated empire; and further that, at other periods, rival Assyrian empires had existed contemporaneously, one under a Babylonian, the other under a Ninevite dynasty. Here again the analogy of Egypt presents itself. The two cities seem in fact to have stood to each other, much in the same relation as Thebes and Memphis in the Egyptian empire.

non-genuine character. No historical critic of the present day, familiar with the late researches into the comparative antiquities of the oriental nations, can believe, that in any Assyrian chronicle, the whole duration of the great empire of Central Asia was ever restricted to 1300 years, or within ten times that period of time. The Cnidian compiler's own annals, especially his account of Semiramis, have no doubt their full share of mythical extravagance.¹ It is however an extravagance presenting the same proper Hellenic type of fable, with which we are familiar in the parallel adventures of Bacchus or Sesostris. Had the Ctesian tradition of Semiramidian conquest really formed a 'chapter of the genuine Babylonian registers, it is very unlikely that a native annalist would have suppressed one so glorious to his own nation. But Berosus, like Herodotus, knows nothing of a primeval Semiramis, the foundress of Babylon and conqueress of the trans-Asiatic world. He pointedly repudiates the fables related of her by the Greeks,

¹ Fragg. 11. 14.; Didot, p. 503. 507. There can be little doubt that the primary source of the fabulous exploits and renown of this personage in the Ctesian system, is to be sought in the identity of her name, Semiramis, with one of the numerous titles under which the great Oriental Water-Goddess, or Aphrodite, better known to Greek archaeologists by those of Astarte, Ashtaroth, Derceto, Atergatis, was worshipped among the Pagans of Semitic race. This identity seems to result from a collation of parts of the legend concerning her in Ctesias, with other parallel legends in Berosus. The former (frg. 5.) described her as a daughter of Derceto the Syrian Fish-Goddess, and as first married to Onnes a favourite officer of Ninus. Onnes, or Oannes, with Berosus, is himself a Fish-God (frg. 1. Didot, p. 496.). She is hence probably identical with the Fish-Goddess Homorka, who in the Berosian legend shares the functions of Oannes in the mystical cosmogony (Didot, p. 497.). Ctesias represents Semiramis (frg. 5. § 6.) as worshipped after her death in the form of a dove, having been nourished by doves when a child; and Aphrodite or Astarte, of whom the dove is an emblem, as having presided at her birth. He hence interprets her name to signify the Dove-Goddess.

and like Herodotus, reduces her to an ordinary sovereign of one of the later Assyrian dynasties.

The single exception to the torpor of the Ctesian line of sluggish kings, is in favour of Memnon, whose valiant deeds on the field of Troy, appear to have been described in the original records consulted by Ctesias, with a Homeric detail, proving that in so far as those records ever existed, Greek as well as Persian inventive genius had been employed in their preparation.¹

4. With the Persian era, the basis of fact in his narrative becomes more distinct, and widens as we advance. It is here that his pretensions to a better access to native sources than previous Greek authors had enjoyed, first acquire plausibility. Of this strictly Persian portion of the Persica, we possess an epitome by Photius², which seems to comprise the full substance of the original; partly as containing many minor details, the admission of which imply that no important fact had been omitted; partly because no such fact, not comprised in its text, is mentioned in any other quotation from the work. During the last seventeen years over which the narrative extends, it also possesses the advantage, that its author was personally cognisant of the events which he describes. Throughout that portion of the work, the subject of which was common to Herodotus, a ruling principle of its author's historical method, seems to have been antagonism to his distinguished predecessor³; so that any judgement on the contents of the Persica, down at least to the close of the Persian war, resolves itself very much into a comparative estimate of the

His
Persian
history
proper.

¹ Frg. 18.

² Frg. 29. p. 45. sqq., Didot.

³ Frg. 29. § 1.

correctness of the two historians. In the outline and general substance of their narratives, no essential difference is observable. The number of reigns in each is the same. In the lives or fortunes of the sovereigns there is also a general correspondence. The duration of the reigns in some cases differs, the numbers of Ctesias being, by reference to more authentic chronological data, commonly wrong. Attention has been directed in our previous chapters to some of the chief diversities of detail in the two authors.¹ Subjoined is a notice of the remainder, in so far as deserving attention.

Ctesias describes Cyrus as beaten and taken prisoner in a war with the Sacæ², of which event nothing is said by Herodotus. In his account of the siege of Sardis, the Cnidian historian substitutes some very foolish fables of his own, for equally foolish fables of Herodotus which he omits.³ He rejects the legend of Cræsus on the pile, and with reason; such a mode of executing criminals being assuredly at variance with Persian manners. The tradition concerning the death of Cyrus is also different in the two authors. With Ctesias⁴ he is slain in a war against the Derbices, a tribe dwelling on the Indian frontier; with Herodotus in a war against the Scythian queen Tomaris. Ctesias, in conformity with his own theory that the Medes had enjoyed, and the Persians as their conquerors had at once succeeded to, the full possession of the old Assyrian empire, omits the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, the most important of his conquests with Xenophon and Berossus, as well as Herodotus. He places the subse-

¹ Vol. IV. p. 339. 401.

² Frg. 29. § 3.

³ Frg. 29. § 4., Frg. 31.

⁴ Frg. 29. § 6.

quent revolt, siege, and reduction of that city under Xerxes, not under Darius, and rejects his predecessor's account of the patriotic self-mutilation of Zopyrus.¹ The story of the Magus², who personates the murdered brother of Cambyses (called Smerdis by Herodotus, Tanaoxares by Ctesias and Xenophon), is in substance the same in both authors, though differing in some particulars. Datis, the Persian commander at Marathon, who according to Herodotus escapes alive, is slain according to Ctesias.³ The latter author mentions neither the sea-fight of Artemisium, nor the battle of Mycale, which figure so gloriously in the Persian war of Herodotus. With Ctesias, the capture of Athens by Xerxes, and the battle of Salamis, are placed (very absurdly it would seem) not before, as with Herodotus, but after the defeat of Plataea.⁴ The assault and sack of the Delphic sanctuary by a Persian force, after the flight of Xerxes to Asia, seems to be a Persian fable.⁵ The other discrepancies between the two authors regarding that war, especially in the numbers of the combatants, have been examined in a former chapter.⁶

The sequel of the Persica, from the point where the parallel narrative of Herodotus ceases, is occupied chiefly with local Asiatic wars and politics, and with the intrigues, incests, murders, parricides, and other scandalous crimes of the Persian court. The battle of the Eurymedon is not mentioned. The war against the revolted Lybo-Egyptians under Inarus is described much as in Herodotus. No allusion occurs to the part taken by Persia in the Peloponnesian war.

¹ Frg. 29. § 21.² Frg. 29. § 10.³ Frg. 29. 18.⁴ Frg. 29. § 26.⁵ § 27.⁶ Vol. IV. p. 337. seqq., 399. seqq.

The revolt of Cyrus is narrated in some detail, with little material variation from the account of Xenophon, whose *Anabasis* Ctesias appears to have read. He describes himself as having obtained information regarding these points of Persian history from the queen-mother Parysatis.¹ He represents the royal army at Cunaxa as only 400,000², instead of the 900,000 at which it is rated by Xenophon. His kind offices to Clearchus, his subsequent diplomatic services to Artaxerxes, and resettlement in Greece, with which his narrative ends, have already been noticed.

It must be admitted, that while in the general narrative of the Persica, in so far as preserved, there is little or nothing to warrant the severe charges of mendacity brought against its author by Plutarch and others, in some points where he differs from Herodotus he appears to have the advantage. His estimate of the force of Xerxes is comparatively free from the exaggeration manifest in the numbers of Herodotus. His notices of Persian manners appear also in some points more accurate than those of his predecessor.³ It was but natural that he should write in some degree under the influences to which he had long been subjected. But there is no solid foundation for the charge, of his having perverted the truth in order to gratify his royal patrons or the Persian people.⁴ As his work was not published till after his resettlement at home, he was altogether beyond the reach of such inducements to dishonesty. But apart from this, his accounts of the defeat and capture of

¹ Frg. 29. § 32. *seqq.*

² Bähr. *Ctes. Reliq.* p. 40.

³ Frg. 41.

⁴ Lucian, *de Conscr. Histor.* 39.

Cyrus by the Sacæ; of the battle of Thermopylæ; of the rout of 120,000 Persians by 7300 Greeks at the battle of Plataæ; of the destruction of the army of Darius by the Scythians, and above all, of the monstrous and disgusting crimes which, in the latter part of his narrative¹, he attributes to those, still surviving, Persian magnates whom he is accused of flattering, seem to prove the absurdity as well as the injustice of those imputations.

5. It is against the contents of his other principal work, "the Indica," there can be little doubt, that the charges of falsehood lavished on him by the ancient critics², are chiefly directed. This work, of which Photius has also bequeathed us an epitome, was not a history, or in any proper sense of the term a historical work. Did it describe anything really existing in nature, it might deserve the title of a treatise on Indian geography and natural history. But its contents were from beginning to end a tissue of fables, among the most extravagant ever brought within the compass of a single compilation in the most credulous times, and which it is surprising a man of so much real intelligence as Ctesias, could have had the folly and the impudence to present, as realities, to the Greek public of the age of Aristotle, as he certainly seems to have done. Some, but very few of the fables, and those not the least extravagant, rest on a certain foundation of fact. Several are common to Ctesias with Herodotus, or other early collectors of such anecdotes; some have been supposed, perhaps with reason, to be impersonations of

His Indica.

His mendacity.

¹ Fragg. 29, 30. 45. alibi.

² Auctt. ap. Müller in Didot, p. 8.: conf. Fragg. 56.; Plutarch, Artox. 1. G. 13.

monsters, sculptured or depicted on the Indian monuments, or on those of the kindred races. Even where natural objects are described, they are falsified or exaggerated to some wildly incredible extreme; are either many times larger, smaller, or more remarkable in some other respect, than the specimens of the same objects observable in other countries. A few examples are here subjoined¹, from which a fair judgement may be formed of the remainder :

The average breadth of the river Indus was about fifteen miles, five in the narrowest, twenty-five in the broadest parts. The ordinary age of the race on its banks was from 120 to 200 years. The king, when he went to the wars, appeared at the head of 100,000 elephants, with 3000 other chosen animals of the same race as his personal escort. On the banks of the river grew a reed, upwards of twelve feet in circumference and as high as the loftiest shipmast. The Martichora, or Maneater, was a creature the size of a lion, with the face, eyes, and ears of a man, and a skin red as scarlet. The tail was like that of a scorpion, armed with numerous stings of mortal venom. Those at the extremity of the tail were projectiles, which he darted at his adversaries in front and in rear, like arrows from a crossbow, and which, as they were expended, grew afresh. He is called the Maneater, as chiefly feeding on men. These animals abound in India, and Ctesias had himself seen one of them, sent by the king of that country as a present to the king of Persia. The average height of the Indian Pygmies is a cubit and a half. Their hair and beards reach down to their feet, and serve them instead of clothes, spread over their bodies before and behind. Their domestic animals are of proportional size; their horses and oxen as large as rams, their sheep the size of a lamb. The Indian sun during the first half of the day cools the air; during the latter half alone it produces heat. The water drawn from a certain fountain becomes a solid substance like cheese; a small piece of which again dissolved in common water and swallowed, causes a man to confess all his past actions, and deprives him of his senses for the rest of the day. It is hence employed by the magistrates to extract confession from criminals.

¹ Frg. 57. : conf. 58. 63, 64. 67. 70. sq. 83. sq.

In the mountains dwell a race of men, about 120,000 in number, with dogs' heads and paws. They have no language in the proper sense, but make themselves intelligible to each other by modulations of barking, as other people do by words. They are by profession hunters and pastors, possessing large flocks of sheep, goats, and asses, which they barter with their men-headed neighbours, for manufactured goods. They are the most just, and the most long-lived of all men (or dogs), their ordinary age being from 170 to 200 years.

In the same mountains is another race, about 30,000 in number, among whom no woman has more than one child in her lifetime. Each child is born with a full set of teeth; with eight fingers on each hand, and eight toes on each foot; with a full head of grey hair which becomes black with age, as that of other men becomes white; and with ears so long and broad as to cover their back, shoulders, and arms, like a cape, extending down to the elbows.¹

"In writing these things," the epitomist concludes, "Ctesias asserts that he writes what is perfectly true, partly on his own ocular testimony², partly on that of other eye-witnesses; and that he could narrate things still more wonderful, but abstains, lest he should appear to those who had not seen them to be writing things incredible."

Of the other works of Ctesias, the *Periplus*, and the treatises *On mountains* and *On rivers*, a few unimportant fragments have alone been preserved.³ From the *Alpheüs* being mentioned in the only citation of the work on rivers, it is probable that his geographical research was not confined to Asia.

His minor works.

The most unexceptionable attribute of Ctesias, for which he is highly commended by the native critics, is

His style.

¹ The Refrigerating sun, the Umbrella-eared men, or Otolicianians, with two other varieties of monster not mentioned in the above passage, the Griffins, guardians of the gold-coast, and the Sciapodæ or shade-footed men (frg. 70. 89.), are, as we have seen in the previous volume (pp. 140. sq. 155. 383.), common to the fable of Herodotus, Scylax, and other early geographers. The single child of the Otolicianian women, may also be compared with the single cub of the lioness, described by Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 384.

² Conf. Frg. 57. § 4.

³ Frgg. 88—95.

his style. The subjoined summary of its merits is given by Photius¹: "The style of this author is remarkable for clearness, simplicity, and suavity. His dialect is Ionic² in part of its idiom, but not to the same extent as that of Herodotus. Nor does he indulge like that author in unseasonable digressions. The charm of his composition lies chiefly in his faculty of striking and pathetic and varied description. Its principal fault is negligence or laxness, occasionally carried to mannerism." This judgement is supported by that of Dionysius³, and of Demetrius; the latter of whom pronounces him well deserving the title of poet, and praises the never-failing perspicuity of his narrative; but adds: that "he was blamed for diffuseness and tautology; in some instances justly, while in others the fault lay rather in the incapacity of his critics to appreciate the spirit of his description."⁴ It is hence the more remarkable that scarcely a passage of his works, of more than a single line in length, has been preserved in his own words, so that we are without the means of judging for ourselves how far these favourable criticisms may be correct.

DINON,

Dinon,
father of
Clitarchus.

a historian of good credit, though less celebrity than Ctesias, devoted himself like that author exclusively to Asiatic history. He appears to have treated his subject much in the same manner as

¹ Cod. LXXII.

² Preferred by him, as by Herodotus, to his native Doric. See Vol. IV. p. 514. : conf. Bähr, Ctes. Reliq. pp. 5. 22.

³ De Comp. Verb. 10.

⁴ De Eloc. 221. 218. It must be admitted that the specimen quoted by this critic, 219. (frg. 27.), is not favourable; the sentiment expressed being commonplace, and conveyed in an affected jingle of words.

Ctesias, and with deference probably to his example. Of his birthplace or parentage, no accounts have been preserved. His age we learn from the notice that he was father of Clitarchus, one of Alexander's principal officers and himself an author of some note. Dinon is hence familiarly quoted, in the citations from his text, by the distinctive title of "father of Clitarchus."¹ He may therefore have been nearly coeval with Philip of Macedon, and a younger contemporary of Ctesias.

His only recorded work was entitled, like the principal one of his predecessor, Persica. It was also divided into three parts; the first treating of the old Assyrian, the second of the Median, the third of the Persian empire. The most recent date referred to in his remains, connects itself with the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus 361—339 B.C.² His authority appears to have been esteemed in no degree inferior to that of Ctesias. He had not the advantage of so prolonged a residence in the East; nor probably did he advance similar pretensions to personal access to the native Asiatic registers. But he seems to have visited Persia, and done his best to inform himself of its history and customs, from original sources. Cicero³ quotes him with respect, and Cornelius Nepos⁴ prefers him to any other author on Persian affairs. Plutarch also everywhere keeps him in view, when treating of those parts of Persian history with which he was contemporaneous, especially the expedition of Cyrus, as a rival, and on some points preferable authority to Ctesias.⁵ But there is no appearance of his having, as some commentators have supposed, written in

¹ Frg. 3. Didot, vol. II. p. 88. sqq.

² Frg. 10.

⁴ Frg. 27.

³ Frg. 30.

⁵ Frg. 22. sqq.

a systematic spirit of opposition to Ctesias, similar to that by which Ctesias was himself animated towards Herodotus. In his account of the birth and early history of the elder Cyrus, and the foundation of the Medo-Persian empire, he seems, judging from the not very definite allusions contained in the fragments, to coincide with Ctesias rather than Herodotus.¹ He differed from both authors, in preferring the popular Egyptian to the Persian account, of the connexion by marriage between the Persian and Egyptian royal families, which preceded the downfall of the Egyptian empire. In the former tradition Neitetis, daughter of Apries, was, not as Herodotus represents her, the wife or mistress, but the mother, by Cyrus, of Cambyses; a version of the story which, however objectionable in other respects, is consistent with that chronological probability, against which the one preferred by Herodotus so seriously militates.² Dinon differed from Thucydides, in representing Themistocles³ as having sought refuge, after his exile, at the court of Xerxes, not that of his successor Artaxerxes; a view common to other eminent coeval authorities, such as Ephorus, Clitarchus, and Heraclides. In his account of the battle of Cunaxa⁴, he preferred the larger number at which the army of Artaxerxes was rated by Xenophon, to the more moderate estimate of Ctesias. Judging from the tenor of a large portion of the fragments, he dwelt much on the details of Persian manners, and especially, as did also Ctesias, on the profligacy of the Persian court and nobles in his own day.

The critical judgement of Dinon, in dealing with the fabulous parts of his subject, seems not to have

¹ Frg. 11.

² See Vol. IV. p. 420.

³ Frg. 20.

⁴ Frg. 25.

been much superior to that of the rival Persian historian.¹ His account of Semiramis varied little in substance from that given by Ctesias. The differences of detail in his version, tended still further to divest her character of the remnant of genuine Oriental attribute, which Ctesias had allowed it to retain, and transform her from the purely divine, into the purely human order of mythological personage.

Of the style or dialect of Dinon no specific notice has been transmitted, nor are the few literal extracts from his text such as to admit of our judging for ourselves.

PHILISTUS,²

6. Son of Archimenidas, of Syracuse, deservedly ranks high among the writers of this period: first, as the standard historian of the greatest Greek colonial republic; secondly, as having treated the affairs of that republic, in their connexion with the mother country during the great crisis of the Peloponnesian war, in the same impartial spirit in which they had previously been treated by Thucydides, the historian of the opposite interest.

The precise epoch of his birth is uncertain. Plutarch³ mentions him as having witnessed the siege of Syracuse in 314 B. C.; which ambiguity of expression may imply that he was yet of too tender age to take an active part in the defence. Eight years afterwards he appears as a strenuous supporter of Dionysius the elder in his schemes of usurpation⁴, and as having

His age.

His connexion with Dionysius I. of Syracuse.

¹ Frg. 1—3. ² C. Müller, *Frsgg. Histt. Gr.* (Didot), vol. I. p. xlv.

³ In Nicias, 19.; Pausan. x. 23. That he could have been a disciple of Isocrates, as stated by Cicero, *Orat.* II. 22., is not probable, for reasons assigned by Müller, p. xlv.

⁴ Nic. 19.

greatly contributed by his wealth and social position to establish the tyrannical government. When Dionysius, in the early part of his career, was fined for seditious language by the republican magistrates, Philistus on the spot paid the amount imposed; and declaring that he would willingly pay all other fines that might be exacted on such grounds, exhorted him to persevere in the conduct which had given offence.¹ He must therefore at this time have been already of full age, and uncontrolled master of his actions and of his large property. He continued ever after, through good and evil repute, a steady and zealous supporter of the Dionysian interest. Among the ties which bound him to that cause, mention is made of an amorous intercourse betwixt him and the mother of the elder tyrant, not without the sanction or connivance of the son.² But his services were ill requited by Dionysius; who, on apparently slight grounds of offence, banished him from Syracuse. The ostensible cause of his sentence is said by some to have been his espousal of a daughter of Leptines, brother of Dionysius, without the knowledge or consent of her royal uncle. Others explain the sentence as provoked by groundless suspicions of the Historian's fidelity, with which insidious calumniators had poisoned the mind of Dionysius, at a time when a state of morbid irritability, caused by the ill success of his literary efforts, had rendered him peculiarly susceptible of such malignant influences.³ Philistus took refuge with friends in Italy, where he long resided in retirement, engaged in the composition of his work. Diodorus describes him as afterwards pardoned and restored to favour. But Plutarch, with

His
banish-
ment.

¹ Diodor. XIII. 91.

² Plutarch, Dion, 11.

³ Diodor. xv. 7.

more probability, represents his efforts to appease his master's wrath either by submission or flattery, as unavailing, and his restoration as having first taken place under the tyrant's son and successor, the second Dionysius, who entertained a warm sense of his merits.¹ His return is further said to have been highly agreeable to the members of the "tyrannical" faction, who foresaw in the reestablishment of his influence, an antidote to that of two men then high in the favour of Dionysius, his own kinsman Dion and Plato the philosopher; whose efforts to infuse a liberal spirit into his system of government had already been partially successful. Accordingly, the first use Philistus made of his renovated power was to procure the exile of Dion. Plato soon after voluntarily returned to Greece, and Philistus obtained, without a rival, the highest place in his master's confidence, and the chief command of his naval forces.² On the invasion of Sicily by Dion in 357 B.C., Philistus, then absent with a squadron on the Italian coast, hastened to the relief of the capital; and after some gallant efforts to maintain the royal interest against the powerful party leagued for its overthrow, was defeated in a decisive action with the hostile fleet.³ According to some accounts he slew himself, to avoid falling alive into the hands of his opponents; others describe him as having been made prisoner, and cruelly tortured to death in his native city. "Stripping him of his arms," writes Timonides⁴ the histo-

His restoration under Dionysius II.

His death.

¹ Dion, 11.; De Exil. 14.; conf. Timol. 15.; Paus. I. xiv.; Corn. Nep. in Dion.

² Plutarch, Dion, 11. sqq.

³ Diodor. xvi. 9—11.; Plut. Dion. 25. sqq.; Ephorus ap. Plut. Dion, 35.

⁴ Ap. Plut. in Dion, 35.

rian, one of the leaders of the opposite party, "and
 "ignominiously exposing his naked body, they cut off
 "his head, and then handed over his corpse to a mob
 "of boys, with orders to drag it through the streets
 "and throw it into the stone-quarries."

and cha-
 racter.

It appears from these details that Philistus was, from principle as well as personal connexion, a keen partisan of despotic government. Nor does he seem to have been himself ambitious of supreme power; though evidently, within his own selected sphere of action, a man of aspiring temper and undoubted talent; and although the same vicissitudes, and the same personal advantages, which enabled him effectually to promote the rise of others, might naturally hold out temptations to similar designs on his own part. He was content with the post of ruling favourite, and in that capacity was a loyal and obsequious servant of his sovereign. Such would seem to be the character given of him by Ephorus; which Plutarch condemns as partial; and himself describes him, on the authority of the same hostile Timonides, not only as the most self-interested and servile adherent of tyrants; but as "a man singularly skilled in the art of cloaking unrighteous deeds
 "and vicious habits, under specious pretexts and
 "plausible phrases."¹

His works.

His works² were exclusively devoted to the affairs of his native island. They formed properly but a single narrative, under the title "*Sicelica*," or Sicilian history, but divided into two principal parts. The first, in seven books, contained the general history of Sicily, down to the accession of the elder

¹ Plut. Dion, 36.

² C. Müller ap. Didot, Frg. p. XLVIII.

Dionysius. The second part, in six books, treated of the reigns of the two tyrants, father and son. This part seems also to have been considered as forming two separate works; one consisting of four books on the father, the other of two books on the son. The latter subdivision remained incomplete; the author's death preceding that of his patron.¹ He commenced the history of his native island from its mythical age. Its earliest known inhabitants were described as Sicanian settlers from Spain, whom other authorities asserted to have been the indigenous population. It was afterwards occupied, about eighty years before the siege of Troy, not by Siculians, as in the more popular accounts, but by Ligyan emigrants from Italy, under a son of Italus, called Sicelus, who gave his name to his new territory. Philistus seems to have bestowed but a small, merely introductory portion of his narrative, on these mythical transactions. Already in the first book we find him engaged with the Phœnician and Hellenic colonies.² He was esteemed a truthful and impartial writer, where his personal feelings did not too strongly interfere. His account of the siege of Syracuse is quoted as of rival authority to that of Thucydides.³ The two would seem indeed to have been so much alike in substance, as to have led one commentator to assert, that Philistus did little more than transfer the narrative of his predecessor to his own volume.⁴ We have here at

¹ Diodor. XIII. 103., xv. 89.: conf. Auctt. ap. C. Müller loc. cit.

² Frg. 8. Didot.

³ Plutarch, Nicias, l.

⁴ Theon, Progymn. p. 8., ed. Basil.; who more especially (p. 89.) mentions the night battle. He differed slightly from Thucydides, in describing Demosthenes, more careful of his honour than his safety, as excluding himself from the conditions of surrender procured for his men. Frg. 46.

least evidence of the spirit of fairness in which he wrote, in a case where national feeling might be expected to have its influence. He has been accused, on the other hand, and probably with justice, of adulation in what he writes concerning his patrons. If those parts of his work were published during his own life, he could hardly have treated their affairs in any other than a panegyrical spirit.¹

His imita-
tion of
Thucydi-
des.

The strongest testimony to the literary merits of Philistus, is the honour conferred on him of being classed, both in regard to matter and style, by the best antient critics, with Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, among the standard classical Greek historians.² All authorities describe him as a close imitator of Thucydides; as emulating his diligent research, copiousness of facts, and conciseness of diction; as less obscure, but inferior in power and elegance to his great Attic model. He is hence characterised by Cicero, as a miniature or dwarf Thucydides.³ Longinus⁴ however commends passages of his text, for their majestic tone of expression. He is also praised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁵ for concentrating his narrative, by a continuous bond of epic unity, on a single subject, the affairs of Sicily, and avoiding irrelevant digressions. But the arrangement of his materials in other respects, is censured by the same critic as wanting in clearness, the structure of his phrases as often monotonous, and the speeches with which, like Thucydides, he seasoned his narrative, as

¹ Plutarch, Timol. 15.; Pausan. i. xiii.

² Dionys. Hal. De Præc. Hist. 3.; Cicero, Brut. 17.: conf. Plutarch in Alex. 8.; Montfauc. Bibl. Coisl. p. 597.

³ De Orat. ii. 13.; Ep. ii. ad Quint. 13.; Quintil. Inst. or x. i. 74.

⁴ De Subl. 40.

⁵ De Præcip. Hist. 5.: conf. Theon, Progymn. p. 33.

deficient in ethic spirit and argumentative power. His remains comprise no literal extract from his text, of sufficient length to supply any criterion, either of his style, or his dialect, which however there can be little doubt was the pure Thucydidean Attic.

THEOPOMPUS.¹

7. The extant biographical notices of this author, His life
and times. are chiefly comprised in a passage of Photius.² He is there described as son of a Chian citizen named Damasistratus; as having fled from his native island in company with his father, when the latter was banished on account of "Laconism;" and as having, after his father's death, been restored to his home, in consequence of letters in his favour and that of other exiles, addressed by Alexander the Great to the Chian government. During the lifetime of his royal protector, he appears to have remained in undisturbed possession of his rights of citizenship. But immediately after the death of Alexander, he again became a wanderer; from what cause has not been recorded. There can however be little doubt, that his second exile was the result of his conduct in the factions which continued to agitate the state of Chios, and in the course of which full scope was given to the ardour of his temper and the censorious bitterness of his writings.³ He was unsuccessful in an attempt to obtain a settlement in Egypt under the first Ptolemy; who is said to have held him in so great abhorrence as a mischief-maker and a calumni-

¹ Wichers, *Theop. Chii Fragmenta*, 1829; C. Müller, *Theop. Fragmenta*, in Didot, vol. I. p. 278. The fragments are cited according to Müller.

² Cod. CLXXVI.

³ Suid. v. Ephor.

ator, that he even contemplated putting him to death; from which extremity Theopompus was only¹ preserved by the intervention of powerful friends. No mention occurs either of his subsequent lot, or the date of his death. All authorities agree in describing him as a pupil of Isocrates; whether at Chios or at Athens, is a question which has been argued at great length and with little profit by modern commentators.² In the choice of his literary career he was led, by the advice it is said of his master, to historical composition, as better adapted to his genius than professional oratory.³ The judgement of Isocrates in this matter seems open to question; for both the genius and the style of Theopompus, as afterwards developed, seem to have partaken more of the fervour and excitement of the orator, than of the calmness and sobriety of the historian.⁴ Isocrates may possibly have feared, lest the over-ardent temperament of his pupil, if allowed full scope in the field of rhetorical display, might effervesce into exaggeration or bombast, and may have hoped that the diligent research and sedentary application, which the Muse of history exacts from her votaries, would tend to restrain any undue flights of fancy.

Both historian and orator.

But although Theopompus never practised as a professional or forensic pleader⁵, his preference for history was far from precluding his zealous cultiva-

¹ Photius, loc. cit. Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* xii. 14.) and Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* p. 354.) describe him as having been smitten with thirty days' insanity, as a judgement for his over-ardent attempts to pry into the mysteries of the Jewish religion.

² C. Müller, *op. cit.* p. LXVI.

³ Cicer. *De Orat.* II. 13. 22.

⁴ Quintil. x. i. 73.: *conf.* Dionys. Hal. *De præcip. Hist.* 6.; De Vett. *Ser. Cens.* iii.

⁵ Cicer. *de Orat.* II. 13.

tion of other popular branches of rhetoric. He is described indeed ¹ as exclusively devoted to that art during the earlier stages of his literary career, and as having first in more mature life applied himself to history. He specially prided himself on his proficiency and success as an orator. He boasted of rivalling or even surpassing his master in the estimation of the public; that in their time, and first by their joint efforts, the higher style of eloquence had been carried to perfection, and that there was not a city in Greece where he had not left a lasting impression of his rhetorical powers.² That there was some foundation for this self-eulogy may be gathered from his statement, corroborated by less partial authorities, that he was winner of the prize in the competition of orators at the obsequies of Mausolus prince of Caria; having there been victorious over his master Isocrates, and other little less formidable rivals.³ He is also described by Dionysius ⁴ as the most distinguished of all the disciples of Isocrates. That he was a man of opulent estate appears from his self-complacent notice, that while Isocrates and other eminent rhetoricians followed the profession as a means of subsistence, he cultivated literature in all its branches solely for his own gratification and that of the public.⁵

The only two specific dates regarding this author's His age. birth or age, one by Photius, the other by Suidas, are in serious conflict with each other. According to Photius, he was forty-five years old when relieved

¹ Quintil. x. i. 74. : conf. Dionys. Hal. De Præc. Hist. 6.

² Phot. Cod. CLXXVI. : conf. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 464.

³ Auctt ap. C. Müller, p. LXVII.

⁴ De Præcip. Histor. 6.

⁵ Photius, loc. cit.

from the ban of exile by the favour of Alexander. That monarch succeeded to the throne of Macedon in 336 B.C. Assuming, as is probable, his interference on behalf of the Chian exiles to have formed part of the measures adopted, soon after his accession, or about 335 B.C., for settling affairs at home before setting out on his Asiatic expedition, the earliest epoch at which Theopompus could have been born ($335+45$) would have been 380 B.C. He would consequently have been about sixty when he sought a refuge in Egypt. According to Suidas¹ his birth took place more than twenty years earlier, simultaneously with that of Ephorus, during what is called the anarchy of Athens, the year's interval, that is (304—303 B.C.), between the capture of the city by Lysander and the resettlement of its affairs by Thrasylus. The latter of these two dates appears most in harmony with the better-ascertained facts of the Historian's life.

Theopompus, as quoted by the same Photius, describes himself as coeval with his master Isocrates, in terms which seem to imply, that the difference of their ages was not greater than is usual between master and scholar. Isocrates was born in 436 B.C.; so that if Theopompus (as according to Photius) was born in 380 B.C., Isocrates would then have been fifty-six; and if the scholar commenced his lessons in his fifteenth year, the master would then have been upwards of seventy. These dates are not very compatible with the definition "coeval,"² applied by the Historian himself to the relation between the two. Another difficulty lies in the tradition which mentions Theopompus as one of the younger contem-

¹ In Theopompus et Ephorus.

² *συναμύσαι*.

poraries of Thucydides, in whose favour, conjointly with Xenophon and the daughter of Thucydides, a claim was preferred to the honour of having composed, and passed off as genuine, the eighth book of the Attic historian's work. Theopompus, if born in 380 B.C., could hardly, much prior to his thirtieth year, or 350 B.C., have obtained sufficient standing as a man of letters to have been qualified for such a performance. This tradition therefore (on the data supplied by Photius), would assume the eighth book not to have been edited until nearly half a century after the death of its author. The intrinsic value of the tradition has no real bearing on this question. But it is difficult to see how it could, under the circumstances here supposed, have obtained currency at all, notorious as it must have been, that the same eighth book was known to Xenophon and Cratippus, at least forty years before the time at which Theopompus would be reported, according to the date of Photius, to have first brought it to light.

The date of Suidas, if not altogether satisfactory, is less difficult to deal with. Theopompus, if born in 403 B.C., would have entered the school of Isocrates at fifteen, when his master was forty-eight, which gives a juster proportion between their ages. He would have been about eighty when he sought an asylum with Ptolemy. That he was then of advanced age, may be inferred from this being the last event of his life of which mention occurs.

It may not be easy to adjust the precise merits of these conflicting data, which have with modern commentators been the subject of voluminous speculations. Nor, fortunately, is the exact epoch of the birth of Theopompus a point of vital moment in his own his-

tory or character. We know that he was a pupil of Isocrates; that he was contemporaneous with both Philip and Alexander, and that he survived the latter; that he wrote a history of the father, and was on friendly terms with the son; which general data suffice to establish the relation between himself and the times of which he wrote.

His character.

8. Theopompus, by reference to the joint evidence of his own works and of his antient critics, may be pronounced a man of honest heart, but of restless spirit and ungovernable temper. As a historian he appears to have been animated by a sincere love of truth, though often led by his excitable nature into exaggeration or misrepresentation. A harsh judge of human conduct, and unmeasured in his diatribes against crime and folly, he was not insensible to the great qualities of the more distinguished personages of whom he wrote. Himself apparently free from the scandalous vices which he satirises, he was imbued with an inordinate sense of his own merits, and unscrupulous in giving effect to his self-admiration, both in speech and writing. His vituperative attacks were chiefly directed against the luxury, sensuality, and social profligacy of the times, and of his more remarkable contemporaries; whose excesses he denounced with a vehemence, and described with a minuteness of detail, to which, even as exemplified in his remains, it would be difficult to find a parallel in any existing work on Greek manners. This very excess of virtuous irritation, and fondness for its display, may perhaps suggest a doubt how far it is to be taken as a manifestation of unmixed horror for the conduct stigmatised. In dealing with one who dealt so severely with others, it may not be

uncharitable to surmise, that his zeal may be made up, in part at least, of a certain spirit of negative morality, or even of morbid sympathy with the conduct described; the same which in unconstrained social intercourse, often leads men to converse freely, and in a spirit of levity, on scenes at which they would feel ashamed of being present, and practices in which they are themselves incapable of participating.

The historical works of Theopompus were, His works. an Epitome of Herodotus; a Hellenica, or Hellenic history; and a History of the life and reign of Philip of Macedon, entitled Philippica. His other compositions seem to have been chiefly orations or rhetorical discourses, and are described as numerous. Several of these have however, with apparent reason, been supposed parts or episodes of his great historical work. He is also said to have left memoranda, as materials for uncommenced or unfinished compositions.

The Epitome of Herodotus, in two books¹, may His Epitome of Herodotus. have been a first juvenile essay, preparatory to his attempts in original composition: but as no mention is made of it by any writer prior to the Byzantine age, its gennuine character is at least doubtful.

The Hellenic history, in twelve books², commenced, His Hellenica. like that under the same title by Xenophon, where Thucydides broke off, in 411 B.C.; and concluded with the battle of Cnidus in 394 B.C. Its remains are neither numerous nor of much interest. Their general tenor however implies it to have been a

¹ Suid. in Theop.

² Diodor. XIII. 42., XIV. 84.; Marcell. et Anon. in Vit. Thuc. Suidas mentions but eleven books of the Hellenica.

sensible practical work, and free from the eccentricities which abound in the *Philippica*. The abruptness of its conclusion seems to prove, apart from other evidence, that it was but a fragment of an undertaking originally designed on a more comprehensive scale. The battle of Cnidus could hardly have been deliberately adopted by any intelligent writer as the conclusion of a historical subject; belonging in truth to the commencement of the first really striking or interesting series of events, by which the lifetime of Theopompus was signalised, the struggle between Thebes and Sparta for the mastery of Greece. We are assured accordingly by Polybius, that Theopompus had originally contemplated a work of greater extent under the title *Hellenica*. The cause of his change of plan, if we may trust the same authority, was the impression made on his excitable mind, by the new and striking phasis which the character and achievements of Philip had introduced on the theatre of Greek political action, and the desire to constitute the life of that monarch the centre of a great historical compilation, on a plan which only Theopompus was capable of conceiving or carrying into effect. Polybius appears however to have harshly and unfairly judged his conduct in this particular. "Even "a partisan of monarchal government," he remarks¹, "would hardly hesitate, if he had the choice, to impart to his composition, by preference, a Hellenic title and character. But for a man who had commenced writing, and already brought his work to so advanced a stage under that title and character, "to exchange them for the insignia of royalty, indicates an entire perversion of judgement. For what

His *Philippica*.

¹ VIII. xiii.

“was the inducement of Theopompus to this breach
“of propriety? What but the consideration, that
“while all he could hope from the one method was
“honour, by the other he promoted his worldly
“interests.”

It will be shown in the sequel, that this latter charge is in no degree justified, either by the contents of the Philippica or the character of its author.

The plan of his new undertaking is certainly one of the boldest, or even the most extravagant in the annals of historical literature. It was, there can be little doubt, an imitation, or rather an exaggeration, of that of Herodotus. Upon the basis of time and principal action supplied by the twenty-three years of Philip's reign, 359—336 B.C., he accumulated, as Herodotus had done on the Græco-Persian wars, to such an extent as suited his object, the past history of every country with which the vicissitudes of his hero brought him ever so remotely into connexion, and of many where no such connexion can be discerned. To these excrescences of a more strictly historical character, was superadded a vast quantity of other matter, such as none but the most eccentric genius could have admitted into a work ostensibly devoted to the affairs of Greece during the Macedonian period: mythical tales; biographical memoirs; disquisitions on geographical and statistical antiquity; descriptions of religious rites and superstitions, of natural curiosities and preternatural phenomena. The loss of the integral text disables us from judging of the precise method in which these extraneous materials were arranged. But we know that many of them were not treated in the mode of mere incidental embellishment, but in long digressions, completely

superseding the main narrative. It hence occasionally happened, as one of the antient commentators remarks, that in three or four successive books of the *Philippica*, the name, neither of Philip nor of any other Macedonian, was so much as mentioned.¹ Of the bulk of the heterogeneous mass we may judge, from its having been distributed into fifty-eight books², a number unparalleled in any recorded historical work comprising a like brief period of time. The proportion which the main subject bore to the digressive episodes, was, as we learn from Photius, considerably less than one third of the whole; "so that the successor and namesake of Philip, who made war against the Romans, collecting into one continuous narrative that portion of the work which treated of the affairs of Macedon, by discarding the numerous digressions, but leaving the text in other respects unaltered, reduced the fifty-eight books to sixteen." Five of the whole fifty-eight³ had perished before the time of Photius.

Analysis
of its con-
tents.

9. The commentators have not left us without some clear insight into the nature of the superabundant matter. Very little space seems to have been allotted to the previous history of the Macedonian royal family; which would have formed a legitimate subject of introductory enlargement. Already in the first book we find the author engaged with the life and acts of Philip.⁴ The eighth book, of which the ostensible subject seems to have been the commencement of the Phocian war, was so entirely taken up

¹ Theon, *Progymn.* p. 34., ed. Basil.

² *Djodor.* xvi. 3.; *Phot. Cod.* clxxvi. p. 390. *Suidas* makes them seventy-two, a blunder explained by C. Müller, p. lxix.

³ viz. 3, 7, 9, 20. and 30.; *Phot. ibid.*

⁴ *Frg.* 33.

with anecdotes of prodigies and miracles, or with biographical notices of distinguished seers and miracle-workers, Epimenides, Pherecydes Syrius, Pythagoras, and others, as to be familiarly quoted under the title of the Book of wonders.¹ Some relief was given to its purely preternatural element, by commentaries on the Pythagorean philosophy, and the doctrines and mysteries of the Magi.² The tenth book passed in review the vicissitudes of Athenian policy, with the characters and acts of the leading statesmen, by whom the fortunes of the Attic republic had been guided. It hence obtained the separate title of the Book of demagogues.³ The books from twelve to eighteen⁴ seem to have been in greater part a continuation of the interrupted subject of the author's Hellenica, with digressions on the Cyprian and Trojan wars of Agamemnon, the Return of the heroes, and numerous other subjects Greek and Oriental. The ensuing books were devoted chiefly to Thrace and Northern Italy. The twenty-fifth contained speculations on Hellenic character and manners; on the vainglory of the Athenians; the invention of the alphabet; the worship of Venus at Corinth; the Festival of the Spartan Carneia. One or more of the following books treated of the Delphic monuments, ostensibly of those robbed or destroyed during the Phocian war. This part of the text hence bore the distinctive title of "The plundered treasures of Delphi."⁵ The books from thirty-nine to forty-one, inclusive, were devoted to Sicilian affairs⁶, during a period of fifty years, comprising the reign of the two Dionysii. The forty-third book treated of Italy and

¹ Frgg. 66. 70. 79.² Frg. 71.³ Frgg. 89. sqq. 102.⁴ Frg. 111. sqq.⁵ Frg. 182.⁶ Diodor. xvi. 71.; Frg. 204. sqq.

the neighbouring regions on the Adriatic; of the Tyrrhenians, Ligurians, Messapians, Thesprotians, Molossians, Celts, &c. Those from fifty-five to fifty-eight, judging from the extant fragments, were occupied chiefly with the geography and local history of Peloponnesus.

It is certain that this work, in spite of its strange incongruity of materials, possessed great intrinsic value, and bore abundant evidence of the research and ability of its author. Its popularity, both as an authority for facts and as an amusing and instructive miscellany, is proved by the extant citations of its text, which are more than twice as numerous as those of any other lost work of the age, although it produced others of equal or greater bulk. The estimation in which it was held is further testified by Dionysius, who among the antient critics appears to have most impartially appreciated the character and genius of Theopompus. "We may judge," he remarks, "of the extent of his labour by the greatly "diversified contents of his work. For he not only "describes the foundation of states and cities, the "lives of kings, and the varieties of manners and "customs, but every rare or wonderful object, which "the sea or the land produces, has obtained a place "in his undertaking. . . . Nor must it be supposed "that the purpose of this mass of materials is merely "to amuse; it is also replete with useful instruction "to all classes of readers."¹ The same critic dwells on his power of investigating the remoter causes of events, and less obvious motives of conduct, with the more secret and subtle ingredients of good and

¹ De Præcip. Hist. 6. See the whole section.

evil in human character, in which those motives originate. There is no writer of the age, to whose statements of fact, amid many well-merited censures on his method, higher credit is attached by subsequent authorities. If he has at times swerved from truth, it was from no deliberate intent to deceive, or self-interested partiality towards some powerful patron. His favourable judgements, rare at the best, were dictated by admiration of good or great qualities, his strictures by a sincere disapproval of the conduct which he condemned. While therefore he has been emphatically characterised even by less friendly¹ critics as a "truthful man," it is solely against the unbridled license of his satire, that the charges of calumny² have been directed by any reasonable censor, never against his assertions of fact. Among the nearly four hundred extant citations of his text, there is but one in which he is accused of a positive misstatement; and here the frivolity of the imputation supplies in itself evidence of his habitual truthfulness. All that the proverbially jealous and malignant rival historian Timæus, has been able to urge against him is, that he described the younger Dionysius, as having performed his voyage from Syracuse to Corinth, not in a war galley but in a ship of burthen!³ Of the injustice he has met with from rival censors of human conduct, we can have no better evidence than a passage, already in part quoted, of the usually judicious and impartial Polybius; who, here following in the wake of his popular detractors, charges Theopompus with undertaking the history of

His
honesty.

¹ Athen. III. p. 15., conf. VI. p. 254. ; Suid. in Ephorus.

² Auctt. ap. Müller, De Theop. Didot, pp. LXXV—VI.

³ Frg. 216.

His cen-
sorious-
ness.

Philip from motives of self-interested flattery. No one who peruses the still extant portions of the work in which Philip's character is discussed, can acquiesce in this charge. Against no individual of any rank or character has Theopompus inveighed in more bitterly sarcastic terms. These attacks are limited, it is true, chiefly to Philip's moral failings; but are of such a nature, that if they ever came under the notice of that sovereign, they would have been more likely to procure its author the treatment he met with at the court of Ptolemy, than preferment at the court of Macedon. At the same time, and with as palpable sincerity, he gives Philip full credit for his great qualities as a politician and military commander. That he as little succeeded in obtaining his favour, as he ever probably thought of courting it, may be inferred from his banishment having extended over the whole or the greater part of Philip's reign, without any effort by his supposed patron to procure his restoration, or any asylum or relief afforded him during his difficulties. Polybius, strange to say, in another place¹ accuses him of both inconsistency and malignity, in first professing to undertake the life of Philip from an admiration of his great qualities, and afterwards bitterly satirising him for his vices. To the really impartial mind, such inconsistency must appear conclusive proof of sincerity. Similar is his treatment of Demosthenes, assuredly under no other influence than his satirical caprice. In one place² he sneers at the great orator as a man of variable character, incapable of steady attachment to the same friends or line of policy. Elsewhere he dwells on his courage and independent spirit, and on the ad-

¹ VIII. xi.

² Frg. 103.

miration which he excited throughout Greece by his patriotic support of the national cause.¹ There can be little doubt, from the internal evidence of his works, and from the subsidiary accounts of his political career, that Theopompus, although it is nowhere so stated by his biographers, was strongly opposed to Democratic government, and no friend to Athens. But however keen in his denunciations of Attic license, moral and political², and fond of enlarging on the opposite qualities of the Spartan state and people, he did justice to the virtues of Athenian great men³, and did not spare even his Lacedæmonian fellow-aristocrats, where their conduct appeared to deserve the lash.⁴

His boast of the time and money he had expended in geographical and statistical research, is justified by his topographical accuracy, and by his incidental notices of voyages or travels into distant or little frequented regions.⁵ He is the first Greek historian who shows⁶ any knowledge of Rome or her affairs, beyond the name of the city and the fables regarding her foundation; having described or alluded to her conquest by the Gauls. He also adverts⁷ to those coincidences between the manners of the Etruscans (called by him Umbrians) and the Lydians, which, as further investigated by modern archæologers, have gone far to prove the correctness of the much decried tradition of Herodotus, concerning the colonisation of Etruria from Asia Minor. It would seem however, from the extravagant accounts which he gives⁸

¹ Frg. 239.

² Frgg. 117. 167. 263. 297.

³ Frgg. 94. 111.

⁴ Frgg. 89. 111. 218. 268.

⁵ Frgg. 156. 264. : conf. Dionys. de Præc. Hist. 6.

⁶ Frg. 144.

⁷ Frg. 142.

⁸ Frg. 222. : conf. 143.

of the manners of the Tyrrhenians, that he possessed little, if any personal knowledge of the interior of Upper Italy, and derived his information from popular hearsay. He seems also to have approved himself a critical antiquary, in his illustrative notices for example of the Delphic treasures and works of art, and of the origin and extension of the Ionian alphabet.¹

His love of
the mar-
vellous.

10. Next to his unbridled censoriousness, the principal defect laid to his charge, is his love of the marvellous², and the attention bestowed, chiefly it must be supposed in the episodical part of his work, on popular fables, of all the kinds most congenial to Greek fancy. Here however, with the other evidence which we possess of his freedom and boldness of thought, one is tempted to vindicate his good sense at the expense of his honesty, and to conjecture that he may, in this instance, have been guilty of pandering to the popular Greek taste for the marvellous, by palming on his readers what he did not believe himself. His whole compilation was evidently digested with a view to extensive popularity; to afford the most attractive viands to all classes of literary epicures. Consistently with this plan, he could hardly have excluded from his budget of entertainment, an ingredient which he knew to have formed, in the work of Herodotus and others of like character, a principal source of popularity. This conjecture seems to derive support from a passage in which he announces, in his usual vainglorious strain, his intention of proving to

¹ Fragg. 182. sqq. 210. 168, 169. From frg. 168., he appears to have detected an Athenian forged inscription, by its having been written with Ionian letters before their introduction into the public diplomacy of Athens.

² Auctt. ap. C. Müller, op. cit. p. LXXVI.; Fragg. 66. sqq. 85.

the world in this work, that he can relate fables with as good effect as Herodotus, Ctesias, or Hellanicus¹; a declaration indirectly implying, that he related them not so much because he believed them, as because he considered it a point of honour to maintain his credit against all rivals, in this as in other respects. His stock of marvellous materials comprised several legends remarkable for elegance of invention, and which we know to have been identified with the sympathies even of the more enlightened portion of his native public; those for example concerning the fifty years' sleep, and other miraculous acts and adventures, of the Cretan sage Epimenides.² In some cases he gave to the popular mythology an allegorical turn, in imitation of the Platonic method; as in the history of Silenus, modelled, half on the Atlantis of Plato, half on the legend of Proteus in the Odyssey.³ On other occasions he was not ashamed to countenance the most trivial nursery mythology of his time; as in his accounts, of the pigs born without ears; of the springs that flowed with wine; and of the men who lost their shadows for life in the Lycean sanctuary.⁴

Among the antient critics who have passed judgment on the style of Theopompus, the most favourable is Dionysius⁵; who compares it to that of his master Isocrates, as combining perspicuity, fluency, and dignity, with an occasional tendency to inflation. In passages of a more exciting nature, especially his vituperative diatribes, he describes him as rivalling

His style.

¹ Strab. i. p. 43., vii. p. 209.

² Fragg. 69, 70.

³ Fragg. 74. sqq.

⁴ Fragg. 211. 220. 272.

⁵ De Præcip. Hist. 6.: conf. Quintil. ix. 4. 35.; Plutarch, in Fragg. 204.

the emphatic power and impetuosity of Demosthenes. The principal defect imputed, is an undue straining after euphony, in the rounding off and symmetrical adjustment of his periods, and in his combinations of vowel sounds. Plutarch¹ commends his powers of pathetic description; and by Dion Chrysostomus his language is ranked, in narrative spirit, next to that of Thucydides. Longinus, and some other less lenient critics, charge him with endeavouring to produce grandeur of descriptive effect by an accumulation of words and petty details; and with subsiding from highflown exordia into vapid conclusions, instead of rising from equability to emphasis.² It is fortunate that we still possess the means of judging for ourselves on this point of his literary character. For not only are the "Fragments" of Theopompus far more numerous than those of any other "lost" Greek historian, but a far greater portion of them, than in any other case, consists of literal extracts, in the author's own words, often of great length and continuity of subject. The whole mass of such extracts, if embodied in a separate form, would fill from eight to ten octavo pages of ordinary print; a space several times greater than would suffice to contain all the other fragments of literal citation from historical works of this period. We have here conclusive evidence of the estimation in which the manner, as well as the matter of his composition was held. While compilers commonly thought it

¹ In Frg. 204.

² In Frg. 125. The passage here censured, though somewhat highflown, is certainly remarkable for descriptive power, and for richness and harmony of language: conf. Auctt. ap. C. Müll. de Theop. p. LXXV. sqq.

enough to quote Ephorus, Ctesias, or Timæus, in some convenient form of abridgement, they seem to have felt that the statements of Theopompus would have been spoilt, if conveyed in any other language than his own. Among these passages there may be some which justify the strictures of Longinus ; but the general character of the collection amply bears out the more favourable verdict of Dionysius. It would not be easy to imagine a series of miscellaneous extracts from any author, more generally marked by perspicuity, elegance, and spirit. His periods are at times prolonged to an extent which would, in most other writers, prove fatiguing. But such is their invariable fluency and distinctness of structure, that even in the longest the reader is rarely if ever sensible of an effort, either to comprehend the sense or follow the thread of the argument. One pervading defect of his style, also noticed by his antient censors¹, consists in its being, in its merits as in its defects, that of an orator rather than a historian. But it is a rhetorical style of a high order², and truly characterised by Dionysius as combining at times in just proportions, the excellences of the most accomplished Attic orators. It is remarkable that, proud as he was of his rhetorical talents, no traces appear, either in his fragments, or in the allusions of the antient commentators, to the introduction of set speeches into his text. Several of his moral reflexions are in a fine tone of sentiment. In one, he pronounced the "most miserable of all men to be the man who is miser-

¹ Cic. Brut. 17. .

² Conf. Phot. Cod. CLXXVI., who describes him as inferior to no orator of the school of Isocrates.

"able in the midst of worldly blessings." Another so nearly corresponds to a maxim of Thucydides, as almost to suggest suspicion of piracy.¹ His remains show a general familiarity with his native literature. Among his fellow-historians he mentions by name Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Ctesias. He speaks with contempt of Euripides, and with little respect of Plato²; accusing him of pirating some of his best dialogues from other essayists. The only disciple of Socrates for whom he is said to have entertained any respect, is Antisthenes the Cynic, from congeniality of temper it may be presumed.³

His
rhetorical
works.

Of the properly rhetorical works⁴ of Theopompus, the more remarkable seem to have been his Funeral Oration on Mausolus; an Encomium on Philip, and a Diatribe against Alexander; another against Plato; and a Treatise on Piety. Several Letters, or Discourses on questions of public or political interest, were also addressed by him to the Macedonian conqueror, under the title of Advice to Alexander, Epistle to Alexander. In one or more of these he severely attacked the conduct of certain of the con-

¹ Frgg. 77. 284. 302. He is accused by Apollonius, ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. p. 464, 465., of plagiarism from Isocrates, Xenophon, and other writers.

² Frgg. 279. 281.

³ Frg. 280.

⁴ Auctt. ap. Müller, p. LXXIII. In the single allusion by an anonymous compiler (frg. 282.) to the Treatise on Piety (*Περὶ Ἐθιέσεως*), the name of Theopompus has probably been substituted for that of Theophrastus. Ruhnken. ap. Didot, in Frgg. Theop. p. LXXIV. The Tract called *Τρικάρανος* or *Τριπολιτικός*, a triple satire of great ability, on Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, vulgarly ascribed to Theopompus, and in which his rhetorical style seems to have been parodied, was written by Anaximenes of Lampsacus (one of the historians of Alexander), an enemy of Theopompus, and was maliciously circulated under his name. Pausan. vi. xviii.; Joseph. Cont. Apion. i. 24.; conf. Didot, op. cit. p. LXXIV.; Aristid. tom. i. p. 208. sqq., Jebb.

queror's principal officers; among others of Harpalus, one high in his confidence.¹ The title of Epistle also attached to some of his other discourses on miscellaneous subjects.²

EPHORUS,³

11. Son of Demophilus, was an Æolian of Cuma in Asia Minor. The only specific notice of his age is by Suidas, who describes him as coeval with Theopompus, the birth of each author having taken place about the year 403 B.C. The two are further stated by all authorities, to have been fellow-pupils under Isocrates. We learn from other indirect notices that both survived the accession of Alexander in 339 B.C. But there is no similar evidence of Ephorus having, like Theopompus, been still alive at the epoch of that monarch's death. In the one, as in the other case, modern commentators have disputed the date of Suidas on not unreasonable grounds; and would reduce the age of each historian by some twenty years.⁴ The principal arguments on either side of this question have already been considered in our memoir of Theopompus. It will here suffice to observe, that while several of those in favour of the more recent date for Theopompus, do not apply to Ephorus, the precise chronology of each writer, be-

His age.

¹ Fragg. 276—7.

² The mysterious *ἀρχαῖαι ἐπιστολαί*, for example, mentioned by Dionys. Halic.; and which have been a subject of much, but not very profitable discussion to modern commentators. See Müller ap. Didot p. LXIII.

³ Marx, *Fragmenta Ephori*; C. Müller, *Ephori Fragmenta*; ap. Didot, tom. I. p. LVII. sqq. 234. sqq. The fragments are cited according to Müller.

⁴ Müller, op. cit. p. LVII. sq.

yond the ascertained fact of his having been contemporaneous with Isocrates, Philip, and Alexander, is a matter of little real importance in its bearings, either on his own character or that of his compositions.

His education.

Ephorus is said to have been in his youth as remarkable for sluggishness, as Theopompus for vivacity of genius; hence the remark of Isocrates, that the one required the spur, the other the rein.¹ At the close of the customary course of lectures, so little had he profited by his master's instructions, that he was sent back by his father, with a request that he might be subjected to a further more diligent training; upon which Isocrates, punning on his pupil's name, jocosely observed that it might appropriately be changed into Diphorus.² Perceiving however that the youth possessed talent, slow as it might be of development, he took a warm interest in his subsequent studies; and on their successful completion, counselled him, as he had counselled Theopompus, though not it may be presumed for the reason alleged in the case of the latter, to cultivate history in preference to rhetoric.³ He further advised him⁴ to borrow his subjects from the older, more genial and poetical periods of national history, as better calculated to warm his phlegmatic faculties, than the more prosaic events of his own age. Little as Ephorus may have been distinguished by liveliness of fancy, he cannot in his maturer years be justly charged with mental torpor of any kind; for no

¹ Cicer. De Orat. III. 9. ; Brut. 56. ; Suid. v. Ephor. Plutarch, Vit. Isocr. p. 839.

² Cicer. De Orat. III. 13. ; Seneca, De Tranquil. c. 6.

⁴ Phot. Cod. CLXXVI.

author of his time seems to have laboured more zealously, in the field of historical investigation which he had undertaken to cultivate. He was also a man of independent spirit; and declined an invitation to the court of Alexander, conscious of the trammels which royal patronage might impose on his freedom of research. Of the vicissitudes of his life no further notices have been preserved.¹

If Isocrates ever really counselled Ephorus to the effect above stated, regarding the choice of his subjects, the pupil has but imperfectly complied with his master's instructions. He has it is true commenced his "Histories," by which title alone his great work seems to have been known, with the early mythical annals of Greece. But his narrative was carried in continuous order through a period of about 750 years, to the siege of Perinthus by Philip, in 339 B.C.², a date of twenty-three years lower than that which closes the narrative of Xenophon. The work as quoted by the antients comprised thirty books. The last, or thirtieth, was attributed to his son Demophilus.³ The first fifteen or sixteen extended to the close of the Peloponnesian war, which epoch nearly coincided with the author's birth; so that the remaining thirteen, or little less than a half, were bestowed on the history of his own time.

His
historical
work

The first portion of the text embodied, apparently in the form of a Universal history⁴, the heteroge-

¹ Plutarch, *De Stoic. Repugn.* p. 1043.

² Diodor. Sic. xvi. 78.; Phot. loc. cit.; Polyb. iv. 3.

³ Diodor. xvi. 14. Demophilus is not cited as the author of any other work, nor is anything further known of his affairs: conf. Didot, *Frgg. Histor.* vol. II. p. 86.

⁴ Polyb. v. 33., who describes Ephorus as the first author of a work deserving that name.

neous elements, which the Pherecydes or Hellanici of the ante-Herodotean age, were accustomed to treat in separate and more desultory form. His more comprehensive work, like their Archæologies, Genealogies, or Atlantides, was a combination of mythology, geography, antiquities, statistics, and political history. Its main subject was concentrated on Greece, but in its earlier logographic stages it treated of every other part of the world, to such an extent as suited the author's taste. This more comprehensive character seems however to have been confined to the mythical or semi-historical periods. From the commencement of the Persian war downwards, his compilation appears to have become, like the closing books of Herodotus, very much a history of Greece in the proper sense. Ephorus also, if we may trust Diodorus, in so far professed to impart a strictly historical character to his labours, that he commenced his narrative with the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus; an epoch generally recognised in later times, as the point of distinction between the mythical and the historical age. The further remark of Diodorus¹, that Theopompus overlooked the fabulous legends of the earlier previous period, is not certainly borne out by the fragments of the earlier books, the greater part of which are devoted to these same fabulous legends. Suidas, on the other hand, describes Theopompus, and doubtless, by reference to the extant citations from the earlier books, with more literal truth, as commencing his narrative with the Siege of Troy. The two statements may best be reconciled on the hypothesis, which seems also borne out by the internal evidence of the fragments, that

¹ IV. 1.

the events of the ante-Heraclidan age were treated in the mode of retrospective narrative or episode.¹

12. Of the six passages quoted from the first book², one described the amour of Hercules with the daughters of Thestius; another his voluntary slavery under Omphale; a third referred to the settlement of his sons in Doris; a fourth and fifth to the topography of the Troad and the neighbouring districts of Asia Minor. Of two others assigned on reasonable grounds to the same first book, one fixed the date of the destruction of Troy, the other detailed the genealogy of the Dardanian heroine Arisbe, her marriage with Paris son of Priam, and her foundation of the city of her own name on the Hellespont. An eighth fragment, also probably of this book, rates the life of the antient race of heroes at 1000 years, that of the Arcadian highlanders in the same primeval times at 300 years. A ninth narrated the abduction by Cadmus, of Harmonia daughter of Electra, from Samothrace; how, on her arrival with her husband at Thebes, she gave her mother's name Electra to one of the gates of the city, and how she continued to receive divine honours in her native island. From the remaining fragments it

Analysis
of its con-
tents.

¹ Diodorus (v. 1.) further describes Ephorus as having treated every part of his subject in its natural order, and in its distinct and united integrity; so that each book should be made up of a kindred set of materials; each being provided with a separate preface. He also intimates his approbation of this method, and that he had taken it as his own model. There can be little doubt that in this remark, he had tacitly in view the contrast, of what he may have considered the less practical Herodotean method, of interlacing different branches of subject with each other, by the elegant epic expedients of the Halicarnassian historian. Here again however, his main statement is hardly borne out by the light which the fragments afford on the contents of the separate books.

² C. Müller, *Frsg.* 8. sqq.

would appear, that the main narrative of the book described the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, and the distribution of the subdued territory among the victors.

The second book¹ treated the topography and mythology of Central Greece; Acarnania, Ætolia, Bœotia, Attica. It described the adventures of Alcmaeon the son of Amphiaraus during and after the second Theban war; the reasons why he took no part in the Trojan war, his occupation of Acarnania, and foundation of the Amphilochian Argos.

The passages quoted from the third book, relating almost exclusively to the topography of Ionia, can leave no doubt that its main subject was the foundation of the Ionian Colonies under Athenian leaders, by the ejected population of Peloponnesus.

The two following fourth and fifth books, with much apparent impropriety, by a prolonged interruption of the narrative, comprised a system of universal geography. The fourth, after a preliminary notice of the author's scheme of arrangement by Quarters, limates, or otherwise, treated the geography of Europe; hence familiarly quoted under the title of the Europa, or the description of Europe. The fifth contained the geography of Asia (exclusive of Lydia, the omission of which is censured by Strabo), and of Libya. Each book seems to have described the races by which the different countries were inhabited, with their religion, laws, and customs. The Europa appears to have been not only much the more bulky of the two, but to have occupied a large portion, perhaps a fourth of the entire work; that being the relation which the fragments probably assignable to this book²,

¹ Frg. 25. sqq.

² Frgg. 38—78.

bear to the whole existing collection. Among the longer quotations are accounts, of the foundation of the Delphic sanctuary, of the colonisation of Sicily, and the legislation of Zaleucus; with an elaborate treatise on the Cretan constitution, showing the system of Lycurgus to have been borrowed from Crete. The principal citation from the fifth book relates to Egypt. Ephorus attributed the overflow of the Nile to a gushing of water from the soil, owing to natural causes which he explains, during the great summer heat.¹

Resuming the interrupted thread of his narrative in the sixth book, he directs attention to Peloponnesian affairs, especially the Sparto-Messenian wars. The seventh book takes up the history of Cræsus king of Lydia, from whose reign Ephorus, like Herodotus, seems to have dated the first historically recorded rivalry between the political systems of Europe and Asia. The four or five citations of book nine relate chiefly to the topography of Asia Minor. With what propriety these topics could have been introduced here rather than in the Asiatic geography, does not appear.

The remainder of the work, judging from the fragments, was devoted chiefly to the authentic history of Greece; and treated its subject in continuous order. A due share of attention was also bestowed on Sicilian affairs, especially in their relation to Carthage.

13. There can be no doubt that this history contained a large quantity of really useful information and practical remark, on the varied subjects which it embraced. Ephorus seems to have been generally

His credit
as a histo-
rian;

¹ Frg. 108.: conf. C. Müller, *op. cit.* p. LX.

esteemed by the best native critics, not a brilliant or original, but a sound and discriminating writer. There is little trace of depth or novelty of research in his remains. Nor do his commentators allude to his having explored distant countries, or consulted recondite archives, native or foreign. His notions on obscure points of natural history or geography, show little advance beyond those of Herodotus or Hecataeus. He manifests however a laudable anxiety to draw from the best sources where easily accessible. Homer's works are kept constantly in view; and many of his illustrations of early history and geography, seem to have been in the form of commentaries on texts of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. He also quotes Hesiod, Alcman, Chœrilus¹, and other antient poets; and availed himself of the historical data supplied by monumental inscriptions.² His familiarity with the standard historical works of the previous generation, of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon³, may safely be assumed: but he pays no servile deference to their authority. His explanation of the causes of the Peloponnesian war contains some curious, not perhaps very probable particulars, unnoticed by Thucydides.⁴ On several points

¹ Frg. 76. 251.

² Frgg. 29. 121.

³ Frgg. 107. 111. 113. 129. 138.

⁴ Frg. 119. There is here no such wide discrepancy as some modern commentators (C. Müller, p. LXIII.) have supposed between Thucydides and Ephorus. In specifying the continued exclusion of Megara from free commerce with Athens, as the point on which Pericles made his stand against the pretensions of Sparta, Ephorus agrees both with Thucydides (i. 42. 67. 130. sq.) and Isocrates. The latter seems to consider this disagreement as the principal cause; Thucydides but as a secondary cause of the rupture. Admitting the details given by Ephorus of the special personal motives that induced Pericles to desire war, to be as little probable in themselves as they are creditable to that patriot,

where he differs from Herodotus or Xenophon, his authority has been preferred by subsequent compilers, and with justice, there can be little doubt, in so far as regards the latter historian. His account of the conspiracy of Lysander to effect a change in the Spartan law of royal succession¹, supplies an important chapter in the secret history of the Lacedæmonian republic, which like many other matters discreditable to Xenophon's favourite characters, has been suppressed in the *Hellenica* of that author.

The estimation in which Ephorus was held, as an authority on geographical subjects, appears from the extent to which he has been quoted and commented by Strabo, in every part of his great work.² Strabo, the "Hellenic geographer" by preeminence, was, still less perhaps than Ephorus, a man of deep original research. He was contented to borrow his materials from the more immediately accessible older authorities. But he certainly exercised critical discrimination in the choice of those authorities; and there is no one among them, as he himself informs us, to whom he pays greater deference than to Ephorus. Even the scrupulous care with which he notes and controverts what he considered his errors, is a proof of the value which as a general rule he attached to

as a geographer.

they yet possess value, as representing the views promulgated by the anti-Periclean interest in Athens, regarding the secret springs of his Peloponnesian policy. Thucydides, while assuredly not intentionally partial, is so profound an admirer of Pericles, as to render it possible at least that he may have taken too favourable a view of his motives. Ephorus also (frg. 144.) disputed the participation of Themistocles, which Thucydides seems to admit, in the treason of Pausanias; and described him as having taken refuge, not as according to Thucydides with Artaxerxes, but with his father Xerxes (frg. 115.).

¹ Frg. 127.

² Conf. C. Müller, p. LXIII. note.

his statements. Polybius¹ also dwells on the extent and precision of his investigations into the migration of colonies, the foundation of states, and the genealogy of their founders.

Ephorus has frequently been charged with error, or uncritical preference of the least authenticated versions of events, but never in any reasonable quarter, with wilful falsification. Nor is there any appearance of his having been unduly influenced by national or personal partialities², whether in the form of Laconism or Atticism. He did ample justice to the character of Epaminondas, his view of which contributed no doubt, with those of Callisthenes and other impartial contemporaries, to counteract the indirect calumnies of Xenophon. Plutarch mentions a man of his own circle of acquaintance, who by the perusal of a few books of Ephorus, had conceived so high an admiration for the Theban patriot, as to have become a pest or "bore" in society, from being unable to talk on any other subject, and hence himself acquired the nickname of "Epaminondas."³ One of the general rules prescribed by Ephorus for testing historical data, is sound and ingenious. "In regard to events of our own age, those authors who write most precisely are entitled to the greatest credit. But the greater the detail in which events of remote ages are narrated, the less trustworthy the narrator, owing to the less likelihood of any so copious reports

¹ XXXIII. 1. ; conf. Strab. x. p. 465.

² Auctt. ap. C. Müller, p. LXIII. No attention is due to the attacks directed against him, as against other respectable writers, by such promiscuous libellers as Timæus or Duris Samius.

³ De Garrul. 22.

"having been transmitted, of the words or acts described."¹ In the mythical portions of his own work his object seems to have been, not so much to gratify the national taste for the marvellous, as to reduce fabulous legend to what he considered historical fact, by aid of allegorical interpretation. In the application of these expedients, he does not seem to have been much more successful than the old logographers whose example he followed.²

Ephorus is cited as author of a work on Inventions in two books; of one on Local history, that of his own birthplace Cuma it may be presumed; and of a Treatise on literary style.³ The citations from the "Inventions" relate chiefly to the arts of music and poetry; those from the Local history exclusively to the biography of Homer and Hesiod. Ephorus was the principal authority for the Æolian version of Homer's life, which described him as born at Smyrna of Cumæan parents; as the offspring of an incestuous intercourse between his mother and her uncle and guardian Mæon, and as a first cousin of Hesiod, son of Mæon's brother Dius. The legends of the poet's mother's subsequent marriage to the schoolmaster Phemius, of his blindness, and consequent change of name from Melesigenes to Homeros, were also sanctioned by Ephorus.

His
secondary
works.

The treatise on Style seems to be cited, though not named, by Cicero and Quintilian, in their references

¹ Frg. 2.

² Frg. 70.

³ Frg. 158. sqq. 164. There appears no valid reason to doubt the genuine character of any one of these secondary works, as some modern critics have done; or to suppose with others, that the two former were parts or appendices of the author's historical composition.

to the views of its author on the proper adjustment of metrical cadence in prose composition.¹

His style.

The few literal extracts from the text of Ephorus, are in simple and perspicuous Attic style, conveying a favourable impression of this feature of his art of composition. The judgements formed by the ancients, on the more copious data at their disposal, are very conflicting.² Polybius describes his composition as greatly to be admired, for propriety of structure and clearness of argument; as abounding in ingenious maxims, and interesting illustrations. By Dionysius³ and Cicero⁴ it is commended for purity and perspicuity; but censured as diffuse, wanting in vigour, often languid and tedious. Hermogenes⁵, without specifying either merits or defects, ranks him among those authors whose style was to be taken by others, less as a model for their imitation, than as a warning of what they ought to avoid. Polybius⁶ eulogises his descriptions of sea-fights and naval operations as spirited and correct, and hence assumes that he must himself have had some experience of maritime affairs. His accounts of land engagements, on the other hand, especially those of Leuctra and Mantinea, are censured as full of blunders, proving his ignorance of the subject. This defect, Polybius further remarks, was common to other popular historians of the same age, but more prominent in Ephorus, owing to his fondness for

¹ Frg. 163.: conf. Theon, *Progyrn.* p. 19., ed. Basil. Of the treatises, "On Good and Evil," and "On Paradoxes," mentioned by Suidas, no other trace is extant: conf. C. Müller, p. LXI.

² Auctt. ap. C. Müller, p. LXIII. sqq.

³ *De Comp. Verb.* XXXII.

⁴ *Orat.* 51. 57.

⁵ p. 403., ed. Porti.

⁶ Ap. C. Müller, p. LXIII.

enlarging on the details of military movements which he did not understand.

14. The historians of the Attic period, whose lives or works have not yet afforded material for separate treatment, are comprised in the subjoined list:¹

CRATIPPUS of Athens.

SOPHÆNETUS [of Stymphalus].

HERMIAS of Methymna.

TIMONIDES of Leucadia.

ATHANAS of Syracuse.

DIONYSIODORUS and } Bœotians.

ANAXIS

CEPHISODORUS [of Athens].

ZOILUS of Amphipolis.

DEMOPHILUS of Cuma.

PHANIAS of Eresus.

CLIDEMUS or CLITODEMUS [of Athens].

PHANODEMUS.

CALLISTHENES of Olynthus.

CRATIPPUS.

Of this author, the little that is known has already been incidentally noted in treating of Thucydides.²

¹ The "Historica" ascribed by Suidas to the tyrant Dionysius, and the work under the same title attributed by Diogenes Laertius to Aristippus the Cyrenaic philosopher, but neither of which are quoted by any other authority, cannot fitly claim a place in the catalogue. The *Ægyptiaca* of Aristagoras Milesius appear to have been purely topographical. Suidas, in ascribing to Theocritus, the cynical Chian rhetor of Alexander's time, a history of Libya, has evidently confounded his name with that of Theochrestus, a later writer of uncertain age, quoted by Pliny as author of a work under that title: conf. Müller in Didot, frg.; Hist. Gr. vol. II. p. 79. sqq. 86. 98.

² Supra, p. 50. sqq.

His Paralipomena of Thucydides.

He can hardly have enjoyed much general popularity; his work having been cited but three times; although devoted, under the title *Paralipomena of Thucydides*, exclusively to contemporaneous events.¹ It appears, from the extant notices, to have been a supplement to, and a commentary on, as well as a continuation of, the Attic historian's narrative: and to have extended down to Conon's victory of Cnidus. Two of the three citations contain notices of Thucydides; and the circumstance of Cratippus being the only ascertained contemporary, who has transmitted any information regarding that author or his work, forms his chief claim to such little celebrity as he enjoys. In the other, somewhat mutilated fragment, he appears to have ascribed the defacement of the Attic *Hermæ* to emissaries of the foreign enemies of Athens, to the Corinthians more especially, from their interest in the cause of their Syracusan kinsmen.

SOPHÆNETUS [OF STYMPHALUS]

is quoted four times by Stephanus of Byzantium, as author of an Expedition of Cyrus, or "*Anabasis*," and on points of Asiatic geography connected with the Persian prince's enterprise. The correspondence of names naturally leads to suppose, that he may be the same Sophænetus the Stymphalian, frequently mentioned by Xenophon, not always in the most honourable terms, as one of his colleagues in the command of the Retreat.² Yet it seems strange that an account of that memorable adventure, by a contem-

¹ *Frg. ap. Müller in Didot, vol. II. p. 75.*

² *Conf. Müller, op. cit. p. 74.*

porary, and leading participator in its vicissitudes, should not have been noticed by a single author of the flourishing age of Greek or Roman antiquity.

HERMIAS OF METHYMNA

is mentioned by Diodorus¹ as author of a "Sicula," His Sicula. or History of Sicily, which brought the affairs of that island down to the year 376 B.C., a date about ten years prior to the death of the elder Dionysius. The work is described by the same authority as consisting of ten, or according to another arrangement, of twelve books. The single extant citation of it², by Athenæus, alludes to transactions in the reign of Dionysius, of date 404 B.C. As this passage is quoted from the third book, the subject of the work would seem to have been limited to the more recent history of the island. It probably embraced the thirty-nine years from the Athenian invasion of Syracuse in 415 B.C., to the above-mentioned date, 376 B.C. If the first three books comprised the period from 415 to the close of the Peloponnesian war (404 B.C.), the first quarter of the ensuing century would be a reasonable allotment for the remaining seven books.

Hermias is also quoted as author of a geographical work (Periegesis), and of a tract on the Gryneum, or sanctuary of Apollo at Grynia on the coast of Æolis, opposite his native isle of Lesbos. His other works. From the tenor of a long citation of this treatise³, by the same Athenæus, it appears to have been a general disquisition on the worship of Apollo and his kindred deities, under the variety of forms which that worship assumed, whether at Grynia, or in his other more dis-

¹ xv. 37.

² Müller, *op. cit.* p. 80.

³ Müll. *loc. cit.*

tinguished sanctuaries. The precise age of this author has not been recorded. But the choice and treatment of his subject entitle him conjecturally to a place in the Attic period.

TIMONIDES OF LEUCADIA

His
epistolary
history.

was a friend of Dion of Syracuse, whom he accompanied on his expedition against the tyrant Dionysius the younger in 357 B.C. He was a disciple of the Academy, and wrote, or is believed to have written, an account of Dion's enterprise, in a series of letters to his friend Speusippus, a distinguished member of that institution, and successor to Plato in its presidency. Speusippus himself took a personal interest in Sicilian affairs, having accompanied his master Plato, when he visited Syracuse for the purpose of influencing Dionysius to a more rational course of government. Timonides bore an active share in the expedition, and was appointed to the command of the patriot force, at a time when Dion was himself disabled by a wound for the performance of his military duties. Antient authorities seem to have entertained no suspicion as to the genuine character of the letters ascribed to Timonides; which, if authentic, would be the first ascertained example of a historical narrative digested in epistolary form. Plutarch quotes them undoubtingly as genuine; and hence, in his life of Dion, attaches great weight to the authority of Timonides, as an eyewitness and participator in the events narrated. A passage of Plutarch, describing, after Timonides, the defeat, the subsequent cruel treatment, and death of Philistus, has been cited¹ in

¹ *Supra*, p. 505. : *conf. Müll. op. cit.* p. 83.

our memoir of that author. The existing remains supply no sufficient criteria for judging of the style of this composition.

ATHANAS OF SYRACUSE

wrote, in thirteen books, a history of the active life and government of his countryman Dion.¹ In a preliminary book he took a retrospective view of the seven years (363—357 B.C.) from the close of the work of Philistus to the commencement of his own; of the latter years, that is, of the reign of Dionysius the younger, the history of which had been left incomplete by his predecessor.

His Syracusan history.

Athanas is quoted with respect by Plutarch and Diodorus. As the two principal fragments of his work², both of some length, relate to the history of Timoleon, one of them to the blindness which preceded his death, it would seem that Diodorus speaks vaguely in restricting the subject of Athanas to the affairs of Dion. For Dion died in 353 B.C., sixteen years prior to the death of Timoleon in 337. The passages are hardly of such a nature as could reasonably have been introduced in mere episodical form, in a principal narrative treating of so much earlier a period. We possess no data for establishing the age of this author, beyond the fact of his having survived Timoleon. But the extracts from his text bear the stamp of notices by a contemporaneous writer.

DIONYSIODORUS and ANAXIS are classed together by Diodorus³, as two Bæotian authors who composed, Dionysiodorus and Anaxis.

¹ Diodor. Sic. xv. 94.
VOL. V.

² Müller, op. cit. p. 81.
N N

³ xv. 95.

conjointly it must be presumed, a History of Greece, from what epoch is not stated, down to Philip's accession to the throne of Macedon. The only other notice of a Bœotian Dionysiodorus is by Arrian, who mentions a Theban citizen of that name, as in early life a victor in the Olympic games, and as having afterwards been sent by his native republic on a mission to the court of Darius Codomannus, about the time of Alexander's passage into Asia. In this capacity he was present with Darius at the battle of Issus, and was taken prisoner, but set at liberty by Alexander and allowed to return home. There seems no reason to doubt that Diodorus and Arrian refer to the same person.¹

Of his fellow-historian Anaxis nothing further is known; nor is there extant any distinct citation of their work.

Cephisodorus.

CEPHISODORUS is cited by a commentator of Aristotle, as author of a History of the Sacred War in twelve books; and the same authority quotes a passage of his work, describing a battle fought in the town of Coronea in 353 B.C., the fifth year of that war. No other notice occurs of a historian of this name. The work in question may hence the more probably be assigned to the Athenian orator Cephisodorus, a disciple of Isocrates, who composed, in vindication of his master against Aristotle, some rhetorical tracts, the style of which is much commended by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He also wrote against Plato, but on what subject has not been recorded.²

¹ Müller, op. cit. p. 84.

² Müller, op. cit. p. 85.

ZOÏLUS of Amphipolis, the celebrated rhetor and Zoïlus.
 anti-Homeric critic, is mentioned by Suidas and Eudocia¹ as author of three books on Amphipolis, his native city, and of a "History" from the origin of the gods to the death of Philip. Of these works or their contents no further notice is extant.

Of DEMOPHILUS, the son and continuator of Ephorus, all that is known has already been stated in our Demo-philus.
 memoir of the father.²

PHANIAS OF ERESUS,

15. a disciple of Aristotle and contemporary of Theophrastus, hence occasionally styled the Peripatetic, wrote on a variety of subjects³; and both the number and the tenor of the existing citations of his works, entitle him to rank among the more critical as well as popular authors of his time. He seems to have emulated Thucydides and Xenophon, in restricting his materials to real facts and events. His compositions belong however chiefly to the class of miscellaneous historical literature, rather than historical narrative. Eight works in all are ascribed to him. Of these the three which partake most of the strictly historical character are entitled: On the Prytanes of Eresus; On the Sicilian Tyrants; and On Tyrannicide from Revenge.

The first appears to have been a species of Universal history, chronologically arranged according to the succession of chief magistrates in the author's native republic. As the work is referred to under its proper title, but once alone in the forty extant His Eresian Prytanes.

¹ Müller, op. cit. p. 85.

² Supra, p. 531.

³ C. Müller, op. cit. p. 293. sqq.

citations of Phantias, it is the less easy to judge what passages, among the many where no title is specified, may belong to the "Eresian Prytanes." The compilers of the fragments seem however to have judged rightly in allotting to that work, as a general rule, all those of a properly historical tendency, which do not, from internal evidence or otherwise, more immediately connect themselves either with the "Sicilian Tyrants," or the "Tyrannicide from Revenge."¹ Of the eleven passages thus appertaining to the Prytanes, three relate to the legislation of Solon, and six to events in the life of Themistocles. Plutarch seems, in his biography of that distinguished Athenian, to have deferred to Phantias as a standard authority. Of the two remaining passages, one contained the author's calculation of the interval between the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus and the expedition of Alexander, which he fixed at 715 years; the other, the only one of a mythical tendency in the author's remains, gives what may possibly be but an exaggerated version of a real phenomenon, the showers of fish, reported to have fallen on several successive days in the Thracian Chersonesus. The number of books into which the text was divided is not stated; but the second book is quoted, in the only fragment where the title of the work is specified.²

The citations from the "Sicilian Tyrants," and the "Tyrannicide from Revenge,"³ contain popular anecdotes of political usurpers, of the victims of their oppression, and the avengers of their crimes.

His other
works.

Of the remaining works of Phantias, two, On the

¹ Fragg. 1—11. ap. Müller, op. cit.

² Fragg. 1.

³ Fragg. 12—16.

poets, and On the Socratic Philosophers, belong to the miscellaneous order of historical composition. The former appears, from the few extracts¹, to have treated of music and musicians rather than of poets in the proper sense; that on the Socratics to have been a collection of familiar anecdotes rather than of biographical memoirs.² Phanias left several works of a rhetorical or controversial character; one of which was entitled "Against the Sophists;" also a Botanical treatise, of which fifteen fragments remain³, being more than a third of the whole collection. This would seem to imply that his authority was as great on scientific as on historical subjects.

CLIDEMUS.⁴

The principal work of Clidemus, also called Clitodemus, was entitled Atthis. The compositions bearing this name, partly owing to their number, partly to the interest of their subject, were classed by the grammarians as a separate branch of historical literature, and their authors are hence commonly quoted by the special title, Writers of Atthides. The name Atthis was also common to a kindred order of poetical composition in honour of Athens. The earliest recorded prose Atthis was that attributed to Melesagoras, a logographer of the age prior to the Peloponnesian war.⁵ The work of Helanicus, called by Thucydides his "Attic History," is also familiarly known in later times by the title Atthis. No composition of the kind having been

His Atthis.

Other
writers of
Atthides.¹ Fragg. 17, 18.² Fragg. 20—23.³ Fragg. 25—40.⁴ Siebelis, *Atthidum Fragmenta*, p. xxv. sqq.; C. Müller ap. Didot, *Fragg. Hist. Gr. tom. I. p. LXXXI. sqq.*⁵ See Vol. IV. p. 180.

preserved entire, we have the less means of judging as to the precise mode in which the common subject may have been treated. It would seem, however, that although the title was familiarly applied to any separate work on Athens, the *Atthis* in the proper sense was understood to embrace, not only a more or less detailed history of the Republic from the earliest period, but illustrations of her mythology and topography, of the manners and customs of her citizens, of her public monuments and principal institutions. Hence perhaps may be explained the description given by Pausanias¹ of Clidemus, as the earliest of those authors who treated the "local affairs of Attica." Pausanias could hardly have supposed him more antient than Hellanicus, or could have been ignorant that the latter author had written a work commonly entitled *Atthis*. It may therefore be assumed that the priority ascribed by Pausanias to Clidemus, refers, as its terms seem partly to imply, to the more peculiarly local or topographical character of the kind of *Atthis* which he introduced. Hellanicus on the other hand, as appears from the remains of his work, and from the notice of it by Thucydides, treated his subject, though very defectively, in a more enlarged Panhellenic spirit, and in connexion with the general affairs of Greece.² The distinction drawn by Pausanias, if indeed he can himself be understood to have had any such in view, does not seem to have been recognised by other commentators, who freely quote the older writers of *Atthides* in the same category as Clidemus and his successors.³

These later "*Atthidists*" were animated, as was natural, by a zealous spirit of partiality towards

¹ x. 15.

² See Vol. IV. p. 228.

³ See Appendix R.

Athens. Their efforts to sustain and extend her national honour were directed more especially to the object of making amends, by new or exaggerated versions of mythical legends, for the slender share of renown awarded to her, as compared with her neighbours Thebes and Argos, by the older, more genuine organs of heroic tradition. Clidemus, for example, asserted to Athens the possession of the Palladium, as having been captured by Demophon son of Theseus from Agamemnon, when he landed on the coast of Attica on his return from Troy.¹ The successors of Clidemus exhibited still greater zeal in appropriating to the Athenians, the credit of exploits attributed by less partial authorities to other heroes or countries.²

The age of Clidemus is nowhere clearly laid down; but as several authors of popular Atthides are ascertained to have flourished at the very commencement of the Alexandrian period, he may himself, as the most antient of his class, be considered as appertaining to the latter part of the Attic period. One of his fragments contains a notice of an event which took place in 375 B.C.; he must therefore have survived that year. No direct notice of his birthplace has been preserved: but the incidental allusions of his quoters leave little doubt of his having been an Athenian. Plutarch³ includes his name in a list of Attic writers, and Harpocration⁴ in the same indirect manner, characterises him as Attic in nation as well as in style.

The fragments of his Atthis, twelve books of which are mentioned, convey no high impression of the judgement of the author. They are devoted exclu-

¹ Müller, *frag.* 12.² De Gloria Athen. 1.³ Siebel. pp. vi. xxvii.⁴ γ. Πρῶκι.

sively to Athenian subjects, or subjects immediately connected with Attica. About one-half are occupied with the topographical or statistical antiquities of the city or state; some three or four alone with events of authentic history; the remainder with mythological fables, which are treated in no spirit of criticism, often with much "logographic" precision of detail. Clidemus is also mentioned as author of three works, entitled *Protogonia*, *Exegeticon*, and *Nosti*. But these titles denote probably parts or appendages of the *Atthis*, whether connected with it in the form of Introduction, of Commentary, or of Supplement. The citations of them imply that, like the *Atthis* in chief, they treated solely of Athenian affairs; and a statement cited by one author from the first book of the *Atthis*, is cited by another from the first book of the *Protogonia*.¹

Five passages on scientific, chiefly botanical subjects, are quoted by Theophrastus and Aristotle from Clidemus; whether from some professional naturalist of the name, or whether the author of the *Atthis* may also have occupied himself with scientific pursuits, are questions which no data exist for solving. No title, or other distinct notice has been preserved, of a work on natural history by an author of this name. The only other *Atthidist*, of similarly uncertain age and country, who may seem to possess a doubtful claim to a place in the Attic period is:

Phanodemus.

PHANODEMUS², whose works, from the number of extant citations, appear to have been popular in their day. They offer however little of novelty or interest

¹ Müller, p. LXXXVII. and frg. 3. : conf. 17.

² Siebelis, op. cit. p. VII. and p. 2.; Müller, pp. LXXXIII. LXXXVII. p. 366.

to the modern student. His zeal for his own subject may be illustrated, among other examples, by his having magnified the number of Persian galleys opposed to Cimon in the battle of the Eurymedon, from the 350 or less partial authorities to 600.¹ Besides his *Atthis*, in nine or more books, he is quoted as author of one or two other works under less definite titles.

CALLISTHENES.

16. The only author, of the class familiarly styled *Historians of Alexander*, to whom, by an exception to the rule above laid down, a place will here be assigned among the writers of the Attic period, is Callisthenes.² To this privilege he is entitled on several grounds. His death took place prior to that of Alexander. His works consequently, at whatever date published, were all composed within the Attic period. The one devoted to the affairs of Alexander, in right of which alone, even had he survived that monarch, he could have ranked as an Alexandrian historian, forms but a limited portion of the whole; while the subjects treated in the others, in his *Hellenica*, and *History of the Sacred war*, are common in whole or in part to Xenophon, Theopompus, and Ephorus, the three most distinguished authors of the previous generation.

It is to his personal history, still more than to his literary productions, that Callisthenes is indebted for his celebrity. His connexion with Alexander, which resulted in his premature death, forms

¹ *Frg. 17. Müller.*

² C. Müller, *Fragmenta Scriptorum de Reb. Alexandri* (Didot), p. 1. sqq.; Sevin, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. tom. VIII. p. 126. sqq.*; Ste. Croix, *Examen Crit. des Anc. Hist. d'Alexandre*, p. 34. sqq. alibi.

one of the most interesting chapters in Greek literary biography, and one of the darkest stains on the character of the most illustrious Greek warrior and conqueror.

His birth
and
parentage.

The father of Callisthenes was a citizen of Olynthus, a Greek colony of uncertain origin on the south coast of Thrace. His mother Hero was a near relative of Aristotle.¹ The date of his birth has not been mentioned; he appears however to have been by several years senior to his future patron Alexander, born in 356 B.C. He was adopted and educated from early boyhood by Aristotle; who when invited to the court of Macedon by king Philip, to superintend the education of his son and successor, carried with him his young kinsman.² He thus became the fellow-disciple and friend of Alexander, and after his accession to the throne continued to enjoy his confidence. Callisthenes does not appear to have united the profession of arms with his literary pursuits. We may hence the more readily adopt the account of Plutarch, that he took no part in Alexander's earlier Asiatic campaigns, but joined him at a later period, when he had already established his power in Western Asia, and his court had become the resort of enterprising Greek men of science.³

His connexion
with Alexander.

At whatever time he may have crossed into Asia,

¹ Plutarch, in Alex. 55.; Arrian, Alex. Anab. iv. 10.; Suid. v. Callisth.

² Justin, xii. 6.

³ According to Plutarch (Alex. 53., De Stoic. Repug. p. 1043.), his first visit to the camp was for the purpose of obtaining from Alexander the restoration of his native place Olynthus to its republican privileges. Suidas represents him as having accompanied Alexander: Justin (xii. 6.), as having been sent for subsequently, to act as chronicler of his patron's achievements. There is no evidence that he ever, as some ancient writers have conjectured, himself acted the part of preceptor to Alexander.

the previous friendly relations between him and Alexander continued for a time to be maintained. He is said, among his other scientific avocations, to have been habitually engaged with his patron and his fellow-courtier Anaxarchus, in studying the poems of Homer. According to some authorities, the celebrated edition of "the Casket" was the result of their joint labours.¹ But this amicable intercourse was not destined to be permanent; and there can be no doubt that the responsibility for its interruption rests, whether to his praise or to his discredit, in a great measure with Callisthenes himself. He seems to have been a man imbued with a genuine spirit of Panhellenic patriotism, little adapted to the region or the circumstances in which he was now called upon to act; of an honest and independent but, like Alexander himself, of proud, excitable, even arrogant disposition, and incapable of maintaining either his feelings or his language under prudential restraint.² Hence, on his first attaching himself permanently to the prince, Aristotle, who well knew the tempers which were to be brought into such dangerous contact, is said to have warned him, either to abstain from habitual freedom of discourse with his patron, or to shape his language in guarded and conciliatory forms.³ With this advice it was not in the nature of Calli-

His
character.

¹ Strabo, XIII. p. 594.

² Arrian (Anab. iv. 10.) represents him as no less vain of his talents than Alexander was of his conquests, and as having boasted that his patron would be more indebted for posthumous renown to the history of the Expedition which he, Callisthenes, was engaged in composing, than to his own achievements. But as Arrian is the zealous admirer and apologist of his own hero, and animated by no friendly feeling towards Callisthenes, we must be cautious in admitting his authority in such matters.

³ Auctt. ap. Muller, p. 3.

sthenes to comply. So intense indeed was the admiration with which he was at first inspired, by the generous bearing and brilliant achievements of Alexander, that his demeanour for a time resembled that of a sycophant rather than a friend or counsellor; and the bursts of exaggerated panegyric to which he gave vent in his history of the Expedition, undertaken at Alexander's request, have been justly censured, as well on moral as on literary grounds, by his biographers.¹ Nor can there be a better proof of the wayward inconsistency of his temper, than the contrast between the tone of these passages, several of which are still extant, and the spirit which he afterwards manifested towards his former object of veneration.

No estrangement seems to have taken place till after the murder of Clitus; on which occasion Callisthenes showed both judgement and fine feeling, in his efforts to allay the emotions of remorse, by which Alexander was affected, for this rash ebullition of ferocity. Yet his frank and honest mode of acting the comforter, is said to have damaged rather than improved his position in his patron's esteem.² When, in the sequel, the vainglory of Alexander obtained the entire ascendant of his better judgement, and repudiating altogether those Hellenic habits and feelings so dearly cherished by Callisthenes, he began freely to indulge in the vices, as well as the pomp and ceremonial of an Oriental despot, Callisthenes became as forward in marking his disapproval, or even his contempt, as he had lately been in his display of admiration.³ This conduct while, with his own unblemished

¹ Frgg. 25. 36. : conf. Timæi Frgg. 142, 143. Didot.

² Plut. in Alex. 52.

³ Plut. Alex. 53. ; Arrian, Anab. iv. 12.

course of life, it procured him the respect of the more generous portion of the conqueror's followers, was also viewed with satisfaction by the rival aspirants to royal favour, jealous from the first of the high place he occupied in Alexander's esteem, and who now rejoiced to find themselves provided through his own agency, with the means of subverting his influence. Of these enemies the most insidious and successful in his machinations was Anaxarchus, a man of talent, but a cringing self-interested sycophant, whom Callisthenes cordially despised, and whose hatred he had incurred, by habitually ridiculing and exposing the weak points of his character.¹

17. The interest taken by the Greek public in this His death. dismal episode of Alexander's history, is evinced by the copious commentaries for which it has furnished material to writers of all ages, and by the number and variety of the current anecdotes, as to the mode in which the quarrel was matured and brought to extremity. Many of these anecdotes are to all appearance ingenious fictions, devised for the purpose of enlivening the more gloomy features of the case. Such for example are those descriptions of the altercations between the king and the philosopher, where the innuendos and retorts assume the form of citations from Homer and other popular poets.² Among the more seemingly authentic notices, are those regarding the refusal of Callisthenes to perform certain degrading acts of homage³, required by Alexander from his courtiers, partly in his character of Asiatic despot, partly as due to the divine attributes to which he now laid claim, and which his parasites vied with each

¹ Plutarch, in Alex. 53.

² Plutarch, in Alex. 53. sq.

³ Arrian, Anab. iv. 11, 12.; Plutarch, in Alex. 54.

other in ascribing to him. By some authorities, the sarcastically insulting modes in which Callisthenes manifested his contempt for these debasing offices, and for the person who exacted them, has been considered as the sole or principal cause of his death. But other graver provocation was not probably wanting. Not content with manifesting his own views and feelings, he is said to have openly exerted himself in spreading them in the camp. This conduct naturally led him into confidential intercourse with malcontents of a more pernicious character than himself. A plot against the crown and life of Alexander was detected. The list of conspirators comprised several intimate associates of Callisthenes¹; a fact which, even in an impartial judge, might naturally raise suspicion of complicity in their designs. He was accordingly, in 328 B.C., arrested and thrown into prison. The accounts of his subsequent fate are so conflicting, that nothing can be distinctly gathered from them, beyond the fact of his never having come forth alive from his place of confinement. Some authorities² assert that, by the admission of Alexander himself in a letter to friends at home, not one of the convicted conspirators could ever be brought, by torture or persuasion, to impute to Callisthenes any actual concern in or knowledge of the plot. On the other hand, several of Alexander's principal officers³, in their memoirs of his life, asserted that Hermolaus and Sostratus, the two leading traitors, had charged Callisthenes with instigating them to their crime. Another subsequent letter is also quoted⁴, addressed by the king to Anti-

¹ Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 13, 14.

² Plut. in *Alex.* 55.

³ Ptolem. et Aristob. ap. Arrian, *op. cit.* iv. 14.

⁴ Plut. in *Alex.* 55.

pater, in which, after describing the convicted criminals as having been stoned to death by the indignant soldiery, he declares his intention of himself inflicting punishment on the Sophist, "and those who had sent him "out;" the latter expression being aimed at Aristotle. According to one contemporaneous account¹ he was, by Alexander's orders, executed, impaled or crucified, in prison. Another² describes him as having died of disease after a seven months' confinement in irons, awaiting the arrival of Aristotle, who had been summoned from Greece to be present at his trial before the royal tribunal.

Of the acts of cruelty or violence committed by Alexander, there is none which seems to have called forth a more general feeling of indignation in the public mind of Greece, than his treatment of Callisthenes. There can therefore be little doubt of its harshness and inhumanity. Theophrastus, between whom and Callisthenes a friendship had subsisted since the time of their fellow-discipleship under Aristotle, gave to his work *On Grief*, written it would appear in honour of his friend, and with immediate reference to his melancholy fate, the title "Callisthenes;" and Curtius, Cicero, Seneca, Themistius, with almost every other antient author who alludes to this transaction, if we except the conqueror's own special panegyrists, join in condemnation of his conduct.³ At the same time it can hardly be denied that there were palliating circumstances on the side of Alexander; that wanton provocation was given, and

¹ Ptolem. ap. Arrian, iv. 15.; Plut. Alex. 55.

² Plutarch, loc. cit.; Aristobul. ap. Arrian, loc. cit. For other accounts of still more inhuman treatment, see Müller, note 10. to p. 4.

³ Auctt. ap. Müller, p. 5.

that the indirect evidence of disloyal conduct on the part of Callisthenes, in his intimacy with the conspirators and his habitually disrespectful treatment of his sovereign, was specious to say the least.

His works. The historical works of Callisthenes were, I. a Hellenic History or "Hellenica;" II. a History of the Sacred war; and III. a History (or Memoirs) of Alexander. Two other works, "Macedonica," and "Thracica," quoted by writers of a late period and little authority, have been assigned with apparent reason, by modern commentators, to a more recent historian of the same name. Callisthenes was also author of a *Periplus*, or Coast-geography, of Asia Minor; and of several tracts on scientific subjects, the titles of which have not been distinctly recorded.¹

The *Hellenica*, in ten books, treated the period of thirty years, 387–357 B.C., from the peace of Antalcidas to the occupation of the Delphic sanctuary by the Phocians.² As this act was the immediate cause of the ensuing Sacred war, the other work of Callisthenes devoted to its history, was in fact a continuation of his *Hellenica*; the concluding event of the one series forming the commencement of the other. The author however was induced, as remarked by Cicero³, from the peculiar character of the subject, to constitute the latter series a separate narrative. The Sacred war lasted ten years. The two narratives

¹ Müller, p. 7. There are also attributed to him in the miscellaneous branch of literature, *Apophthegms*, *Metamorphoses* and *Cynegetica*. But these compositions also, in so far as they ever existed, may with better reason be assigned to other writers of the same name. Müller, loc. cit. The title *Persica* may be assumed, with Sevin, to be but a familiar mode of designating, in part or in whole, the History of Alexander. Müller, p. 6: conf. frg. 32.

² Diodor. XIV. 117., XVI. 14.

³ Epist. ad Fam. v. 12. 1.

therefore comprised jointly a period of forty years, terminating in 347 B.C. As but one, or at the most two fragments in the existing collection of Callisthenes, can be identified as belonging to the History of the Sacred war, that work would seem to have been composed on a more limited scale than his two other historical compositions, of each of which numerous citations have been preserved. No mention occurs of its division into books.

The History of Alexander was necessarily an unfinished work, the author's labours having been interrupted by death during its progress. If there be any truth in the account of Callisthenes having been specially selected by Alexander as his biographer¹, it may be supposed that the book was originally planned on a more comprehensive scale, to commence with the birth and education of its hero, and extend either to his death, or to the latest period of his life which the author himself lived to record. Judging however from the fragments, the portion published was limited to the Asiatic campaigns of Alexander. No notice occurs of his earlier achievements, either during his father's lifetime, or subsequent to his own accession. From the circumstance that Plutarch, and other writers who habitually defer to Callisthenes as an authority, cease to quote him on the affairs of Alexander after the battle of Arbela, fought in 331 B.C., it has been conjectured by modern commentators that he relinquished his undertaking about that time, owing to the alienation of feeling betwixt him and Alexander. Authorities however are agreed that no such alienation took place until after the death of Clitus, in 329 B.C. From a fragment of the Helle-

¹ Justin, XII. 6. : conf. Arrian, IV. 10.

nica¹, in which he alludes to his having accompanied Alexander on his visit to Ethiopia, in the same year 331 B.C. in which the battle of Arbela was fought, it appears that the *Hellenica* itself, probably his earliest undertaking, was at that date still incomplete. It is the less likely therefore, that during the few remaining years of his life, even apart from personal inducements to abandon his undertaking, he should have brought the *History of Alexander* to a state of maturity down to a lower epoch. On the same grounds of internal evidence it may be assumed, that neither the *Hellenica*, nor probably the *Sacred war*, were edited by himself, but were left, like the *History of Alexander*, for posthumous publication.

The works of Callisthenes appear to have been genuine reflexions of his ardent temper, and wayward genius. He is commended by Polybius² as a diligent and trustworthy historian, is quoted as such by authorities of all classes, and has been assigned a place in the Alexandrian canon of standard historical writers.³ His Hellenic history seems to have been one of the principal sources, to which subsequent compilers were indebted for facts carelessly omitted or wilfully suppressed by Xenophon. Such are the defeat of the Spartans at Tegyra⁴; the wresting of Messenia by Epaminondas from Lacedæmon, and her reestablishment as a separate independent state.⁵ His critical spirit manifests itself in his denial that Xerxes, as commonly believed, after his expulsion from Greece, engaged by treaty that no Persian vessel should approach within a certain distance of the

¹ Frg. 6.

² Montfauc. *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 597.

³ Frgg. 3. 5.

² Frg. 17.

⁵ Frg. 10. sq.

Greek coast. This Callisthenes asserts¹, and probably with reason, to be a popular error, founded on the fact, that the terror inspired by the destruction of his fleet, had induced the Great King spontaneously to shun, in the mode described, the risk of hostile collision with Greek ships in their own waters. Even the pains which have been taken by the more intelligent censors of Callisthenes to detect his errors, are a sort of indirect testimony to his general correctness. Polybius charges him with ignorance of military tactics, and with grave mistakes in his description of the battle of Issus, although himself present on the field. But the elaborate commentary in which the imputed blunders are examined, is itself a proof of the value attached by the critic to the authority of Callisthenes in ordinary cases.²

18. Whatever amount of judgement he may have shown in the treatment of his materials, he seems in their selection to have frequently been guided, like Theopompus, more by his lively fancy than by a sense of historical propriety. A large portion of the text of his longer more finished work, the *Hellenica*, appears from the fragments to have consisted of digressions, on matters extraneous to his proper subject. Of some twenty-three citations assigned with more or less reason by modern collectors to that work, five or six alone contain specific notices of facts or events belonging to the period of which it treats; several have a certain connexion with the main narrative, others are foreign to it altogether. Of the three passages³, for example, quoted from the ninth book, the principal subject of which was the last campaign of

His
Hellenica.

¹ Frg. 1.; Plutarch. Cim. 13. sq.

² Frg. 33.

³ Fragg. 15—17.

Epaminondas in Peloponnesus, one defined the precise year, month, and day, of the fall of Troy ; another described the honours bestowed by the Athenians on the family of Aristides, and the imputed bigamy of Socrates with one of that patriot's female descendants ; a third drew a comparison between the Spartan and Cretan constitutions. In treating of the Messenian policy of Epaminondas, he seems to have digressed largely on the legends of the old Sparto-Messenian wars ; on the heroism of Aristomenes, the treachery of Aristocrates, and on the vexed questions regarding the birthplace of Tyrtæus, his promotion to Spartan citizenship, and to the command of the Lacedæmonian army.¹ In the fourth book of the Hellenica, he controverted the prevailing opinions regarding the rise of the Nile. This phenomenon he ascribed² to the true cause, the tropical rains of Southern Africa, the influence of which on the stream he claimed to have ascertained by personal observation, when he accompanied Alexander on his expedition into Ethiopia. His detractors however alleged, but do not seem to have proved, that he was indebted for the doctrine to his master Aristotle, and had passed it off as his own. An opening for this digression may have been given, in his account of the Egyptian campaign of Iphicrates in 374 B.C.³

His History of Alexander.

The History of Alexander seems to have diverged less widely or frequently from its own subject. It has indeed been assumed by recent commentators that the notices by Callisthenes, of the antient sieges of Sardis by the Cimmerians and by Cyrus, of the destruction of Miletus by the Persians in the days

¹ Frg. 10. sq.

² Frg. 6.

³ Diodor. xv. 41. sq.

of the poet Phrynichus, and many other passages on the geography and history of Asia Minor, were introduced in its text. There can however be little doubt, that the whole or the greater part of these fragments¹, have been allotted with better reason by the old collectors, to his *Periplus*, or Coast-geography of that region, than to any one of his properly historical works. The argument urged by the same critics against the genuine character of the *Periplus*, that no such work could have been composed by Callisthenes, because no circumnavigation of that coast had ever been undertaken by Alexander, is worth little. Nothing could be more natural, than that after the conqueror had obtained possession of Asia Minor, Callisthenes should have been led by his interest in that country, both as a man of science and a Homeric commentator, to avail himself of the new facilities of research with which he was thus provided, in exploring and describing its objects of curiosity. His descriptions would, according to the fashion of the age, naturally assume the form and title of a *Periplus*, although he may never, in the literal sense, have circumnavigated the countries described. Other passages which would have been excrescences on his historical works, but appear as highly appropriate illustrations of a topographical tour, are his commentary on the battle of the Eurymedon², and his dissertations on speculative points of Homeric topography.³

His
Periplus.

Modern commentators have been similarly hasty, in dismissing as spurious the properly scientific works ascribed to Callisthenes. It is not easy to explain how he could have been habitually designated "the

His scientific
works.

¹ 20. sqq., 27. sqq., 31. 39.

² Frg. 1.

³ Frg. 28, 29.

Philosopher," by Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and other authorities, or how his opinions should have been quoted on physiological questions, unless he had left some more distinct record of them in writing, than a few incidental passages of his works on history. It seems therefore unreasonable to set aside, as has been done in some quarters, the testimony of Pliny and other respectable classics¹, who quote him as the author of scientific tracts. To these tracts assuredly, with better reason than to his historical compositions, may be assigned his speculations² on the causes of the natural convulsions which destroyed the Achæan cities of Bura and Helice, and on the physical peculiarities of situation or soil, which rendered Delos less subject to earthquakes than other neighbouring islands.

His treatment of mythology.

While the main subject of each of his principal works seems to have been restricted to real history, the mode in which mythical legend was introduced in their illustrative element, proves that in this department of criticism he was not greatly in advance of the popular public of his day. In connexion with the battle of Tegyra, he advocated the claims of the sanctuary of Apollo in that town to be the birthplace of the god, as preferable to those of rival seats of worship. Among other essays in etymological interpretation, he derived the celebrated title of Minerva, Tritonis, from the Third ("tritē") day of the month, on which the goddess was born. The portentous omens which at Sparta, Thebes, and elsewhere, fore-

¹ Ap. Müller, p. 8.

² Frg. 8. Seneca's expression, "in libris," here certainly applies more naturally to miscellaneous treatises, than to the "books" of a historical work: *conf.* Müller, p. 8.

shadowed the battle of Leuctra, seem to have been carefully described.¹ In his account of the visit of Alexander to the Temple of Ammon, under the influence of his then fervid admiration of the hero, he related, apparently with pious faith, the providential interpositions vouchsafed to the newly recognised son of Jupiter, on his hazardous march across the desert, and the miraculous phenomena which, even in distant regions, signalised the establishment of his claim to divine honours. He describes more especially how the Milesian oracle of Apollo at Branchidæ, which since the spoliation of its sanctuary by the followers of Xerxes, had been dumb, suddenly recovered its voice; how the sacred fountain which had ceased to flow, again sent forth her waters; and how messengers arrived at Memphis from Miletus, charged with congratulatory addresses from the god to his Macedonian brother, and with prophetic announcements, by himself and the neighbouring Erythræan Sibyl, of the approaching victory of Arbela, of the death of Darius, and the removal of other obstacles to his illustrious kinsman's empire of the world.²

The fragments of Callisthenes contain no literal His style. extracts from his text, of sufficient compass to afford a just criterion of his style. His master Aristotle describes him as powerfully eloquent in speech³; and Cicero⁴ characterises his style as rhetorical, but not otherwise marked by salient peculiarities. Longinus⁵ represents his efforts to be dignified or sublime as resulting in affectation or bombast; defects for which he is severely lashed by the censorious Timæus. The panegyrical passages on Alexander, cited by that his-

¹ Frgg. 3, 4. 27. 9.² Frg. 36.³ Plutarch, Alex. 54.⁴ De Orat. II. 14.⁵ De Sublim. 3.

torian and by Arrian, go far no doubt to justify this severity of criticism. In one place he described the sea, during Alexander's march along its shore, as "rising from its seat on perceiving his approach, and "by the bending of its waves, performing its act of "obeisance to him whom it recognised as its king." But this excess of hyperbole seems to have been confined chiefly to his commentaries on Alexander's affairs, when in the acme of his veneration for that monarch. No notice occurs of his employment of such figures in any other part of his works. Had he lived to complete his undertaking, he would doubtless, in the altered state of his feelings, have altered or expunged such passages. The fact of their having been allowed to remain in their naked absurdity, seems to imply that the book, as posthumously edited, was in so unfinished a state, as hardly to represent with fairness, either the matured opinions or the corrected style of its author.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A. (Page 21.)

ON THE POPULAR ERRORS IMPUTED BY THUCYDIDES TO HERODOTUS.

THE question how far these two statements may have been justly condemned as fabulous by Thucydides, while it has no necessary bearing on the argument of the text, possesses interest, as affecting the credit of each historian. It has been far too generally assumed by commentators, that because the correctness of Herodotus in regard to a matter of fact has been impugned even by so formidable an opponent, he must necessarily be in the wrong, and his censor in the right.

§ 1. In his account of the battle of Plataea, Herodotus¹ has occasion to notice the conduct of Amompharetus, a Spartan officer, whom he designates as chief of the Pitanae lochus or cohort. Thucydides² asserts that there was no such thing as a Pitanae cohort in the Spartan army. It is not unlikely that both authors may be right. There may not have been a cohort to which the name of Pitanae permanently attached; which broader view of the case was evidently the supposed error condemned by Thucydides. But it is quite possible that a portion of the army at Plataea, whether from the men belonging chiefly to the demus of Pitana, or from some other incidental cause, may at the time of the battle have been distinguished by the title of Pitanae. As Herodotus³ had visited Pitana, and was acquainted with some of its principal inhabitants, he was the less likely to be grossly mistaken in any matter connected with its affairs. An apt illustration of this view is supplied by Thucydides himself. In his account of the battle of Mantinea, he designates a portion of the Spartan army there

¹ IX. 53.

² I. 20.

III. 55.

engaged by the title of "Brasideans."¹ It is certain however that no division of the Spartan army ever properly bore this name. The troops in question are so called by Thucydides, merely because they had lately fought under Brasidas in Thrace. It is quite possible that the lochus of Amompharetus at Platæa, may have been in like manner, from some cause unknown, temporarily designated by the title of Pitane. A captious critic of Thucydides might thus perhaps, with similar right, have imputed ignorance to him, in asserting that the Lacedæmonian army contained a division entitled Brasidean. In the same way the remnant of the "Ten thousand," who afterwards formed part of the Lacedæmonian force under Thimbron and Agesilaus, were called Cyreians², from their previous campaign in the service of Cyrus; further proof how common such occasional surnames were in the Lacedæmonian military service.

§ 2. With regard to the other imputed error of Herodotus, his ascribing two votes in council to the Spartan kings, while there can be no reasonable doubt that Thucydides had the text of his predecessor in view, it is still open to question, whether the sense in which he, followed by commentators antient and modern, has construed the passage, is a fair one. The primary object of Herodotus certainly is to show, not that each king had any particular number of votes, but that both possessed the privilege, when absent, of voting by proxy; and to explain the mode in which that privilege was exercised. "If," he observes³, "the kings should not attend, the senators next of kin had the power to act for them, by lodging their two votes in addition to their own." Whether this means two votes for each of the kings, or a single vote for each, does not distinctly appear. The balance of probability is however, on the whole, in favour of the latter interpretation.

APPENDIX B. (Page 23.)

ON HIPPIAS AND HIPPARCHUS.

WE have in the text been content to acquiesce in the commonly received opinion, that Herodotus and Thucydides were

¹ v. 71.

² Xenoph. Hellen. III. ii. 7. 18. alibi.

³ VI. 57.

at one upon this genealogical question ; that the credulity therefore, which Thucydides here imputes, cannot be that of Herodotus. But a zealous controversialist might perhaps found an opposite argument on two other passages, in which the latter historian mentions the Pisistratidæ. In one¹ he remarks, that the Alcæonidæ are, in his opinion, better entitled to rank as the liberators of Athens, than were Harmodius and Aristogiton, "who, by killing Hipparchus, merely irritated the rest of the "Pisistratidæ, but did not prevent them from reigning." In the other² he tells us, that Onomacritus "was banished from Athens "by Hipparchus;" having been detected interpolating spurious verses on the oracles of Musæus.

The natural interpretation of the former passage, if it stood alone, would be, that Hipparchus himself had reigned, as well as "the rest" of the race whom he left behind; that Harmodius, by killing one tyrant, had but added harshness to the despotism of the other. The import of the second passage is more directly to the above effect. What power could Hipparchus have had to banish an Athenian citizen, unless he had been at least the colleague in office of his brother? If Herodotus knew Hippias to have been the sole ruler, he would surely have modified his statement to the effect, that "Onomacritus had been banished by Hippias at the "instance of Hipparchus." Taking the whole three passages, v. 55., vi. 122., vii. 6., in the aggregate, their tenor is at least ambiguous, and implies Herodotus to have been so little clear in his views, that a captious commentator might have felt as well entitled to charge him with participation in the vulgar error, as his admirers to assert his freedom from it.

There is indeed great reason to believe, that if the popular opinion was wrong, Thucydides has run into an opposite error in his condemnation of it, and that the truth lies between the two, Hippias and Hipparchus having reigned conjointly. In a portion of his commentary on these events, he himself appears plainly to write under the impression that such was the case, at variance as that impression is with his own argument. The terms of the subjoined passage³, unless Hipparchus had been a reigning prince, either singly or as colleague of his brother, are, it need scarcely be remarked, altogether senseless: "Nor was he (Hipparchus) "an oppressor of the people, in regard to his general course of

¹ VI. 122.² VII. 6.³ VI. 54.

"government, which he conducted to the public satisfaction. For "these tyrants were distinguished both for virtue and talent."

Apart from positive testimony, it is not easy to understand how the murder of a younger brother of a reigning despot, not only without any damage to the power and resources of that despot, or any benefit to the community, but on the contrary, with positive injury to their interests, by rendering, as Thucydides pointedly remarks, the despotic rule more cruelly oppressive than before, should have obtained for the author of so useless and mischievous an act, the reputation, even among the people at large, of an illustrious patriot. There can therefore be little doubt, that the author of the beautiful and probably contemporaneous ode in honour of that act, is right in his line: *ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην*, though wrong in the immediately following verse *ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιήσατήν*.

APPENDIX C. (Page 54.)

ON THE DIVISION OF THUCYDIDES INTO BOOKS.

THE scholiast on II. 78., describes that passage, as the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth book, of the division into Thirteen. The scholiast on III. 116. of the present division, describes the end of that book as the end of the fifth book of the Thirteen. The scholiast on IV. 78., places at that passage the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh of the Thirteen. Another scholiast (IV. 114.) appears to cite the speech of Brasidas to the Acanthians in IV. 85., as from the "sixth" book (*τῇ ε'*). These two authorities therefore are, as now read, at variance with each other.

An anonymous grammarian quoted by Walz (Rhet. Gr. vol. VII. pt. i. p. 16.), cites the punning antithesis, *μὴ φρονήματι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι*, in II. 62. of the present division, from the "third" book (*ἐν τῇ γ'*). This citation, if referring to the tredecimal division, would be in harmony with the statement of the scholiast on II. 78. as above quoted. It were hence natural to infer, that the citation by the same anonymous writer in his immediately previous text, of the passage of I. 122. *ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστον βλάβαν καταφρόνησιν*, from the first book, also refers to the first of the

Thirteen. It would follow that the second of that division was comprised between i. 122. and the close of the same first book. For the scholiast on iv. 135. describes the present first book as comprising the entire first and second of the Thirteen.

APPENDIX D. (Page 55.)

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE more detailed consideration of the questions regarding the eighth book has been reserved for this place, as involving points of a more technical nature than could be fitly discussed in our principal text.

With respect to the genuine character of the book, the arguments which have been or may be urged on the negative side are : I. The absence of the Speeches, which abound in the previous seven. II. The comparative freedom of the text from the rhetorical mannerism, especially from the antithetical quaintness of structure, elsewhere characteristic of the Historian's style ; and which, while chiefly remarkable in his speeches, are also frequent in other portions of the first seven books. III. The recurrence of numerous terms not elsewhere used by Thucydides, or even of integral passages little in unison with his prevailing style.

The main arguments on the other side are : I. The absence of all appearance of doubt as to the genuine character of the book, on the part of the leading native grammarians. Dionysius of Halicarnassus observes, that "whoever carefully compares the first and the last book with each other, will be sensible of much diversity, both in their design and their execution."¹ This observation refers not to different authorship, but to anomaly in the genius of a single author. The first allusion to a different opinion is by Marcellinus. He remarks however that the sceptical view was not countenanced by the best critics, who recognised the book as the work of Thucydides, though inferior in vigour and variety of style to the others. This inferiority he attributes to the disease which afflicted the author at that stage of his undertaking, and terminated in his death.

¹ De Thud. Juc. 16.

II. Notwithstanding the comparative scantiness of rhetorical matter, the book is everywhere marked by the other more essential attributes of Thucydidean style, which it is difficult to believe any copyist could have been qualified to impart to it. III. The extent and precision of the author's insight into the transactions recorded, were scarcely credible in the case of any author, unprovided with the Historian's peculiar talent for such researches, and facilities for their prosecution. IV. The abruptness with which the narrative breaks off in the middle of the year and of an unimportant transaction, is an anomaly easily accounted for in the case of an author whose labours had been suddenly terminated by death, but not on the part of a professional bookmaker, in what he wished to pass off as an integral section of a great work by an accomplished writer. Nor is it likely that one qualified so well to imitate his model, would have limited his spurious supplement to the transactions of a short additional period, and of a comparatively dry and monotonous nature, instead of carrying it on to the great catastrophe which the original author had undertaken to record. The omission of the speeches were also, in an attempt to counterfeit a work abounding in such matter, a still stranger anomaly than on the part of the original author.

While on these grounds the genuine origin of the book may confidently be asserted, the want of speeches, with such other discrepancies as are observable between its style and that of the previous seven, may best be explained, by assuming it to have been left by Thucydides in an unfinished state, and revised for posthumous publication by another hand. Several of those discrepancies are also of a tendency, not only to bear out the tradition preferred in our text, that the posthumous editor was Xenophon, but to justify the belief that he has, in some cases, given an undue extension to his editor's privilege of amendment or supplement to the original materials.

The abruptness with which the narrative of the eighth book closes, or rather breaks off, has already been noticed, as indicating the sudden termination, from whatever cause, of the Historian's literary labours. There is however a certain peculiarity about this abruptness, which is not so easily accounted for by that more simple cause. If there be a passage in the work of Thucydides which deserves to be struck out as repugnant to his own genius, or which on equally strong grounds of harmony with the genius of Xenophon, might claim a place in the *Hellenica* or the *Anabasis*,

it is the last sentence of this book, in which Tissaphernes is described as having gone down to Ephesus, "and offered sacrifice to "Diana." One of the most prominent characteristics of Thucydides, is the indifference, or even contempt, which he everywhere manifests for the superstitious rites of his nation. In no other instance has the performance of sacrifice by any one of his leading actors, been mentioned by him as an object of interest on its own account. On the few occasions where notices of the kind occur, it will be found that they have been in some degree forced upon him, as essential to a right understanding of historical events.¹ Nowhere has he himself been at pains, as here, to force them upon his readers. The more strange therefore that, at the moment when his literary functions were brought to a close, he should have been engaged in writing a passage so much at variance with his own character, or with anything he had ever previously written.

The feeling and habit of Xenophon in this respect was notoriously the reverse of that of Thucydides. He was, not even excepting Herodotus, the most pious of Greek historians. With him all kinds of religious observance, but more especially the rite of sacrifice, rank among the most important duties of a citizen or a soldier. The notices consequently of such observances, as in themselves vitally important affairs, abound, in forms similar to that here in question, in all his historical works.

Xenophon having been, not merely as here supposed the posthumous editor, but the ascertained continuator of this book, its abrupt conclusion would be the portion of the text, which if it did not render necessary a certain amount of addition or alteration on the editor's part, would hold out the greatest temptation to such

¹ In his account, for example, of the stratagem by which Brasidas outgeneraled Cleon in the second campaign of Amphipolis (v. 10.); and in v. 54., where Agis suddenly turns back from his expedition into Arcadia, owing to the sacrificial rites proving inauspicious.

Elsewhere (v. 49, 50.) he mentions the exclusion of the Spartans by the Eleans from the common privilege of sacrifice at Olympia, as an insult involving historical consequences; and in v. 53. he alludes to a similar quarrel between the Argives and Epidaurians, regarding the common worship of Apollo.

His few remaining notices of such ceremonial, some four or five in number, occur, either incidentally in the course of his antiquarian illustrations, or in the addresses of historical personages to each other: I. 126., VI. 3. 54., II. 71., IV. 92.

license. Let us suppose then, that the narrative of Thucydides originally terminated with the simple announcement of the determination of Tissaphernes, for reasons given, to proceed to the Hellespont; with the word *ἀπολογήσθαι* consequently, of the present text. Let us suppose further, that Xenophon, when he undertook the redaction of this unpublished part of the work, simultaneously in all likelihood with the first part of his own Hellenica, had learnt, among other facts supplementary to the concluding statement of his predecessor, that the Persian satrap had made Ephesus the first stage of his journey, and had, on arrival, offered sacrifice to the great goddess of that city. This was an event to which Xenophon would not fail to give due prominence. Proof of the importance he would attach to it is supplied by his reference, in the immediately ensuing narrative of the Hellenica, to the veneration entertained by Tissaphernes for this deity¹; by the allusions in his other historical work to the respect paid to her by other Persians²; and by his own special devotion to her as his patron goddess, also largely illustrated in his Anabasis.³ Having decided therefore on noticing the fact, the question would arise, whether the notice should be appended to the interrupted narrative of Thucydides, or introduced at some convenient place in the opening of his own continuation. His preference of the former mode, if it has fastened an inappropriate excrescence on the genuine text of his predecessor, certainly contributes to the epic connexion between the two narratives. Following up the general statement by Thucydides, of the satrap's intention to visit the Hellespont, he carries him so far on his journey, and there, according to the familiar courtesy of epic style, leaves him for the present, engaged in performing what Xenophon considered an important duty; while the subsequent train of events at the seat of war, whither the satrap was journeying, is brought down in the Hellenica, to the moment when his arrival took place, as duly announced in the sequel.

Other indications of a strange hand in this book are the numerous expressions not elsewhere used by Thucydides, but by far the greater part of which, amounting to some thirty or upwards, are

¹ I. ii. 6.

² Anab. I. vi. 7. The Persians, it is well known, relaxed their general dislike of the Hellenic system of idolatry, in favour of Apollo and Diana; owing to the peculiar relation in which, as Sun and Moon deities, they stood to the Persian religion. See Herodot. vi. 97.

³ v. iii. 4. sqq.

in familiar use with Xenophon. It is also remarkable, that these Xenophontean terms are not only interspersed through the eighth book, but often concentrated in particular passages of it, the general style of which savours perhaps as much of Xenophon as of Thucydides. Examples are subjoined :

The passage of § 92. from τὸ δὲ μέγιστον το διαθέοντας, contains six expressions : στίφος, ἀπειλῶ, ὁμογνώμων, νεανίσκος, ἐκ-πληκτικός, διαθεῖν, which, while frequently used by Xenophon, occur in no other book of Thucydides. The absence of such more familiar terms as ἀπειλεῖν or νεανίσκος, from the text of the latter, might reasonably be attributed to accidental causes. But this explanation can hardly apply to the four others, as belonging nearly as much to the class of idiomatic as of ordinary phraseology. In regard to στίφος, it may be observed that Thucydides elsewhere invariably uses the term ὄχλος (upwards of twenty times), in describing the feelings or doings of the mass of common people or soldiery ; while with Xenophon both terms are habitual.

In the five lines (§ 84.) from ὁ δὲ αὐθαδέστερον το διελύθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ; the terms αὐθαδής, ἀπειλεῖν, ἐπαναίρεσθαι, βακτηρία, are Xenophontean, but not beyond the limits of this book Thucydidean expressions.

In the opening passage of the book, a portion of the text which, like the close, would be the more liable to editorial tampering, the idiomatic phrases ὁ πάνν, and πασσνδί, are not elsewhere used by Thucydides, but occur, the latter repeatedly, in Xenophon. Εὐ-τακτεῖν, toward the close of the same first section, a common phrase with Xenophon, appears but this once in Thucydides.

The verb εὐδαιμονεῖν, also of frequent use with the former historian, is found in Thucydides but in a single passage of this book : εὐδαιμονήσαντες ἤμα καὶ ἰσωφρόνησαν ; where it also occurs in a combination of ideas familiar to Xenophon, as appears from the following text of the Agesilaus : εὐδαίμονα τὴν πατρίδα, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ, ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες σωφρονώσιν.

The somewhat peculiar phrase ἀνυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασι, of § 95. finds its parallel in the Hellenica, συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς, VI. ii. 12.

A list of other expressions peculiar to this book of Thucydides, and for the most part occurring in one passage alone of its text, but of more or less familiar use with Xenophon, is here subjoined :

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ἀναδέχασθαι, ἀβρώστοτερος, γνώριμος, διαφθορά, διοικεῖν, διοικήσεις, εκπράσσειν, ἐξαναγκάζειν, ἐπικρύπτεσθαι, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, ἐφήκειν, ἡσυχῇ, κατατρίβειν, μόνιμος, ναυαρχία, ξυνεπιμελεῖσθαι, παράγγελμα, περι-οπτεῖον, ὑπερόριος.

APPENDIX E. (Page 71.)

ON THE RELATION OF ATHENS AND LACEDÆMON TO THEIR WEAKER ALLIES.

THE general dearth of political honour and faith during this period, is mainly relieved by two cases of steady adherence to engagements, and chivalrous devotion in their fulfilment: the sieges of Platæa and Melos.

The Spartans, before investing Platæa, offered the citizens reasonable terms of accommodation. These however, as involving neutrality in the impending war, the Platæans declined, until they had consulted their old allies the Athenians. The answer from the latter was an injunction to persevere in resistance, with an assurance of effective support.¹ But throughout the ensuing three years of calamitous siege, we hear of no attempt by Athens to relieve the unfortunate garrison, who in their dying address allude, in pathetic terms, to their desertion by their friends in their last extremity.

The rejection by the Melians of the terms of submission proposed by the Athenians, is grounded in like manner on a sense of their obligation towards their Spartan kinsmen, from whom they confidently expect relief.² But during the ensuing half-year of gallant defence, terminating in their surrender and massacre, there is no trace of the Lacedæmonians having taken any concern or interest in their affairs.

The disastrous Mytilenæan revolt from Athens, was abetted by the Spartans, and a fleet of forty ships was dispatched, ostensibly to support the islanders in their defence. But the account given³ of the voyage of that fleet, of the conduct of its commander, and of the Spartan government in the sequel, abundantly shows, that if it ever was their intention to risk Lacedæmonian life

¹ II. 72.

² v. 104. sq.

³ III. 20.

or resources, in emancipating Mytilene from Athenian bondage, they had seen occasion to alter their policy during the progress of the siege. Conduct like that of Alcidas, discountenanced as it was by his Elean colleague, would assuredly, in an enterprise the success of which the Spartans had seriously at heart, have been visited with heavy penalties. It passes uncensured and unnoticed; and the best proof that no blame was attached to it, is the fact of Alcidas having been immediately afterwards sent in command of the same fleet on another important expedition. (III. 76.) The Spartans probably acted on the afterthought that, even if the emancipation of Mytilene was effected, the obligation to maintain a distant maritime ally against the then unquestioned naval superiority of Athens, would be more trouble than advantage; and hence, that Mytilene would serve them better as a discontented and doubtful dependency of the enemy.

But the worst case of the whole, is that which forms the catastrophe of the joint expedition of the Spartans and Ambracians against the Amphiloehians. After the defeat by Demosthenes of the invading force, Menedæus, the surviving Spartiate commander, secretly makes separate terms with the victors, to the effect, that he shall be allowed to retire in safety, on condition of his leaving the Ambracians, and his other provincial confederates to their fate. The latter accordingly are attacked and destroyed on the ensuing day, and their betrayers return unmolested to Peloponnesus.¹

APPENDIX F. (Page 128.)

ON THE DEFECTS OF EPIC MANAGEMENT IN THUCYDIDES.

THE retrospective narrative of the forty-six years from Sestus to Epidamnus, begins with an announcement of the author's intention to explain, how the Athenians had attained that alarming degree of power which led the Lacedæmonians, in the council just before described, to decide on war. Thucydides then relates in continuous order, the refortification of Athens; the attack by the confederate Greek fleet on Cyprus; the taking of Byzantium; the transfer of the

¹ III. 109.

maritime Hegemonia from Sparta to Athens; and the establishment of Athenian supremacy over the colonial states.¹ But here the narrative is interrupted, to make way for the author's explanation of the reason why he had undertaken it; an explanation which, if required at all, ought surely to have been given at the outset. The exordium has, in fact, been thrust into the middle of the piece, instead of forming its commencement. It is evident therefore that the passage from ἔγραψα δέ, to the end of section 97., or at least the information which that passage supplies, ought to have been the introduction to § 89. The retrospect from the siege of Sestus to the Epidamnian war, would thus have formed a continuous and well-united whole. By the present arrangement it has, (like the whole fifty years' retrospect of which it forms part,) been unnecessarily cut into two separate narratives, the one commencing (§ 89.) οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι; and the other (§ 98.) πρῶτον μὲν Ἰλιόνα. . . .

A like defect is observable in the episode of the last days and death of Pausanias. This narrative in its integrity embraces: the traitorous conduct of its hero, when in command of the Hellenic fleet on the Bosphorus, and his recall to Lacedæmon; his subsequent expedition on his own private account to the same region, and his renewed intrigues with the Persian court, which led to his second summons back to Sparta, and ultimately to his impeachment and death. But Thucydides here again reverses the order of events, and plunging "in medias res," opens the subject with a brief notice of the second (private) expedition to Thrace (i. 128.). He then, in the form of a retrospective episode, describes in great detail the treason of the previous Byzantine campaign; after which the second expedition is resumed (§ 131.) and narrated to its close with its ulterior consequences. Here again the result of what appears to be but an ill-conceived attempt at epic variety of effect, has been to complicate and confuse. Every critical reader must be sensible, how much better the narrative would stand, if the passage from ἐπειδὴ Πανσωνίας, to ἀρχῆς (§ 128.), were omitted, and the story allowed to open with the traitor king's Byzantine intrigues, and pursue its natural course from its commencement to its catastrophe.

¹ i. 89—97.

APPENDIX G. (Pages 148, 158. sqq.)

ON THE RHETORICAL STYLE OF THUCYDIDES.

THESE illustrations of our remarks on the rhetorical portions of the Historian's work, have, with the twofold object of distinctness and conciseness, been embodied as sections of a single Appendix, rather than as separate notes. Each head of illustration has accordingly been referred to in the text, under its own proper section and number.

No. I. (to page 148.)

The following examples have been limited to cases where the correspondence referred to, is not merely in the form or sound, but even more in the sentiment of the parallel passages. Numerous examples of the former kind will be found in the ensuing heads of this Appendix.

The Corcyræan (Dorian) envoys to Athens, accuse the Corinthians, of being "more desirous to settle disputes by force of arms than by equitable arrangement." Pericles brings the same charge against the Lacedæmonians, and in terms almost identical :

I. 34. (Coreyr.) πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἴσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν.

I. 140. (Peric.) βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι.

In the Lacedæmonian council, Archidamus, advocating a peaceful policy towards Athens, refers to her past services in defence of Greek liberty. The ephor Sthenelaidas replies, "that the Athenians, having once shown themselves capable of better things, deserve on this very account double punishment for the perversity of their present conduct."

A similar appeal by the Platæan captives to their former efforts in the same cause, is met by their Theban accusers with the same retort, partly in the same words :

I. 86. (Sthenel.) διπλάσις ζημίας ἄξιοί εἰσιν, ὅτι ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγένηται.

III. 67. (Theb.) . . . τοῖς δὲ αἰσχρόν τι δρῶσι διπλάσις ζημίας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων ἀμαρτάνουσιν.

The Athenian envoys to Sparta remind the Lacedæmonians of

their having, towards the close of the Persian war, withdrawn from the federal force, and left the national defence in the hands of the Athenians. A Mytilenæan orator on a subsequent occasion, reminds them of the same fact in substantially the same terms :

I. 75. (Athen.) ὅμων μὲν οὐκ ἐβελησάντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ βαρβάρου.

III. 10. (Mytil.) ἀπολιπόντων μὲν ὅμων ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου, παραμεινάντων δ' ἐκείνων πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ἔργων.

Archidamus, in alluding to the influence of the Spartan laws on the character of the citizens, employs one of the most idiomatic phrases in the Thucydidean vocabulary :

I. 84. ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι.

Had this phrase been limited to one or two Laconian or Dorian orators, it might have been assumed to be a Laconian or Dorian idiom. It occurs however also in the mouth of the Attic demagogue Cleon :

III. 37. . . . ἀμαθέστεροι μὲν τῶν νόμων ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι.

Another equally idiomatic specimen of Thucydidean Atticism is the phrase *διανοεῖσθαι*, to intend or design, in an absolute sense, the thing designed or intended not being expressed. It occurs twice ; once in the opening passage of the Historian's narrative ; once in the mouth of a Corinthian orator.

I. 1. (Thucyd.) τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν . . . συνιστάμενον . . . τὸ μὲν εὐθὺς, τὸ δὲ διανοούμενον.

124. (Corinth.) τῶν μὲν ἤδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι.

The subjoined political dogma could hardly have been common to orations of Cleon and Alcibiades, unless in so far as placed in the mouth of each by Thucydides :

III. 37. (Cleon.) χεῖροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις, κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις.

VI. 18. (Alcib.) ἀσφαλέστατα τούτους οἰκεῖν, οἱ ἂν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἦθεσι καὶ νόμοις, ἣν καὶ χεῖρω ἢ, ἥκιστα διαφόρως πολιτεύωσι.

Pericles to the Athenians, II. 38. ἡ τέρψις τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει.

Brasidas to his troops, II. 87. φόβος γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει.

Archidamus, I. 84. αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλείστον μετέχει.

Thucydides, III. 83. τὸ εὐφθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει.

No. II. (to page 158.)

Nearly the whole rhetorical element of the Historian's work being an exemplification of this attribute of his style, it will not be necessary here to quote individual passages; the less, as numbers are cited in the sequel, in illustration of other kindred points of peculiarity. See especially No. VIII. below.

No. III. (to page 159.)

This pervading feature of the Historian's rhetorical style, has also been so largely illustrated in the subsequent numbers (IV. VII. X.), as scarcely to need further exemplification. See also Thucyd. III. 42. 45, IV. 17. sqq. 59. 62.

No. IV. (to page 159.)

In a council of Dorian states, the Corinthian deputies remark¹ that :

"It is the part of wise men, unless unjustly treated, to preserve peace; of valiant men, when unjustly treated, to prefer war to peace; but still to be ready to accept honourable terms of accommodation, being neither unduly elated by success in war, nor willing from a love of peace to submit to injury."

This series of very sensible precepts belong to the class of what are commonly called truisms, which it were as unreasonable to dispute, as superfluous to enforce by specific reasons. They are however made the subject of an elaborate justification, in another series of equally undeniable commonplaces.

"For he who remains inactive for the sake of peaceful enjoyment, runs risk of being speedily deprived of that pleasurable ease for the sake of which he remains inactive; while he who presumes too much on his success in war, does not reflect, that the boldness with which he is inspired is fallacious; for many ill-devised projects have succeeded, owing to a still greater want of judgment in the adversary; and many apparently well-projected schemes have come to a disastrous issue."

Diodotus, in his speech on behalf of the Mitylenæans, observes that: "Two of the chief obstacles to sage counsel are, haste and passion." A more palpable doctrine than this can hardly be imagined. It is not however allowed to pass without its due

¹ I. 20.

allowance of no less palpable demonstration: "haste being apt to be unwise, and passion to be indiscreet and precipitate."¹

In the sequel the same orator remarks that: "He is an unreasonable man, who denies that words are the expositors of deeds." Undeniable however as the fact is, it is not the less followed up by an equally self-evident illustration: "unreasonable if he supposes it possible, by any other means than words, to discuss what belongs to the future and is not yet manifest."²

No. V. (to page 159.)

These are in great part common grammatical figures of the Greek language, especially of the Attic dialect. They have however been employed by Thucydides to an excess, and with a peculiar subtlety of method, unexampled in any other writer, and which entitles them to rank as proper Thucydidean idioms.³ There can therefore be no better evidence of want of authenticity in his speeches, than the promiscuous manner in which he has placed, what are really forms of expression peculiar to himself, in the mouths of Dorian, Ionian, and Æolian orators. Of the few examples here cited in illustration of this licence, scarcely one is translatable into plain English, unless at the cost of a lengthened circumlocution; and several are among the most perplexing of

¹ III. 42. νομίζω δὲ, δύο τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῇ εὐβουλίᾳ εἶναι τάχος τε καὶ ὀργήν· ὧν τὸ μὲν μετ' ἀνοίας φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ μετ' ἀπαιδευσίας καὶ βραχύτης γνώμης.

Arnold, we think, both misinterprets, and (as he is apt to do) exaggerates, the sense of the phrase ἀπαιδευσία, here interpreted Indiscretion, in defining it to denote the "coarseness and moral ignorance" of a "low and vulgar mind." By reference to the only other parallel passage of Thucydides, and to many of Xenophon, it seems nearly equivalent to ἀμαθία: want of mature judgment and discretion. "A low and vulgar mind" is more apt to be cunningly cautious than hasty.

² τοὺς δὲ λόγους ὅστις διαμάχεται μὴ διδασκάλους τῶν πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι, . . . ἀξένιος ἔστιν. . . ἀξένιος μὲν, εἰ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἡγίται περὶ τοῦ μίλλοντος δυνατὸν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἐμφανούς, φράσαι. . .

³ In the passage for example commencing: δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν ναυτικῶν. . . (I. 14.) τὰ ναυτικά is a familiar Greek phrase for navy, fleet, naval power. But the exaggerated mode of its application, with the kindred series of anomalous usage to which it gives the tone, renders it here a Thucydidean peculiarity.

those logical conundrums, with which Thucydides loves to bewilder the brains of his readers.

- I. 36. (Coreyr.) γνώτω, τὸ μὲν δειδὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον, τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβήσονται· τὸ δὲ θαρσεῖν μὴ δεξαμένον, ἀσθενὲς ὃν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον . . .
- II. 44. (Pericles.) τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγῆρων μόνον¹ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν . . . μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι.
87. (Brasid.) πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπερότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἥσσαν δεδιέναι, τὸ ἀπαράσκενοι τότε τυχεῖν.
- III. 11. (Mytilen.) πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶκον, τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνον ἀντισουμένον.
56. (Platæana.) εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῃ ὕμῶν τε, καὶ τῷ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ, τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε, τοῦ μὲν ὀρθοῦ φανεῖσθε οὐκ ἀληθεῖς κριταὶ ὄντες, τὸ δὲ ξυμφέρον μᾶλλον θεραπεύοντες.

Under this head may also be noticed a certain vague and indefinite use of the demonstrative pronoun, especially of αὐτός, ἡ, ὁ, in neuter, and commonly plural form, with reference to an antecedent or antecedents, either altogether problematical, or so little apparent, as to require an effort to discover which or what they are. The examples of this anomaly are little less frequent in the Historian's own narrative, especially its discursive passages, than in the speeches of his orators. A remarkable one presents itself in the first section of the work: τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιώτερα . . . literally, "those before these, and those still more ancient." This is one of the passages above defined, the meaning of which is clear, but the structure difficult to explain. What Thucydides refers to is the great obscurity of the history of Greece prior to the Peloponnesian war. But whether the indefinite terms of his reference are to be rendered: "those" or "these" times, "political vicissitudes" or "things in general," is a question to be

¹ This is one of those passages where the grammatical structure is clear, but the sense difficult to discover. A literal version would be: "the love of honour is alone exempt from old age," which is unmeaning. If it be meant, as would appear from the sequel, parabolically to imply, that "love of honour is the only passion which in old age retains its hold upon men," the maxim is palpably untrue.

solved according to the taste or fancy of different readers. In the sequel, § 11., the same indefinite demonstratives recur, in slightly varied form : τὰ πρὸ τούτων . . . καὶ αὐτὰ γε· where however the general application to the previous times, events, or circumstances, if not so obvious as to bring the construction within the limits of ordinary classical usage, is at least, as in some other parallel cases (I. 121. 144., VI. 10., alibi), more easy to apprehend. Other examples of the more vague or enigmatical kind, are : I. 122. βεβαί-
οῦμεν αὐτό· V. 27. initio, 86.¹ two exx.; VI. 18. 87. In not a few instances, I. 32. 68. 138., IV. 18., besides some of those above quoted, αὐτό is used where other Attic writers would have used τοῦτο.

No. VI. (to page 159.)

Among the more characteristic forms in which this figure, combined with that illustrated in the previous number, displays itself, is the specification of a particular mental affection or operation, as a separate part or element of the mind ; as in the following examples :

- I. 90. τὸ βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποκτον² τῆς γνώμης ; “the designing, and suspecting part, or state, of their minds ;” for “their designs and suspicions.”
- VII. 68. τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον ; “their indignation.”
- V. 9. ἐν τῷ ἀνειμένῳ αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης ; “in their indecision or vacillation.”
- II. 87. τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν : “the part of the mind which has not yielded to force ;” for unsubdued resolution.

¹ One of the acutest native Greek grammarians admits himself to have been puzzled by this passage. He has hence been severely taken to task for his stupidity by Poppo ; whose commentary on the Historian's style, is in great part an elaborate effort to prove that the obscurities and anomalies, of which his other critics, antient and modern, complain, exist but in the imagination of those not qualified, like Poppo, to comprehend him. The explanation of the first αὐτοῦ of this series, as given by Poppo (Proleg. p. 101.), and Arnold ad loc., is probably correct ; but that by Arnold of the second, we hold to be wrong, or at least extremely doubtful. The word appears to connect itself more naturally (if such a term be here admissible) with the κριτὰς ἤκοντας ὑμᾶς of the immediately preceding sentence.

² Conf. VI. 85. ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ὑπόπτῳ ; 89. τῷ ὑπόπτῳ μου.

- II. 59. τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης ; irritation.
 61. ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης.
 III. 10. ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσονται τῆς γνώμης.
 I. 142. ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι, neglect or indifference.

Similar is the definition :

- II. 63. τῆς πόλεως . . . τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχεῖν ; the imperial honour of the state.

In the subjoined example, by another variety of abstract definition, the Inactive, τὸ ἀπραγμον, signifies, not inaction, but a sluggish or inactive man or body of men ; the Active, or energetic, τὸ δραστήριον, denotes, in like manner, not action or energy, but active or energetic people :

- II. 63. τὸ ἀπραγμον οὐ σώζεται, μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον.

Similar are the expressions τὸ Ἑλληνικόν¹, for the Hellenes ; τὸ ἑταιρικόν² ; τὸ ἐπικουρικόν.³

To this head also belong the phrases, τὰ τῶν πόλεων⁴, the states or cities ; τὰ τοῦ πολέμου⁵, the war ; τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν⁶, your displeasure.

No. VII. (to page 159.)

Under this head may be classed a method, altogether peculiar to Thucydides, of personifying mental qualities, affections, and passions, as independent agents, acting, and influencing each other, free from any control on the part of the human beings whose interests are concerned, and who thus appear as mere passive machines under their guidance :

- II. 62. (Pericles.) Prudence renders the boldness inspired by equality of fortune firmer, by the aid of self-confidence ; and places less reliance on Hope, whose strength lies in cases of difficulty, than on Judgment guided by existing circumstances, whose foresight is more to be trusted.⁷

¹ I. 1.

² VIII. 48., III. 82.

³ IV. 52.

⁴ III. 82.

⁵ V. 86.

⁶ II. 60. conf. Poppo ad loc.

⁷ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης, ἢ ξένεισις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἰχυρω-

- III. 14. (Mytil.) Men such as our fear wishes them to be.¹
 45. (Cleon.) Poverty, bringing Audacity to the aid of Necessity, and Power, uniting Avarice to Insolence and Arrogance, with the other affections to which the will of man is subject, acting on its morbid incapacity to resist such influences, seduce into hazardous enterprises; while Hope and Desire, everywhere present, the one leading the other following, the one conceiving the design, the other suggesting the facility of success, are the most injurious of all, and being invisible are more dangerous than other, visible evils.²
- V. 103. (Athen.) Hope, encouraging to dangerous enterprises, although she may injure, does not ruin those whose trust in her is backed by abundant resources. But while those who place their whole fortunes at her mercy, for she is spendthrift by nature, discover her, to their cost, to be deceitful, she does not abandon her hold even of such as from experience are on their guard against her.³

In the following passage, had Thucydides described "the minds of men who have lately suffered defeat as less bold in again "facing the same danger," his language would have been within the limits of familiar usage. But the case, as he shapes it, illustrates, perhaps still more pointedly than the preceding examples, this quaint kind of *prosopopœia*:

τίραν παρέχεται' ἱλπίδι τε ἥσσαν πιστεύει, ἥς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχὺς, γνώμη δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἥς βεβαιωτέρα ἡ πρόνοια.

¹ ἄνδρες οἴουσπερ . . . τὸ ἡμέτερον δῖος βοῦλεται.

² ἡ μὲν πένια ἀνάγκη τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ δ' ἐξουσία ἔβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ξινηυχίαι ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥς ἐκάστη τις κατίζεται ὑπ' ἀνηκίστου τινὸς κρείσσονος, ἐξάγουσιν ἐς κινδύνους· ἢ τε ἱλπίς, καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἐπὶ παντὶ, ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος ἡ δ' ἐφεπομένη, καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐκφροντίζων, ἡ δὲ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τύχης ὑποτιθεῖσα, πλεῖστα βλάπτουσιν· καὶ ὅσα ἀφανῆ, κρείσσω ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρωμένων δεινῶν.

³ ἱλπίς δὲ κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὖσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ, κἂν βλάβῃ οὐ καθέλκει· τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναβρίπτουσι, δάπανος γὰρ φύσει, ἅμα τε γινώσκειται σφαλέντων, καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλάσσεται τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσας, οὐκ ἑλλείπει.

- II. 89. (Phormio). The minds of men who have suffered defeat, are not willing to be equally bold in facing the same danger.¹

In IV. 62., by a peculiarly wide stretch of the same figure, Vengeance has been personified as the party injured, and seeking revenge :

(Hermocr.) *τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ ἀδικεῖται.*

No. VIII. (to page 160.)

A characteristic, and perhaps the most elegant example of this uniformity of cadence, and of the Historian's antithetical style generally, is the series of sophistries by which Alcibiades, in his address to the Lacedæmonian council, attempts to justify his treason to his own country :²

"I am a defaulter from the malice of my persecutors : but not, if you are willing to trust me, from your interests. For the enmity of men who, like you, make war upon their enemies, is not worse than that of men who force their friends to become their enemies. Neither do I connect my feeling as a citizen with the injustice which I have suffered : but with the undisturbed enjoyment of my right of citizenship. Nor do I consider myself as now warring against a country which I still possess : but rather as striving to regain possession of a country no longer mine. For the truly patriotic man is not he who, when unjustly deprived of his country, abstains from acting against it : but he who adopts every possible means of gratifying his desire to recover it."

This speech of Alcibiades is, it may be remarked, the most fluent, and, in the literal sense of the term, readable, of the longer orations ; being almost entirely free from the knottiness of structure, and enigmatical compression, so prevalent in the others.

With the above passage may be compared another of the more subtle sententious order, quoted in the subsequent text (p. 175.), where the Historian in his own person describes the virulence of party feeling among the Greek states.

¹ ἡσσημένων ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἰθείλουσι αἱ γυνῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ἰμνῖαι εἶναι. CONF. II. 87.

² VI. 92.

No. IX. (to page 160.)

The examples of these rhetorical graces, here selected from the copious stock which the entire text supplies, will also tend to elucidate other idiomatic peculiarities adverted to in the previous sections :

- I. 23. (Thucyd.) τὰ πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα. . . .
- III. 82. (Thucyd.) τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται.
 „ (Thucyd.) τὸ πρὸς ἅπαν ξυνετὸν, ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν.
- VI. 69. (Thucyd.) τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα σωτηρίας, τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἐλευθερίας.
- I. 37. (Corinthians.) τὴν ἀρετὴν διδοῦσι, καὶ δεχομένοις, τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι.
 „ (Corinthians.) οὐχ ἵνα μὴ συναδικήσωσι . . . ἀλλ' ὅπως καταμόνας ἀδικήσωσι· καὶ ὅπως ἐν ᾧ μὲν κρατῶσι βιάζονται, οὗ δ' ἂν λάθωσι πλέον ἔχουσιν, ἣν δὲ ποῦ τι προσλάβωσιν, ἀναισχυντῶσι.
68. (Corinthians.) ὅπο μὲν Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δ' ἑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι.
69. (Corinthians.) αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἀμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.
70. (Corinthians.) καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταί, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί.
77. (Athenians.) βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῇ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται.
- III. 38. (Cleon.) Θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων, . . . ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων.
 „ (Cleon.) δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων, ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν εἰωθόντων.¹
 „ (Cleon.) καὶ προαισθέσθαι τε πρόθυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ προνοῆσαι βραδείς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποξυσόμενα.
- II. 87. (Brasidas.) πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν, τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε.

¹ This example seems to throw light on the expedients resorted to by Thucydides in working up such passages. The idea, in the first limb of the antithesis, is complete in the four words: δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν ἀτόπων. The αἰεὶ does not improve the sense; rather the reverse. But it adds to the symmetry of form and cadence, for which purpose it has evidently been thrown in.

- II. 89. (Phormio.) τῷ δὲ ἐκάτεροί τι ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι, θρασύτεροί
ἔσμεν.
III. 65. (Thebans.) τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες,
ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν συγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες.
IV. 20. (Lacedæm.) χαρισαμένοις τε μᾶλλον, ἢ βιασαμένοις.
VII. 13. (Nicias.) οἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι, μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι.

In the following passages, the antithetical quibble of sense and sound amounts to a sort of pun or play of words:

- I. 33. (Coreyweans.) προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς, μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβου-
λεύειν.
38. (Corinthians.) ἀποικοὶ δ' ὄντες, ἀφεστᾶσί τε διὰ παντός.
39. (Corinthians.) ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν.
II. 40. (Pericles.) φιλοκαλοῦμεν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας, καὶ φιλο-
σοφοῦμεν ἀνευ μαλακίας.
62. (Pericles.) μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι.
III. 39. (Cleon.) ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν.
IV. 14. (Thucyd.) οἳ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμά-
χουν, οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπε-
ζομάχουν.
62. (Hermocr.) εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες, εὐλόγως ἀπρακτοὶ
ἀπίασιν.
" (Hermocr.) μὴ τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους ὑπεριδεῖν, τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ
τινὰ σωτηρίαν μᾶλλον ἀπ' αὐτῶν προιδεῖν.
VI. 76. (Hermocr.) οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου, κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ . . .
" (Hermocr.) οὐ Λεοντίνους βούλεσθαι κατοικῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς
μᾶλλον ἐξοικῆσαι.
VII. 68. (Gylippus.) καὶ νομίσωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι.

Of the etymological pun there are but two clear examples in Thucydides, and those not greatly to his credit, either as a linguist or a man of sense. It may seem strange that he could have supposed the term αἰδιος, perpetual, eternal, to be compounded of ἴδιος, proper, peculiar, and α privative. Yet the subjoined passages leave no doubt of the fact:

- IV. 20. (Lacedæm.) ἐν ᾧ ἀνάγκη αἰδίων ὑμῖν ἔχθραν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ
καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχειν.
63. (Hermocr.) μάλιστα μὲν ἐς αἰδίων ξυμβῶμεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρό-
νον ὥς πλείστον σπειςάμενοι, τὰς ἰδίας δια-
ὰς ἐς αὐθις ἀναβαλόμεθα.

IV. 87. (Brasidas.) . . . καὶ αἰδίων δόξαν καταθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ
τε ἴδια μὴ βλαφθῆναι . . .

The distinction in his subtle mind may have lain, between the idea of perpetuity, and that of limited duration; the latter as necessarily attaching to all mere private or personal interest in the affairs of life.

In the other example, if the etymology itself is not quite so grievously at fault, the illustrative commentary does not tend to improve its aptitude:

I. 122. τὴν πλείστον βλάβασαν καταφρόνησιν, . . . ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοῦς
σφάλλειν, τὸ ἐνάντιον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται.

No. X. (to page 160.)

The most striking exemplification of this Rhetorical commonplace, is supplied by the passages in which the Historian impresses on his readers, in his favourite antithetical mode, the difference material, moral, and metaphysical, between Words and Deeds¹, and the superior value of the latter in the business of life. His partiality for this trite dogma of popular ethics amounts to a sort of monomania; and the excess of tautology in which it displays itself, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of its kind in Greek classical composition. The passages in which the lesson is inculcated are nearly eighty in number. They assume however occasional varieties of form, corresponding to the several modifications of which, in every language, the fundamental idea is susceptible, such as Intention and execution², Expectation and fulfilment³, Profession and performance.⁴ The case is one which, like many others in literary criticism, can be clearly apprehended only by examples. The portion of the text where they chiefly abound, is the Funeral oration of Pericles, which contains about sixteen. The dogma inculcated forms in fact, as stated in the text above (p. 169.), the key note or "motivo" (to borrow an illustration from the art of music) of that entire oration.⁵ In some parts of it they are grouped together by threes and fours in nearly continuous sentences. Those bestowed on other speeches of Pericles make up as his share about a fourth of the whole. Those

¹ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ.

² ἐλπὶς καὶ ἔργον.

³ ὄνομα καὶ ἔργον.

² γνώμη καὶ ἔργον.

⁵ See below, p. 631.

where Thucydides speaks in his own person amount to twenty-three. We shall be content with quoting the Periclean and Thucydidean examples; subjoining a reference to the others, under the name of each orator in whose speech or speeches they occur. In each allotment a priority has been given, in the order of citation, to the more trite and familiar forms in which the fundamental idea is expressed.

PERICLES. FUNERAL ORATION.

- II. 35. οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ . . . ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε . . . ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων, ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς.
40. πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ, ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα.¹
- „ οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι.
- „ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ, πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ᾧ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν.
41. οὐ λόγον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε, μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια.
42. ἰσοῤῥόπος . . . ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη.
- „ τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν.
43. σκῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνον τὴν ὠφελίαν . . . ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον . . . ἔργῳ θεωμένους.
- „ ἡ δόξα . . . αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται.
46. εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ . . . καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι . . . κεκόσμηται.
40. τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον.
41. ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάβει.
42. ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς . . . ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ . . . σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιούντες πεποιθέναι.
43. γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυρόμενοι . . .
- „ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἐκάστῃ τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαίταται.
39. πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεόν καὶ ἀπάταις . . . ἢ τῷ . . . ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ.

¹ This example, and those below in §§ 41. 43., possesses other common elements of antithetical commonplace, in the terms *καιρός* and *κόμπος*.

PERICLES.] [OTHER SPEECHES.

- I. 144. ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται.
 140. οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πρᾶσσοντας.
 II. 64. γνώμῃ μὲν ἥκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσι

THUCYDIDES.

- I. 128. τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλεία πράγματα πρᾶσσων.
 II. 8. καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν.
 65. λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.
 III. 70. τῷ μὲν λόγῳ . . . διηγνημένοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πεπεισμένοι.
 83. τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι . . . μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσσους ᾧσι . . . τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν.
 IV. 67. ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν λόγων παρεσκεύαστο ἀμφοτέροις.
 70. τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἅμα εἰ δύναιτο ἔργῳ, τῆς Νισαίας πειρᾶσαι.
 V. 55. οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογεῖν.
 69. εἰδότες ἔργων ἐκ πολλοῦ μελέτην πλείω σώζουσιν, ἢ λόγων δι' ὀλίγου καλῶς ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν.
 VI. 88. . . ὑπουργεῖν μὲν τοῖς Συρακουσίοις μᾶλλον ἔργῳ . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι . . . λόγῳ ἀποκρίνασθαι.
 VII. 48. τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ ἔτι . . . ἀνείχεν, τῷ δ' ἐμφανεῖ τότε λόγῳ οὐκ ἔφη ἀπάξειν . . .
 69. πάντα τε ἔργῳ ἔτι . . . ἐνδεᾶ εἶναι, καὶ λόγῳ . . . ἱκανὰ εἰρησθαι.
 VIII. 46. τὸν λόγον τε ξυμφορώτατον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔχοντας πολεμεῖν.
 92. πολλῶν . . . λόγων . . . προσγενομένων, καὶ ἔργῳ ἤδη ἥπτοντο τῶν πραγμάτων.
 I. 11. δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα τῆς φήμης, καὶ τοῦ . . . λόγου.
 130. ἔργοις βραχέσι προσηλόν, ἃ τῇ γνώμῃ . . . ἐμελλε πράξειν.
 III. 83. ἔργῳ οὐδὲν σφᾶς δεῖν λαμβάνειν ἃ γνώμῃ ἔξεστιν.
 I. 23. τὰ πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώτερον βεβαιούμενα.
 IV. 81. τῶν μὲν πείρα αἰσθημένων, τῶν δὲ ἀκοῇ νομισάντων.
 82. τό τε πρῶτον . . . ἐπενύει, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν.
 III. 82. τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν . . .

viii. 78. ἄλλως ὄνομα καὶ οὐκ ἔργον.

89. ἔργῳ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι.

Hermocrates (Syracusan): vi. 78, 79. 78. 80. 86. 83.

Brasidas (Spartan): iv. 87. 85. 126., v. 9.

Archidamus (Spartan): i. 84. two exx., ii. 11. two exx.

Athenagoras (Syracusan): vi. 38. 40. two exx.

Alcibiades: vi. 17, 18. 86.

Cleon: iii. 38. two exx.

Corinthian orators: i. 39. 68, 69. 120. two exx., 70. two exx.

Athenians: i. 73. 78., v. 111.

Thebans: iii. 66, 67. two exx.

Mytilenæans: iii. 10.

Another favourite antithetical commonplace of the Historian and his orators, is a similar contrast between the correlative ideas, Public or common (δημόσιον, κοινόν), and Private or peculiar (ἴδιον), in property, feeling, or interest in the affairs of life. Here too the larger proportion of examples are found in the Funeral address of Pericles, that standard repertory of the more prominent characteristics of Thucydidean rhetoric. The four which it comprises will here suffice for illustration:

ii. 37. ἀνεπαχθῶς τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες, τὰ δημόσια . . . οὐ παρανομοῦμεν.

42. κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν.

43. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγέρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον.

61. ἀπαλγῆσαντες δὲ τὰ ἴδια, τοῦ κοινῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.

Conf. i. 80. (two exx.) 90. 120. 128., ii. 13. 65., iii. 14. 45., iv. 121., vi. 12.

Two other specimens are added of idiomatic phraseology, common to Thucydidean orators of all classes and countries:

i. 68. (Corinth.) . . . ὥς οὐκ εἰδόσι . . . τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν;

ii. 36. (Pericles.) μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος.

48. (Pericles.) τὴν ὠφελίαν, ἣν ἂν τις πρὸς . . . ἡμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει.

iv. 59. (Hermocr.) τί ἂν τις . . . ἐν εἰδόσι μακρηγοροῖ;

vi. 77. (Hermocr.) ἀποφανοῦντες ἐν εἰδόσιν ὅσα ἀδικεῖ.

iii. 53. (Platæans.) πρὸς εἰδότας πάντα λελέγεται.

- iv. 17. (Lacedæm.) . . . πρὸς εἰδότας ἡγησάμενοι.
 v. 89. (Athen.) διαπράσσεσθαι ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας.
 ii. 65. (Thucyd.) κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες.
 i. 68. (Corinth.) ἔνεκα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ διαφορῶν λέγουσι.
 ii. 37. (Pericles.) πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον.
 v. 115. (Thucyd.) ἐπολέμησαν ἰδίων τινῶν διαφορῶν ἔνεκα τοῖς
 Ἀθηναίοις.
 iv. 63. (Hermocr.) τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς ἐσαῦθις ἀναβαλόμεθα.

It may be remarked generally, of those varied forms of the Historian's rhetorical idiom, that they are far more frequent in the earlier than the later parts of his work: the examples derivable from the first four books being probably, for we do not pretend to have made an exact calculation, in the ratio of 2 or 3 to 1, of those supplied by the remainder. It might appear as if more mature practice in composition, and the influence of his own strong common sense, had gradually taken off the edge of that more extreme subtlety of thought and expression, under the influence of which, whether imputable to his own natural taste, or to the lessons of Gorgias and Antiphon, he had commenced his undertaking.

No. XI. (to pages 8. 162, 163.)

We have here subjoined a few examples of such peculiarity of rhetorical expression, common to Antiphon with Thucydides, as can be recognised in the extant works of the former. The numbers under which the passages have been ranged, correspond in each case, to those of the previous text of this Appendix in which the parallel peculiarities of Thucydides have been exemplified. The coincidences are certainly striking, and go far to confirm the tradition as to the relation of master and disciple between the two authors:

(v.)

ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ δικαίῳ, οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ.
 κρεῖσσον δὲ . . . τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον ἐμὲ δικαίως σώζειν, ἢ τὸ τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον ἀδίκως με ἀπολλύειν.
 οὔτε τὸ ὑμέτερον εὐσεβὲς παρείς.¹

¹ De Herod. cæde, § 7. 78. 96. ed. Bekk.

(VI. VII.)

ἢ τε αἰσχύνῃ μείζων οὔσα τῆς διαφορᾶς . . . ἄρκοῦσα ἦν σωφρονίσαι
τὸ θυμούμενον τῆς γνώμης.¹

(II. VIII.)

ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ προβουλῆς.

αὐτῆς μὲν τοῦτο εὗρημα, ἐκείνης δὲ ὑπὸ κτήρημα.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκουσίως καὶ βουλευσάσα τὸν θάνατον, ὁ δὲ ἀκουσίως καὶ
βιαιῶς ἀπέθανε.

ἐλεεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκουσίοις παθήμασι, μᾶλλον προσήκει ἢ τοῖς ἐκου-
σίοις . . . ἀδικήμασι καὶ ἁμαρτήμασι.²

οὐ τὸν αἴτιον ἀφέντες, τὸν ἀναίτιον διώκομεν.³

οἱ δὲ διώκοντες μὲν ἔμε τὸν ἀναίτιον, τὸν δ' αἴτιον ἀφίεντες, τῆς τε
ἀφορίας αἵτιοι γίνονται.⁴

τὸ μὲν οὖν μειράκιον ἀναμάρτητον ὄν, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τοῦ
ἁμαρτόντος κολάζεταιτο . . . ὁ δὲ παῖς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτίαις
διαφθαρεῖς, ἅμα ἡμαρτέ τε καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκολάσθη.⁵

τοῦ μὲν πεκείραμαι πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεῆς εἰμι μάλ-
λον τοῦ συμφέροντος.⁶

(X.)

ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ λόγῳ δοκεῖ μοι σημαίνειν.

παθὼν . . . ἔτι δεινότερα τούτων, ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ λόγῳ.

μὴ ἔργα φανερά ὑπὸ πονηρᾶς λόγων ἀκριβείας πεισθέντες.⁷

θέλω δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἐπ' ἄλλον λόγον ὀρμῆσαι, ἢ τὸ ἔργον ἔτι
φανερώτερον καταστήσαι.⁸

ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοις εἶναι, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς
ἔργοις.⁹

οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον οὐτ' ἔργῳ ἁμαρτόντα διὰ ῥήματα σωθῆναι, οὐτ' ἔργῳ
ὀρθῶς πράξαντα διὰ ῥήματα ἀπολέσθαι. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥήμα
τῆς γλώττης ἀμάρτημά ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῆς γνώμης.¹⁰

¹ Tetralog. I. iii. 3.

² Categor. Pharm. § 3. 15. 26, 27. Of the jingle between ἐκούσιος and ἀκούσιος, see other examples in Tetral. I. iii. 1., II. iv. 8.

³ Tetral. I. i. 2.

⁴ Tetral. I. ii. 11.

⁵ Tetral. II. iv. 8.

⁶ De Herodis cæde, § 1.

⁷ Tetral. II. iii. 1. 3.

⁸ Tetral. II. iv. 5.

⁹ De Herod. cæde, § 3.

¹⁰ De Herod. cæde, § 5. alibi. This figure of speech is popular generally with Attic orators, but nowhere to the same idiomatic excess as with Thucydides and Antiphon.

With these passages of Antiphon, and with the parallel texts of Thucydides, may be compared the following extracts from the scanty remains¹ of Gorgias; the other standard model on whom Thucydides is supposed to have formed his style:

Δεράποντες μὲν τῶν ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντων, κολασαὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκως εὐτυχοῦντων.

τῇ φρονίμῃ τῆς γνώμης, παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον τῆς βώμης.

αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος ἐν ἀσωμάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων.

χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο.

ἦν ὁ τε ἀπατήσας δικαιότερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατήσαντος· καὶ ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατηθέντος.

τὸ μὲν εἶναι ἀφανές, μὴ τυχὸν τοῦ δοκεῖν, τὸ δὲ δοκεῖν ἀσθενές, μὴ τυχὸν τοῦ εἶναι.

APPENDIX H. (Pages 182, 183.)

ON THE AGE OF XENOPHON.

§ 1. As the passages referred to in the text have, with modern commentators, been made the groundwork of opinions regarding Xenophon's age, different from that here adopted, some more detailed explanation will be desirable, of the evidence on which our own conclusions rest.

How far Xenophon's account of the Symposium, or Banquet, of Callias, may be strictly historical, is a point which, while not perhaps beyond the reach of controversy, is of little importance to the chronological question here at stake. The Panathenaic victory of Autolycus (OL. LXXXIX. B.C. 420) is a well ascertained epoch²; and it is not to be supposed that Xenophon would represent either his own age, or the ages of his friends, as different at that particular date from what they really were.

As was to be expected from the connexion between the master of the feast and the principal guest, the conversation is in great part devoted to that favourite topic in the Socratic circle, the amorous intercourse between males. The company seems also to

¹ Fragmenta Gorgiæ ap. Baierum, Oratt. Att. § 5. 19. 21. 26.

² Schneider, Præfat. ad Conv. Xen. p. 129. sqq.

have been chosen with appropriate reference to the sentiment in which the banquet originated, and to the age of the person in whose honour it was held. Autolycus, as victor in the "Boys' Pancration," could not have been above fifteen; that age forming the limit between boyhood and puberty. The Erastes or Lover was, with rare exception, much older than the Eromenos or Beloved; and Callias, the brother-in-law of Alcibiades, may have been at this time about thirty. Xenophon, as will appear from the evidence to be adduced, was about the same age as Autolycus, and was invited probably as his friend and playfellow.¹ Another youthful guest, though several years senior to Xenophon, was Critobulus, an enthusiastic pæderast, himself distinguished for personal beauty, and a favourite disciple of Socrates. In the course of the dialogue, the philosopher jocosely takes this young voluptuary to task, for the precocity, as well as the licentious indulgence of his amorous inclinations; and, as evidence of the early age at which they had been developed, calls attention to his want of beard; the only symptom of that badge of manhood being a certain appearance of down creeping over his cheeks below his ears.² He may therefore have been at the most between eighteen and twenty. Critobulus expatiates in glowing language on his love for Clinias the beautiful son of Alcibiades. As Alcibiades could hardly at this time, by reference to the extant notices of his life, have been much past thirty, his son must have been a still younger boy than Autolycus. Allusion is made in the sequel³ of the discussion, to an indecent liberty which Critobulus had taken with Clinias. This impropriety is also noticed by Socrates in the *Memorabilia*⁴, in a dialogue between himself and Xenophon, where the latter is warned by his master against the risk he ran of being corrupted, by his habitual exposure to the lascivious fascinations of the same Critobulus. The whole tenour of this dialogue is to represent Xenophon at the time when it took place, as an inexperienced and innocent boy, and but imperfectly initiated, either for good or evil, in the

¹ It has, however, been shown elsewhere (Vol. IV. p. 202.), that the introduction of youths of tender age to companies of this kind, even on ordinary occasions, was consistent with the rules of Attic society. No weight therefore can attach to the opposite assertion by which Krüger (*De Xenoph. Vit.* p. 274.), in the face of the fact that Autolycus himself was a boy, has endeavoured to support his very paradoxical argument.

² *Symp.* iv. 23.

³ *iv.* 25.

⁴ *i.* iii. 8.

erotic theories of his master, or his fellow-disciples. Socrates accordingly has some difficulty in making him comprehend the extent of his danger, or the precautions suggested for guarding against it.

The youth of Xenophon may further be inferred from his taking no part in the dialogue of the Banquet. Autolycus, himself the king of the feast, is allowed to say but a few words, and those merely in answer to questions addressed to him. Xenophon therefore could not with propriety have introduced himself, or any other equally youthful guest, as participating in the discussion. Had he been a man of from twenty-three to twenty-five years of age, as some have supposed, he would hardly have been contented to act the part of mute on such an occasion. His graphic picture of the profligacy of Critobulus, and of the levity with which Socrates regarded in practice, the same conduct which he condemned in theory, receives its finishing touch, from the allusion which the philosopher casually introduces to the fact that the lover of Clinias was newly married.¹ It was customary for young Athenians of rank to take wife, immediately or shortly after emerging from the age of puberty into that of manhood, which at Athens commenced at eighteen.

In the foregoing remarks, the age of Autolycus, or rather the utmost age which he could have attained at this time (as a point concerning which there can be no dispute), has been assumed as a criterion for that about which youths were commonly made the objects of amorous pursuit by Athenian men of pleasure. This assumption is also borne out, as well by the general tenor of Xenophon's text both in the *Convivium* and the *Memorabilia*, as by specific notices of each work. Exceptions there were no doubt, and a partial one has here been made, on the authority of Socrates himself, in the case of Critobulus, whom the philosopher pointedly describes as combining, owing to the precocity of his habits, the two characters of Erastes and Eromenos.² By the greater number of modern commentators, on the other hand, it has been assumed that, except perhaps Autolycus (whose case they conveniently leave out of the question), all the other persons alluded to in either dialogue, as exposed, by their tender years or beauty, to pæderastian courtship, Xenophon, and the beardless Clinias and Critobulus, were men of from twenty-three to thirty years of age.³ This view we

¹ Symp. II. 3.

² IV. 27, 28.

³ Schneider, *Præfat. ad Conviv.* and note to *Conviv.* IV. 25.; Krüger, *Proleg. de Xen. Sympos.* in *Hist. Philol. Stud.* vol. p. II. p. 289. sqq.

consider as no less repugnant to reasonable probability, than to the evidence on which it professes to be founded. It is repugnant to probability, that of four or five young Eromenoi, present at this banquet, or alluded to in conversation by the guests, the one in whose honour the feast was given should be but fifteen years of age, all the others at least a third older, some nearly double that age. It is repugnant both to the letter and the spirit of the expression by which, in the Attic dialect, persons of this class are designated, *παῖδες* or *τὰ παιδικά*; terms which were absurd in their application, unless in very rare exceptional cases, to full grown bearded men. It is repugnant to the definition given by Socrates himself, of the growth of a beard as the customary limit which distinguished the age of the Erastes from that of the *παιδικά*. It is repugnant more especially, in the particular case of Xenophon, to the terms in which Socrates, in the *Memorabilia*¹, warns him of the danger to which he was exposed from the profligate Critobulus. Such language could never have been addressed to a man of three or four and twenty, either in the mode of warning or instruction, as to his intercourse with another man of nearly his own age.

The liberties which have been taken with the Historian's text for the purposes of this argument, are very remarkable. Xenophon, on two several occasions², describes Clinias as a "son of Alcibiades." Krüger³ here, overlooking or ignoring Xenophon's authority altogether, enters into an elaborate but resultless discussion of the question, who the father of Clinias may have been. In the same place he speculates on the relative ages of Critobolus and Clinias, by reference to the length of their beards, as specified by Socrates⁴; Socrates having, in the passages appealed to, plainly stated that Critobolus had no beard; nothing but a little down in front of his ears, symptomatic of the approach of one. The other part of the text is obscure, perhaps corrupt; but, in so far as intelligible, its most natural import is, that Clinias had still less beard than Critobolus, nothing but a little down creeping up towards his ears from the nape of his neck.⁵ According to Krüger, Xenophon was at this time about twenty-three; Critobolus the same age or a year or two older; Clinias probably as much older than Critobolus, or about twenty-six or twenty-seven. How any person, conversant with Attic or Socratic language and habits,

¹ L. iii. 9. sqq.² Memor. I. iii. 8. 10.³ Proleg. ad Symp. p. 202.⁴ IV. 23.⁵ Conf. Schneider, note ad Conv. IV. 25.

can, by a perusal of the portions of the *Convivium* and *Memorabilia* here referred to, have been led to suppose Critobulus junior to Clinias, is not easy to comprehend.

The difficulties which have been started by Schneider¹ and others, as to this Clinias having been the son of the celebrated Alcibiades, while resting in great part evidently on the fallacious view taken by them of the age of the former, are of no weight against Xenophon's distinct statement of his paternity. Nor need it be matter of surprise, that no notice of him should occur except in these passages of the Historian; for it is remarkable how little is known of the children of Alcibiades, beyond the fact that he had several. As he did not marry until after B.C. 429², he could not have had a legitimate son, but as he was a profligate from his earliest youth, he may very probably have had a natural son, of advanced boyhood at this time.

§ 2. A few remarks are subjoined, on the other body of evidence, supplied by the *Anabasis*, relative to the Historian's age.

On the night after the massacre of the Zabatus, Xenophon, in

¹ Ad Sympos. iv. 25.

² Isocrates, De Big. 12. There can be little doubt that Alcibiades was a good deal older at the time of his death in 404 B.C., than he is commonly represented by modern chronologers. Isocrates (*loc. cit.*) makes his own son describe him as having been left an orphan (not an infant) in 447 B.C., the year of the battle of Corone. He may therefore very reasonably be supposed to have been then a boy of seven or eight years old, which would bring his birth back to 455 B.C. He was present (Plut. in vit. 7.) at the battle of Potidæa in 432 B.C.; and as no Athenian could serve in regular warfare before the age of twenty, twenty-three would be an appropriate age for him at that time. These dates are also consistent with the dialogue which Xenophon describes his having held, when not quite twenty, with Pericles (*Memor. i. ii. 40.*); there being no reason to suppose that dialogue to have taken place so immediately before the death of Pericles in 429, as is assumed in the common estimate of his young kinsman's age. Nor can the additional notice of Xenophon, here in question, that Alcibiades had in 420 B.C. a son about as old as Clinias is there implied to have been, or about fifteen, be reasonably left out of the account.

Clinton very strangely places his birth in 447, the year of his father's death; in which case he would have been but fifteen at the battle of Potidæa, and eighteen at the death of Pericles. The statement of Nepos that he died at forty, on which all the other more exaggerated views of his precocity are founded, is altogether absurd.

his soliloquy in bed, as reported by himself, expresses his resolution not to be deterred by the immaturity of his age, from acting the part of counsellor to his fellow-warriors. In the sequel¹, addressing the men of his own division, he repeats the same sentiment, to the effect, that if they prefer him to any one else as their leader, he will not plead his youth as a reason for declining the office.

There is something so strange, even absurd, in the notion of language like this having been used, otherwise than in jest, by a man of from forty-four to forty-eight years of age, that one feels more disposed to wonder how such a thing could ever have found favour with intelligent commentators², than, by any serious counter-argument, to meet the elaborate disquisitions in which they have attempted to justify their view. The wonder becomes the greater, when it is remembered, that the previous commander of the same division had just before been described³, without a word of explanation or remark, as but thirty years old at the time of his death; two others of the slain generals, Agias and Socrates, as but forty; and Clearchus, a veteran leader of the Peloponnesian war, the virtual commander-in-chief of the whole army, as scarcely fifty, by the same Xenophon, who (at forty-five, as is supposed) so emphatically dwells on his own youth, as an obstacle to his appointment to one of the vacant commands. In a subsequent passage he describes himself and Timasion, another of the newly selected chiefs, as the youngest of the seven.⁴

By those who are inclined to take a more common-sense view of the case⁵, Xenophon's conception of the limits between military youth and old age, will be better understood from his subsequent account of the arrangements made for the progress of the army from Trapezus to Byzantium. It having been found impossible to provide sea transport for the whole force, the sick, the men above forty, the women and children, were, he tells us, sent by sea to Cerasus.⁶ The rest took the land route to the same port. To

¹ III. i. 14. 25.

² Schneider, *Præf. ad Hellenica*, p. ix. sqq.; Letronne, *Biograph. Univers.* tom. LI. p. 370.; Krüger, *De Xenoph. Vita*, in *Hist. Philolog. Studien*, vol. II. p. 264. sqq.; Delbrück, *Xenoph.* p. 12.: conf. Hutchinson, *Dissert.* p. 4. in Thieme's edit. of *Xenoph.* vol. I.

³ II. vi.

⁴ III. ii. 37.

⁵ On this more reasonable side of the question see Hutchinson, *loc. cit.*; Mitford, *Hist. of Gr. ch.* xxiii. note to sect. I.; Daunou, *Cours d'Études Hist.* vol. XI. p. 14.

⁶ v. iii. 1. sqq.

assume from this that Xenophon, or his fellow-generals, considered a man of forty as incapacitated by old age for a few days of ordinary land march, would be a fallacy little short of that which we are here endeavouring to rectify. The passage however proves, that he considered forty as the term at least when mature manhood begins to verge toward old age; and hence obviously, that it would have been ridiculous for him, in another chapter of the same work, to represent a man upwards of forty, as incapacitated by his youth for any office requiring maturity of years. Nor need we remind those familiar with the narrative of the *Anabasis*, that Xenophon there everywhere represents himself as in the prime of manhood, and endowed with an unusual amount of activity both of body and mind; as setting an example to all around him of indefatigable energy and endurance; as placing himself, on repeated occasions, at the head of bodies of the youngest and most active of the troops, expressly selected on account of their youth for the most fatiguing service, and as dismounting from his horse, and in his cavalry armour, charging up steep hills, on foot, the better to maintain the ardour and the pace of his men.¹

By reference to these passages and reasons, we have found difficulty in allowing him, at this date, even as much as the thirty-six years, which result from the evidence above cited of his having been about fifteen at the time of the Banquet of Callias. Nor in truth can this result be well reconciled with his own language, otherwise than by assuming the youthful incapacity to which he refers, to have consisted at least as much in his previous inexperience of military command, in comparison with the surviving generals, as in his actual inferiority of age.

Among the arguments adduced, of the Historian's advanced age at the time when he obtained the rank of general, one of the weakest is that founded² on the supposition of Seuthes, a year afterwards, that he might then possibly have had a marriageable daughter. By reference to the foregoing illustrations of Attic social life, an Athenian of seven and thirty, which age Xenophon would on our own data then have reached, might have been a father of several such children. Still less to the purpose are the appeals that have been made to passages of the classics, in which the

¹ III. iv. 41. sq. 48., IV. ii. 16., IV. iii. 20., VII. iii. 45.

² Letronne, *Biograph. sup. cit.* p. 371.; Krüger, *De Xenoph. Vit.* p. 274.

terms "youth," or "young man" (*νέος, νεανίσκος*), are applied in familiar mood to men advanced in life. One might as well argue, from the similar application, in our own comedies or familiar dialogues, of the phrases "my boy" or "old boy," to elderly persons, that the age of boyhood was understood in England to extend to fifty or sixty years. This fallacy assumes a graver character in Krüger's citation¹ of Xenophon's remark², that Agesilaus was *ἐνὶ νέος*, when he became king of Sparta, he being then forty, as a "striking evidence that men of that age were commonly called youths." The reverse were the more probable inference. What Xenophon evidently means is, not that Agesilaus was a young man, but that he was not yet an old one, when he obtained the royal dignity; that he was not yet past the prime of life. Had Agesilaus, at forty, appeared before the ephori, and pleaded his youth, either as a reason for declining the office, or as an apology for any incapacity he might manifest for its duties if he accepted it, there would have been some analogy between his case, and that of Xenophon as supposed by Krüger.

APPENDIX J. (Page 193.)

ON THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA.

PLUTARCH³, in his very shallow commentary on the conduct of Clearchus in this battle, blames him, on grounds which he assigns, and by a palpable misunderstanding of the text of Xenophon, not for declining to execute the Prince's order to charge the Persian centre, but for having, in arranging the line of battle, reserved for himself, from the first, the right of the position, instead of taking post opposite the king. Xenophon's own account⁴ certainly implies, that even if it was not by express order of Cyrus (as is most probable), that the Greeks were stationed on the right, with their flank resting on the river, their occupation of that post was, and with all reason, sanctioned and approved by the Prince. The Euphrates was the key of the whole position: and its protection was indispensable, not merely to the gaining of the battle, but to

¹ De Xenoph. Vit. p. 268.

³ In Arttox. 8.

² In Agesil. i. 6.

⁴ i. viii. 4. sqq.

the preservation of the army in case of defeat ; a possible contingency which no wise commander would overlook. It was therefore all-important that the river-bank should be occupied by a force qualified to maintain it. To have intrusted it to a body of Asiatics, who would probably have fled at once when opposed, four to one, by the choice troops of Tissaphernes, would have been nearly as injudicious a course as that which Cyrus afterwards proposed. The importance so wisely attached by Clearchus to the Euphrates as a flank protection, is further manifest¹ in his subsequent manœuvres, where in drawing up his army for the second engagement, he takes up a position with the river immediately in his rear, to prevent his being, not merely outflanked but surrounded ; and again, he is equally careful to have his left wing resting on the river, on his retrograde march the next day to join Arisæus.² The care with which Xenophon, on both occasions, particularises this precaution as having been taken, shows how fully he too appreciated its wisdom. It must also be remembered that, according to a first principle of the Greek art of war, the best troops were stationed on the right, not only as the post of honour, but as that from which the tone and character were imparted to an action ; and the Lacedæmonians had, from time immemorial, been entitled and accustomed to occupy that position, when forming part of a mixed army. It would therefore, apart from purely strategic considerations, have been a dangerous course, suddenly to transfer them, and without previous explanation, to a different part of the line, and assign the post of honour to others. It might have offended their pride and damped their ardour, at the moment when the victory depended on the maintenance of those feelings in their full vigour.

Nor can there be a doubt that Clearchus, from the tone of his reply to Cyrus, felt confident of winning the battle in his actual position, and had formed his plans accordingly. That he would beat the part of the enemy's line opposed to himself was, humanly speaking, certain. If Cyrus was equally successful on his part, the matter was settled. If not, Clearchus felt probably little less confident that a renewal of the engagement, between his own thoroughly trained Hellenes and any number of half-disciplined Asiatics, disordered by previous success, would insure him the ultimate victory. These anticipations, it need scarcely be added, were all fully verified

¹ I. x. 9.² II. ii. 4.

in the sequel, and under circumstances less favourable, owing to the mad folly of Cyrus, than Clearchus had a right to expect.

Plutarch's flippancy and want of judgement as a military critic, in this instance at least, further appear from his imputation against Clearchus, of having been influenced to the course he took by considerations of personal safety ; a charge in itself absurd in the case of a distinguished Spartan veteran of the Peloponnesian war, and without a shadow of foundation in the facts of this case. The terms in which Xenophon narrates both this transaction, and the whole subsequent series of conflicts, seem clearly, though indirectly to prove, that he thought Clearchus in the right.

If Cyrus had wished the Greeks to be opposed to the part of the line where his brother was, he ought to have stationed them from the first opposite the enemy's centre, which he knew to be the position of the king.¹ He seems however, in the first instance, to have selected the post in question for himself, from a desire in person to engage, and wreak his vengeance on Artaxerxes. But as the moment of attack approached, he suddenly changed his mind, when it was too late to change his line of battle, and gave an order which, with the other peculiarities of his conduct, would imply, as remarked in the text, that from excitement of one kind or other he had lost his head.

Isocrates² who, if not a more competent judge, had much better opportunities than Plutarch, of knowing and estimating the merits of the case, plainly attributes the loss of the battle to the desperate rashness of Cyrus.

APPENDIX K. (Page 196.)

ON THE CONDUCT OF ARÆUS AFTER THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA.

THE whole tenor of Xenophon's narrative here seems to prove, that Aræus was playing a double game from the first ; although Xenophon shows no suspicion of his treachery until it was openly avowed. In the battle he seems to have made but a feeble attack, if any, on the part of the royal army to which he was opposed ;

¹ i. viii. 21.

² Epist. II., and Philippus, p. 64. Didot.

and the moment he hears of the death of Cyrus he retires from the field. Nor is there any appearance of his having been pursued. All this looks very like a secret understanding betwixt him and Artaxerxes. There is still stronger evidence that his invitation to the Greeks to join with him on his proposed retreat to Ionia, was but a trap to place them in the power of the king. What hope could Ariæus entertain of safety by returning, still under rebel colours, to Ionia, a province now thoroughly in the king's interest? He could not think of making war on the loyal satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, backed by the whole power of the Persian empire. His obvious course, if he and the king were not already on terms, was to make his peace on the spot. A proposal of cooperation in measures for the destruction of his late Greek allies, could not fail to prove an irresistible bribe to the royal clemency. The subsequent transactions still more clearly evince his insidious dealing with the Greeks. It is surprising that neither Xenophon¹, nor any one of his commentators, should have observed the glaring inconsistency between the plan arranged with Clearchus for their march westward, and the route actually taken under the satrap's guidance. In the conference betwixt him and the Greek commanders it was settled, on his recommendation, that they should endeavour in the first instance, by day's journeys of extra length in an opposite direction from the king's quarters, to get beyond the reach of pursuit.² But instead of leading them towards the west, the only direction in harmony with his own advice, he guides their course a little to the south of east, toward the same point where they had left Artaxerxes after the battle; and accordingly, on the afternoon of the first day's march, they find themselves in the vicinity of the royal camp.³ It seems clear therefore, that the report of the king's army having crossed the Tigris⁴, which prevented Clearchus from renewing his attack, was a falsehood, for which there can be little doubt Ariæus was responsible.

One object of this whole proceeding, and of the subsequent junction and further march in company with Tissaphernes, evidently was to entice the Greeks across the Tigris. Add to all this the close intercourse which commenced, immediately after the

¹ There is however a curious ambiguity in his allusion (II. ii. 13.) to the favourable interposition of fortune, in preventing them from running away, and reserving them for a nobler species of retreat.

² II. ii. 12.

³ II. ii. 14.

⁴ II. ii. 3.

battle, between Ariæus and Menon, whose fidelity seems all along to have been suspected by both Clearchus and Xenophon.¹ The difficulty is to understand how they could have been the dupes of a series of manœuvres, the insidious nature of which the position of the sun on the first day's march ought to have made apparent.

APPENDIX L. (Page 241.)

ON THE BANISHMENT OF XENOPHON.

IN the text here referred to, after informing us that, when setting out with Agesilaus on his Coronæan campaign, he deposited his Artemisian treasures with Megabyzus the priest of Ephesus, to be disposed of according to future contingencies, the Historian continues: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι, ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντι παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, θεωρήσων . . .*

The difficulty which the expression *ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν κ. τ. λ.* seems to interpose in the way of the view here advocated, has been well met by Bishop Thirlwall in the Philological Museum.² The conjunction *ἐπεὶ* must here be taken, not in its familiar chronological sense, but as an expletive or causative particle, with which power it is frequently invested by older Attic writers, especially by Thucydides, and which it also possesses though less frequently with Xenophon. It must be understood as indicating, not so much the time of the banishment, as the fact that Xenophon when he settled at Scillus was a banished man; and indirectly that his residence, on his return to Greece, in a distant part of Peloponnesus, under Spartan protection, was a consequence of his exile. The words therefore: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι* may be rendered, to adopt the translation and commentary of Dr. Thirlwall: "When Xenophon, in consequence of his banishment, was residing at Scillus." For the principal "fact was the residence at Scillus. The cause of the banishment had nothing to do with the history of the deposit; and therefore the words in substance, though not in form, are equivalent to:

¹ II. ii. 1., iv. 15., v. 28.

² Vol. I. p. 518.: conf. Krüger, *Histor. Philol. Stud.* pt. I. p. 244.

“ἐπεὶ φύγας ὣν ὁ Ξενοφῶν κατῴκει ἡδὴ ἐν Σκαλλοῦντι.” We appeal with the greater confidence to the authority of this eminent scholar, from the circumstance that his leaning seems rather to be, as was in truth our own on a first imperfect consideration of the case, in favour of the Coronæan theory.

APPENDIX M. (Page 280.)

ON THE CASE OF THE SIX ADMIRALS AFTER ARGINUSÆ.

As we shall have occasion in the sequel to deal somewhat unmercifully with Xenophon's real sins against historical truth, we feel the more bound to vindicate him when unjustly charged with similar offences. To such treatment he seems to have been subjected by our own two leading Greek historians, Thirlwall and Grote, in their judgements on this portion of his narrative; which it will here therefore be proper to examine somewhat more in detail, than were consistent with propriety in our principal text.

Xenophon very clearly though concisely gives his own view of the case of the drowned seamen, at the close of his account of the battle: “The Athenian commanders,” he tells us, “sent the trierarchs Theramenes and Thrasybulus with forty-seven vessels, to the relief of the men on the wrecks, while the rest of the fleet should sail to Mytilene to attack the Spartan squadron in that port. But a violent storm supervening, prevented the performance of either service.”¹ On the arrival of the six admirals at Athens, the narrative continues², “it was urged in council by several citizens, but especially by Theramenes³, that the admirals should be impeached for neglecting to save the mariners; and in proof that they themselves imputed blame to no other person, he appealed to a letter addressed by them to the council, in which they described the storm as the sole cause of the duty remaining unperformed. In reply, each of the admirals gave a brief explanation of the facts, the customary forms not then admitting a more detailed

¹ I. vi. 35.

² c. vii.

³ It may be presumed, from no mention being made of Thrasybulus, as taking part in these proceedings, that he had remained in the performance of his duties with the fleet. No reasonable tribunal, it need scarcely be remarked, would ever have passed judgment in the case without hearing his evidence.

“vindication of their conduct. They stated, that they had instructed Theramenes and Thrasybulus, with other competent officers, to attend to the shipwrecked men, while they went in quest of the enemy: if blame therefore attached anywhere, it must be to those who had neglected their instructions. But, they added, although they have wrongly accused us, we shall not act the same part by them, considering, as we do, the storm a sufficient reason for the non-execution of our orders. And they offered to produce from among the pilots and mariners, numerous witnesses in proof of their statement. The assembly was satisfied with this explanation, and many were desirous that a vote to that effect should at once be taken. But, owing to the lateness of the hour, it was agreed to postpone further proceedings to a future meeting.” In the interval a violent reaction took place in the public feeling, chiefly through the efforts of Theramenes, who, with his agents, by expedients which the Historian describes, inflamed the minds of the people against the admirals. His designs were favoured by the occurrence at this season, of the festival of the Apaturia, among the principal solemnities of which were social meetings of tribes and families, occasions peculiarly calculated to bring home painfully to the feelings, the bereavement of near friends and relatives. The result was, that one Callixenus undertook to renew the dormant impeachment at the next assembly, by a motion that, as the case had been heard at the last meeting, the council should at once proceed to judgment, and that the decision should be taken on the whole six defendants by a single vote. To this it was objected by Euryptolemus and others, on behalf of the admirals, that such a course would be contrary to the law which guaranteed a separate trial to every Attic citizen indicted for a capital offence.¹ But they would not listen to him, shouting that “it were a strange thing if the Athenians were not allowed to administer justice in their own way, and that whoever presumed to offer opposition, should be included in the same sentence with the admirals.” Intimidated by this menace, the Prytanes agreed, with the single dissentient voice of Socrates, who happened to be in office that year, that the people should be left to take their own course. Euryptolemus being then permitted to address the assembly, after passing in review the previous transactions, again besought them not to withhold from each

¹ Mr. Grote's view of the law of Canonus (p. 267. note) is assuredly the most reasonable and correct.

defendant his privilege of a separate full and fair trial ; in order that the assembly might at least be able to found its verdict on its own investigation, rather than on the bare assertions of the accusers. It was resolved however to proceed at once, and the whole six were condemned and put to death. The only new fact of any importance which transpired in the speech of Euryptolemus, was, that one of the six accused had been himself among the strugglers for life on the sinking vessels, but had managed to effect his escape by his own exertions. So little therefore could he have been responsible for the death of others, that, at the moment when his colleagues were deliberating on the means of saving life, he was one of those whose life was at stake. And the orator undertook to prove, by the evidence of this witness, that the storm rendered it impossible to afford relief. But no attention was paid to the appeal, and he shared the fate of the rest.

We have here the entire substance of this melancholy episode of Athenian history as recorded by Xenophon. By the two modern historians above cited his narrative has been censured as meagre and confused, and he has himself been charged with wilfully suppressing facts indispensable to a just appreciation of the case. It may indeed be true that Xenophon has here, as elsewhere, been far more sparing of details and of illustrative remark than were to be wished. But his statement, although containing much that is hard to reconcile with modern principles of law or justice, is, as it stands, distinct and intelligible ; and what is more, uncontradicted, directly or indirectly, by any other authority. Of partiality we discover no trace ; and no more effectual refutation of that charge can be desired than, as stated in the text above, the conflicting grounds on which it has been rested by its own supporters. The hypothesis that Xenophon has, from corrupt motives, omitted some important element of the question, seems to have originated mainly in a disinclination to believe, that Theramenes could have had the audacity to found an impeachment of his superiors on so nugatory or even self-condemnatory a basis ; or that any sane tribunal would have followed up such an impeachment in such a manner. It has therefore been assumed, that there must have been some serious flaw in the case of the accused, some real neglect of duty, which Theramenes stated, but which Xenophon has suppressed ; and all sorts of subtle speculations have been hazarded, as to what this mysterious point of real culpability may have been. That these conjectures are as groundless as super-

fluous, seems clearly to result, even from those portions of Xenophon's statement which have not been called in question. Granting however that he may have had some motive for falsifying or suppressing, it seems incredible that all antiquity should have become the accomplice of his fraud. The Attic republic, with all her faults, was dear to the Hellenic nation. Around Athens their associations of the common country's glory, and still more of her moral and intellectual ascendancy, were in every age chiefly concentrated. It were therefore hardly conceivable, that the whole historical literature of Greece should have conspired in allowing a case so deeply affecting Athenian honour, to pass down to posterity, curtailed of the only palliating circumstances which it presented, and of which it stood so greatly in need. Yet nowhere is there a trace of the conduct, either of the six admirals or of their judges, having been viewed in any other light than that in which it is represented, first by Xenophon, and afterwards by Diodorus and other later writers, as the organs doubtless of more nearly contemporaneous authorities.

It is indeed remarkable, that the only supplementary fact bearing on the vital merits of the case, for which we are indebted to other sources, should tend still further to exculpate the admirals. Diodorus¹, after Theopompus probably, asserts, that owing to the virulence of the storm, they were not only prevented from enforcing their order, but that the seamen refused to perform the duty required of them. It may be added that Diodorus², while differing in various points from Xenophon, stigmatises the absolute injustice of the sentence in language so strong and so unqualified, as it seems hardly possible he could have used, had he ever heard of their being charged in any trustworthy quarter with even a modified culpability.

It may seem no doubt a strange thing to ordinary men, that so cunning a manœuvrer as Theramenes should have brought forward against others, a charge which could hardly fail to recoil on himself. But the acts of men like Theramenes, notorious as the most reckless political intriguer of an age so fertile in such characters, are not to be judged by the same rules as those of ordinary men. The accusation did in fact recoil on himself. The statement by the admirals, of the real facts, was so satisfactory, that the assembly would have acquitted them, had there been time and light for taking the votes. This first part of the proceedings,

¹ XIII. 100.

² c. 102. sq.

Xenophon's account of which has never been impugned, shows in itself that the indictment, as laid by Theramenes, comprised no more valid grounds of crimination than those to which Xenophon has limited the admirals' apology. Would their allegation that the storm prevented their saving the men on the wrecks have satisfied the assembly, if Theramenes had rested his case on the ground of their having had plenty of opportunity to save the men before the storm came on, of their having neglected that opportunity, of their having failed to employ a competent number of vessels and hands for the purpose, or on any other of the conjectural subtleties which have now been conjured up, for the purpose of blackening the character of the unfortunate commanders, and shielding the democracy? And if not here, at what other stage of the proceedings could this supposed vital count of the indictment have been brought forward? The case never having again been tried, the accused never again confronted with the accusers, and the latter having admitted that the evidence on which, in the second assembly, they demanded a verdict of guilty, was identical with that on which they had in the first assembly intended to award a verdict of acquittal. The case of the admiral on the wreck could not, at least, have been affected by any such supposed supplementary evidence; and those who hurried one clearly innocent man to execution, would not be very scrupulous as to five others, whose conduct was at least questionable.

The turn taken by events in the interval between the two meetings, seems not altogether inexplicable in a state of society so reckless of human life as republican Greece. There was no want in the present case of influences, sufficient, in the hands of unscrupulous agents, to inflame the Attic popular passion to the pitch that required to be appeased by a sacrifice of innocent lives. The fact was certain that a number of Athenian citizens had been left to perish in the sea. Those charged with their safety differed as to the cause. But the fault must lie somewhere. This was no case for tedious litigation. The commanders-in-chief were primarily responsible for what had happened. They were therefore the proper victims. That in order to foster the excitement, the faction of Theramenes may have circulated fresh rumours against the accused, is very possible. But as those rumours never assumed the form of judicial charges, even had they reached Xenophon's ears, they formed no legitimate element of the case. That Xenophon should in this instance have wilfully suppressed any fact, with a

view of exaggerating the crime of his fellow-citizens, were inconsistent with his constitutional indifference to party politics, and with the kindly disposition towards his native republic manifest in this whole portion of his work. This disposition displays itself even in his narrative of these events ; in the testimony so cordially borne at its close, to the revulsion of feeling, which the guilty but at bottom generous community underwent, when sober reflexion brought them to a sense of the enormity into which they had been betrayed, and in the satisfaction with which he describes the punishment of the ringleaders of the bloodthirsty movement.

Dr. Thirlwall, while he has not certainly done justice to Xenophon's account of this transaction, has at least treated both the Historian and his text in an impartial spirit. But Mr. Grote, in his zeal to palliate the errors of his favourite democracy, has judged him with a harshness and unfairness, equal to any exhibited by Xenophon himself towards his own objects of political antipathy. Mr. Grote readily defers to his authority in all cases where favourable to his own view, but dismisses as calumnious or unintelligible whatever cannot be turned to similar account. He even rejects the fact of the storm (admitted by all previous authorities, of all sides and parties, from Theramenes himself down to Diodorus), or at least its alleged virulence, as a pretext of the admirals ; and on what ground ? Because a portion of the Spartan fleet escaped in the same weather to Chios. As if it were the same thing for fugitive galleys to run before a gale of wind to a place of safety, as for a large fleet to beat up against its fury in a narrow sea, picking up drowning mariners among scores of drifting hulks. His zeal seems in one instance to have overshot its mark. He treats as a calumny Xenophon's statement that the popular exasperation against the admirals was excited by Theramenes, and maintains that it was altogether spontaneous. A less partial advocate might perhaps have reflected, that an act which he does not himself deny to have been cruel and illegal, would be more capable of palliation, had its authors been instigated to its commission by the arts of self-interested demagogues, rather than by their own passions. While on this account the question as to the real cause of the excitement bears but little on the general merits, it will be proper, on philological grounds, to correct an erroneous construction which Grote has here put on the text of the Historian. Xenophon states¹ that, "the agents of Theramenes, during the

¹ I. vii. 8.

"feast of the Apaturia, instigated a number of persons to make their appearance at the next assembly with mourning garments and shaved heads, as representing the relatives of the drowned mariners." Such is the real sense of the passage. Subjoined is Mr. Grote's paraphrase of it: "Xenophon describes this burst of feeling at the Apaturia as false and factitious, and the men in mourning as a number of hired impostors;"¹ and he afterwards talks of the bribes that had been paid to them. None of these allegations are justified by the Historian's own statement. The primary import of the term *παρσκενάζω*, which Grote renders to "hire" or "bribe," is simply to induce, persuade, instigate. In this primary import it is invariably used by Xenophon in the numerous passages where it occurs. In no single one has he used it in the sense, which it occasionally bears with other writers, of suborning, or influencing by corrupt means, still less of hiring or bribing. Neither do Xenophon's words imply that the mourners, however induced to come forward, were "impostors." All he commits himself to, is the fact that they did not come forward spontaneously, but at the instigation of others. The question whether they were real relatives or sham relatives he leaves open. But the terms of the passage, rightly interpreted, certainly favour the former supposition. Mr. Grote makes Xenophon describe the "burst of feeling" (as he designates the procession of shaved mourners) to have taken place "at the Apaturia;" meaning we presume some of the public sacrifices or great social meetings of that festival. This however is also a misunderstanding. What Xenophon means and says is, not that the mourners officiated at the Apaturia, but that "during the festival," the agents of Theramenes induced them to get up their show of grief for the ensuing assembly, when the case of the admirals again came on. Now this certainly seems to imply that Xenophon considered the mourners as genuine relatives. For the festival of the Apaturia was, as Grote has well shown, calculated to render persons whose friends had perished on the wrecks, peculiarly alive to the influence here exercised on them; but was in no respect a more favourable time than any other, for enlisting the services of ruffians ready at all times, for "hire" or "bribes," to act any part that might be required of them.

¹ P. 261. Bishop Thirlwall also speaks of the mourners as having been hired or bribed.

On a subsequent occasion described in the *Hellenica*¹, Theramenes is accused by Critias of having, when sent by the admirals to save the drowning men, failed to execute that duty, and of having, in order to shield himself, accused his superiors, and caused them to be put to death. In his defence he advances the following statements: I. That the admirals had accused him of disobeying their orders to save the men, before he brought any charge against them; II. That while he had all along maintained, that owing to the storm it was not possible to save the men, they had asserted that it was possible. The accusation of Critias here contains in substance Xenophon's own previous narrative of the affair. The reply of Theramenes contradicts Xenophon's narrative in every particular. Upon this Dr. Thirlwall observes: "It is difficult to believe that 'this account [of Theramenes] was totally false. Yet there seems 'to be a direct contradiction between the plea which he here attributes to the generals, and that which they really used according to Xenophon's own narrative. It looks as if Xenophon had 'purposely involved the transaction in the greatest possible obscurity.'" ² The obscurity appears to lie less in Xenophon's narrative, than in the failure of his commentator to apprehend its spirit. It might have occurred to so discerning a critic, that in Greek prose history as in Greek epic poetry, there is a dramatic as well as a descriptive mode of portraying characters. Dr. Thirlwall will not surely insist on making a historian who introduces speeches into his text, responsible for all the assertions which he places in the mouths of his orators, or generally for their intention to speak the truth; and if ever there was a case where such a rule were inapplicable, it is that of Theramenes here in question. Xenophon, in concurrence with the best contemporary authorities, represents this man as a reckless liar. Hence, when charged with the office of portraying himself by his language, now that he is in his turn arraigned as a criminal, he is most appropriately made to resort, for his justification, to the same mendacity by which he had before promoted the destruction of his commanding officers, and betrayed Athens to Lysander. When, after Critias had stated the case as it really was, and as Xenophon himself had stated it, we find Theramenes contradicting both them and himself, we must, in justice to Xenophon, consider the defence as a deliberate falsehood, and as meant by Xenophon to be taken as such. Xenophon,

¹ II. iii. 32. 35. sqq.

² Hist. of Gr. vol. iv. p. 116. note.

no doubt, by a few words of commentary on the perseverance of Theramenes, to the last moment of his life, in his characteristic course of falsehood, might have obviated the possibility of misunderstanding. But he rarely indulges his readers with such explanatory details, and was the less likely to do so in the present case. The lie being so gross and palpable, he would the more readily expect them to discover for themselves the ethic spirit of the passage.

APPENDIX N. (Page 313.)

ON THE INVASION OF LACEDÆMON BY EPAMINONDAS.

THERE can be little doubt that Xenophon has misunderstood or misrepresented, both the tactics and the policy of Epaminondas, in his invasions of Laconia, especially in the last. He would have us believe that the object of the Theban commander was to take or destroy Sparta at all hazards; and that he was foiled in that object by the valour of the small force left in defence of the city. But this view appears as little consistent with the character of Epaminondas, as with the evidence of Xenophon's own text. The part Epaminondas wished to act, was probably similar in some degree to that acted by Sparta towards Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian war; to reduce the city and humble her pride; not to wipe her off the face of Hellas. But this part required to be acted in a different manner, and was far more difficult than that of Lysander, both in respect to the men and the place with which Epaminondas had to deal. On both occasions he endeavoured, and hoped, to take the town by surprise; and had he succeeded, he might, as Xenophon himself remarks, have occupied it at once. But in both instances he was disappointed; and the want of walls, instead of facilitating his object, as Xenophon assumes, proved a serious, indeed an insuperable obstacle to its attainment. Had the city been fortified, he might, like Lysander, have blockaded and starved the population into submission. But an open straggling town could not be reduced to the same extremity, unless at the cost of a much longer time and greater variety of resources than Epaminondas had at command. In regard to other more summary modes of dealing with it, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was completely at his mercy. The notion of from five to ten

thousand men, but a portion of them Spartans, and many of doubtful fidelity, making head in an open unwall'd city against an army of eight or ten times that number, of the best troops in Greece, the "élite" of whom had, in the late wars, been in the habit of beating greatly superior armies of Lacedæmonians, is next to absurd. Historical critics, in their efforts to explain what has appeared to them the inexplicable supineness, or even pusillanimity of Epaminondas on these occasions, as compared with the energy so characteristic of his other enterprises, have dwelt much on the strength of the ground on which part of the city was built, and where the chief force of the defenders was collected. But the weapons to which a commander, resolved at all hazards to conquer or destroy, would here have had recourse, were not arms or battering rams, but torches. Had the latter been employed at any moment by Epaminondas, in a determined manner, backed by the operations of the surrounding army, the valour of the defenders entrenched in the upper town, would have been of as little avail as that of the citizens posted by Agesilaus on the housetops of the streets below. But Epaminondas saw objections, for which Xenophon was not likely to give him credit, to any such extreme course. He saw doubtless that the national feeling of Sparta had been embittered rather than subdued by her late reverses; that the citizens in the mass were animated by much the same spirit of desperation and self-sacrifice which had inspired Leonidas and his three hundred; and that an assault, if completely successful, would in all likelihood be tantamount to the annihilation of the city and people of Sparta. One Thermopylæ was enacted in the passes between Arcadia and Laconia¹, against a detachment of the invading army; and there was every probability that the defenders of the town were prepared to offer up themselves, wives, and children, as a single great holocaust to the cause of national independence, rather than see Sparta in the possession of Thebes. Epaminondas had no wish to drive matters to this extremity; and the only alternative, short of exterminating the rival state, was the course he took, of allowing her to escape altogether, after showing the extent to which he had her in his power. This view of the case explains, and reduces to their proper level, those acts of alleged superhuman valour on the side of the Spartans, and of timidity on that of the Thebans, over which Xenophon exults so

¹ VI. v. 26.

loudly. The exaggeration, apart from the inconsistencies of detail, is so transparent in these narratives as to defeat its own object. The affairs described, where for example Archidamus son of Agesilaus, and hence next to his father Xenophon's favourite hero, with less than a hundred men, puts to flight¹ the whole Theban army, were evidently mere skirmishes of outposts, consequent on the feints and stratagems, by which Epaminondas vainly endeavoured to provoke his able and cautious adversary to battle in the open field.

APPENDIX O. (Page 322.)

ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE PARTS OF XENOPHON'S HELLENICA.

THESE considerations, with the historical gap above noticed between the second and third books, and with one or two vague expressions of the ancient commentators, led Niebuhr² to the hypothesis: that Xenophon's Grecian history consisted of two different narratives; the one, comprising the first two books, and forming a supplement to Thucydides; the other, comprising the remaining five books, being the Hellenica in the proper sense; and that the first of these narratives had been originally connected by its author, as a ninth book, with the eight of Thucydides; from which it had again been detached by later editors and prefixed to the Hellenica. This theory has been, in the extent to which Niebuhr carried it, so generally and so justly rejected by other commentators³, as to render it unnecessary here to controvert the arguments of its author. The utmost that can reasonably be admitted, on the data referred to by Niebuhr, is, that what now forms the first two books, and which we shall here for brevity's sake call the "Attica," was probably, it may almost be said certainly, composed before the rest of the work; and that it may

¹ VII. v. 12.

² Rheinisch. Museum, 1827, p. 194. sq.; Kleine histor. Schriften, p. 304.; and in the Philological Museum, vol. I. p. 485.

³ G. C. Lewis, in the Classical Museum, No. 4. p. 1. sqq.; Krüger, Historisch. philolog. Studien. I. Th. p. 244. sqq.; Sievers, Commentatt. de Xenophontis Hellenicis, p. 2. sqq.; Breitenbach, Præf. ad Xenophontis Hellenica, p. 1. sqq. (1853.)

have retained its separate character, either in circulation or in the author's repositories, for a time, before the subsequent series of *Hellenica* was sufficiently matured, to admit of the two elements being united as we now have them. It is further quite possible, that the author may at first have intended the *Attica* to rank as a distinct work, and may only have been led by his ensuing course of historical research to dispose of it in a different manner.

That the *Attica* could ever have been composed as a Supplement in the literal sense, and to the extent assumed by Niebuhr, of having been actually added as a ninth Book or Muse to the eight of Thucydides, is precluded, among other considerations, by one which it is surprising Niebuhr should have overlooked. Although it takes up the subject of Thucydides exactly where he breaks off¹, it carries on its own subject far beyond the point, which he everywhere so distinctly defines at the conclusion of his great historical epopee, the close of the twenty-seven years' war with the fall of Athens. It would be an injustice to Xenophon, to deny him also a sufficient share of taste and judgment to perceive, that any addition to the work of his predecessor, which extended its narrative beyond that catastrophe, would be not so much a supplement, as an unseemly excrescence on his original design. The fact therefore, that Xenophon has comprised in his *Attic* narrative an entirely new series of events, standing in no sort of epic connexion with the Peloponnesian war, is a proof that, although that narrative was a continuation, it never could have been destined as a supplement or completion in Niebuhr's sense, to the work of Thucydides.

Niebuhr's theory, to be consistent, ought to assume Xenophon's Thucydidean supplement to have closed with what is now the second chapter of the second book; and that the remainder of that book either belonged to the *Hellenica*, or was a separate historical tract on the affairs of the Thirty tyrants. This arrangement how-

¹ This has indeed been disputed by Sievers (op. cit. p. 8. sqq.) and Thirlwall (Hist. of Gr. vol. iv. 2nd ed. p. 62.), who discover an interval of six weeks between the close of the one work and the commencement of the other; and even go the length of assuming, that the opening part of Xenophon's text has been lost. It does not however appear that this interval of time, even admitting its existence, comprised any transaction of greater importance than others which Xenophon is in the habit of omitting in his, at all times, more or less meagre and inexplicit narrative. Conf. Grote, vol. viii. p. 155. sqq.

ever, in proportion as it might have favoured one part of his argument in favour of original distinctness, would have been destructive of another vital one, founded on the lively Attic patriotism which animates the first two books, as contrasted with the recreant Laconism of the ensuing five; that patriotism being chiefly exhibited in the chapters which would thus have been lopped off.

Whatever may have been its author's earlier intention, conclusive proof that the *Attica* was ultimately united to the *Hellenica*, is supplied by the connexion between the concluding passage of the one and the opening passage of the other. The *Attica* closes with the permanent reconciliation of parties in Athens after the expulsion of the Thirty. The *Hellenica* (B. III.) begins with the words: "In this way the strife of factions at Athens terminated." The mode in which the resettlement of the democratic constitution is described in the last sentence of the *Attica*, also proves indirectly that this part of its text was finally published in its existing form, at the same late period of Xenophon's life in which the *Hellenica* was brought to its present state of maturity. After mentioning the restoration of harmony among the different orders of citizens, and the oaths mutually taken to abide by the new settlement, the Historian adds, in an encomiastic tone: "And to this day, that political harmony has been maintained, and those oaths have been observed." These expressions were obviously out of place, either in speech or writing, if uttered, as Niebuhr supposes, about eight years after the event. It were but a poor compliment to a national system of polity, to describe it as having actually lasted eight years. But the compliment, if pronounced nearly half a century later, or in 356 B.C., down to which date we know Xenophon to have been engaged with the *Hellenica*, would have been highly appropriate; a fifty years' duration of any political settlement, in any Greek state but Sparta, being a rare and gratifying phenomenon. And the remark in this case is the more valuable in a historical point of view, as affording Xenophon's testimony to the fact, known to us from other sources, that the political harmony eulogised by him actually did subsist down to the close of his own life. Niebuhr indeed has put a very different construction on Xenophon's expression above cited; and endeavours to show, by a line of argument which we do not clearly comprehend, and for which the reader is referred to his own text, that the Historian alludes to the shortness, rather than the length of the interval, between the date at which he wrote and the resettlement

of affairs to which the passage refers. Let us take a case nearer home ; and suppose, that some eight or ten years after the passing of our own Reform Bill, an admirer of that measure, having occasion, in parliament, to refer to its results, were to have wound up his discourse by the peroration that, "to this day the people of England continue to revere and uphold that settlement of the constitution," the audience would have thought he was dreaming, or that his enthusiasm for his subject had turned his head. But a similar speech delivered half a century later, would sound but as a somewhat hyperbolical tribute of admiration.

APPENDIX P. (Page 373.)

ON THE DIVISION OF GREEK HISTORICAL WORKS INTO BOOKS.¹

No internal evidence of a similar method of distribution is to be found in the *Cyropædia*, or in other more bulky compositions of Xenophon.

While upon this subject we shall, for its more complete illustration, extend our remarks to the remaining historical compositions of the Attic period, of which we shall have occasion to treat in the sequel of this volume. The loss of their entire texts disables us from judging on internal evidence, what may have been the method of division adopted by their authors. In regard to Ephorus however, we learn from Diodorus², that in his great historical work he followed a mode of distribution nearly resembling that of the *Anabasis*, each of its thirty books being limited to a single subject or class of subjects, each with its separate *Proœmium* or Introduction, and, it would also appear, in some cases at least, its separate title. One of those titles, that of the fifth book, the *Europa*, has been quoted by Strabo.

The citations of the other elder or younger contemporaries of Xenophon, of the thirteen books of Philistus for example, the twenty-three of Ctesias (his *Persica*), or the fifty-eight and twelve of Theopompus (his *Philippica* and *Hellenica*), supply no similar

¹ The division of the books into chapters or sections are, in the works, both of Xenophon and his predecessors, due to modern editors.

² XVI. 76.

criteria for judging, how far those numbers may have been sanctioned by the authors, how far they may be due, as is indeed more likely, to the later grammarians.

The standard historians of this period, and their commentators, have left us in a similar state of uncertainty regarding the original titles of their works. It seems probable that the old logographers, including Herodotus, designated their compilations by no other titles than "Histories," "Genealogies," or others of like general import. The earliest extant citation of a historical work by a specific title, is that of the "Attic history" of Hellanicus, by Thucydides.¹ The same author, in his Proœmium, appears also indirectly to entitle his own work a "History (συγγραφή) of the war "between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians." Neither Herodotus nor Xenophon has afforded any so near an approach to a specific designation. Polybius² plainly, though indirectly, intimates, that the titles *Hellenica* and *Philippica*, by which the two principal works of Theopompus are now known, were applied to them by Theopompus himself. No such distinct notice exists of those originally borne by the works of his contemporaries. But from the analogy of his usage, it may reasonably be supposed, that the same title of *Hellenica* was also given to the principal work of Xenophon by its author.

This whole question has been treated with great ability by Sir G. C. Lewis, in the *Classical Museum* for 1844 (p. 1. sqq.), to which the reader desirous of going deeper into the subject is referred. Sir G. appears however to have carried his critical scepticism a little too far, in assuming the absolutely undivided state of the texts of Herodotus, Thucydides, and other earlier historians, as published by themselves. When Herodotus, referring in v. 36. to § 92. of the existing book i. of his work, uses the expression ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν λόγων, "in the first of my narratives," or discourses, we apprehend that the words "the first" necessarily imply that there was "a second;" and if a second, probably a third, and so forth; although he may not happen afterwards to have quoted by its specific number any one of his other divisions; which were evidently much more numerous than the existing books. The first "logos" must have had an end, and the second a beginning; and that end and beginning seem also not difficult to divine from internal data. As the citation in v. 36. refers to § 92. of the present first book, the whole of that book

¹ I. 97.

² VIII. 13.

down to the same § 92. must have been included in the author's first logos. This whole portion of the text is occupied with his Lydian history, terminating with the fall of Sardis, and the subjection of Lydia to the Persians, in § 94. With § 95. a new subject commences ; the origin and progress of the Medo-Persian dynasty by which that of Croesus was overthrown. It may therefore with some confidence be assumed, that the first logos of Herodotus comprised from § 1. to § 94. of the existing first book, and that his second logos commenced with § 95. of the same book.

APPENDIX Q. (Page 445.)

ON THE SOCRATIC DOCTRINES OF XENOPHON.

No. 1.

AMONG the principal rules for a judicious conduct in life, which Xenophon makes Socrates inculcate, one is : That a man ought not to undertake, either himself to perform, or to teach others, any business of which he does not possess a competent knowledge.¹ This rule is enforced, with more immediate reference to the art of war, in a dialogue² with a young friend ambitious of military command ; whom Socrates not only induces to take an extra course of instruction under a distinguished professional tactician, but afterwards, finding that the pupil had not been thoroughly grounded in some important points, he sends him back to his master to make good the deficiency.

One of the ensuing dialogues³ is between Socrates and another friend, who complains, that after a long experience of military duty, after having passed with credit through the inferior grades of rank, and received many wounds in the national service, his claims to a command for which he was a candidate, had been set aside in favour of one who had borne arms for a very short period, with no distinction, and in a secondary rank, having been engaged the greater part of his life in purely civil employments. Here Socrates at once takes the opposite side of the question.

¹ I. vii., II. vi. 38., III. i., III. iii. 9. alibi.

² III. i. 1.

³ III. iv. 1.

He asserts, that a man who has acquired habits of business in a civil office, and shown judgment in its management, is qualified to enter at once on the highest military functions. This argument he follows up by a series of subtleties, to the effect, that as the fortunate candidate, when master of the public ceremonies, had, without being himself either a practical musician or play-actor, succeeded in making other musicians and actors perform well, he must be quite able, without being himself a practised soldier, to make his soldiers fight well and preserve discipline.

This fallacy the philosopher is again made to refute in a subsequent discourse¹, where, in remarking on the decline of military discipline in Athens, he says: that while no Athenian citizen would ever think of undertaking the presidency of the public ceremonies, without a competent knowledge of that department of business, many altogether devoid of military experience have no hesitation in undertaking military commands.

No. 2.

It seems incredible that Socrates could ever really have committed himself to the following course of mixed paradox and casuistry. "He maintained² that the men who really governed states, were "not those who held the sceptre, or those elected to power, or those "who governed by force or fraud, but those who understood how "to govern; that in like manner the man who governed a ship, "was he who best understood navigation, and that to him both the "shipmaster and the other passengers deferred; that the landowner "followed the instructions of the skilful agriculturist; and so, in "other cases." When it was objected, "that a tyrannical governor "might refuse obedience to the wisest councillor," he replied: "How can he refuse, exposed as he would be to the penalty of "his disobedience! For when a man in any case rejects wise "counsel, he errs, and will be punished for his error." When it was further objected, that a tyrant had often the will as well as the power, even to kill an honest adviser, the rejoinder is: "And do "you suppose that a man who destroys his best friend can escape "punishment? Would not the very act of which you suppose "him guilty involve his own destruction?" The absurdity of this mode of conducting an argument is too obvious to require com-

¹ III. v. 21. sqq.

² III. ix. 10.

mentary. The reasoner begins by staking his credit on the fact that a thing is so. When the statement is impugned as false or paradoxical, he does not attempt to reply, but merely shifts his ground, and asserts that the thing ought to be so, and that those who prevent its being so deserve to be punished. And this Xenophon calls on us to admire as the quintessence of Socratic wisdom and logic.

No. 3.

The dialogue ¹ with Aristippus, an idle man of the world, is said at the commencement to have been held for the purpose of converting him to a more discreet course of life. The philosopher begins by demonstrating, that a man educated in habits of useful study and self-denial, is more likely to make a good political leader than one whose education has been neglected. Aristippus admits the truth of this self-evident proposition ; upon which Socrates asks, why he does not himself adopt those habits, the efficacy of which, for the object stated, he so freely admits. In answer Aristippus remarks : that, as he has no such object in view, he does not see how the argument bears on his case ; that not being desirous of political power, he prefers leading an independent life as a private citizen ; and he urges some very natural, and in his own view of the case conclusive reasons for his preference. Socrates, without attempting to grapple with these reasons, enters on another equally subtle course of demonstration : that it is a more agreeable thing for a man, himself to exercise power, than to live in subjection to others. Of this general proposition, Aristippus also does not dispute the general truth ; he demurs however to certain of the lecturer's inferences ; and with good reason, as they are not only far-fetched and sophistical, but all rest more or less on the one paradoxical basis, that the state of society in Greece admitted of no medium between the two extremes of social existence : political power and slavery. As regards his own interest in the matter, Aristippus contents himself with renewing his previous declaration, that he is not ambitious of acting the part of a ruler, and adding, that he is equally little apprehensive of becoming a slave.

Here again it is difficult to believe, that the genuine Socrates, with so many effective forms of argument at his disposal, could

¹ II. i. 1.

have selected one so singularly ill adapted to the particular case and person with whom he had to deal. Had Aristippus been a youth who, like Alcibiades, combined ardent political ambition with profligate habits, there would have been no more likely mode of reclaiming him from those habits, than convincing him of the obstacles which they interposed to the attainment of nobler objects. But the same argument addressed to a man who was devoid of ambition or taste for political distinction, was, by its very abor-tiveness, an effectual mode of confirming the errors it was intended to correct.

APPENDIX R. (Page 550.)

ON THE WRITERS OF ATTHIDES.¹

C. MÜLLER ¹, adopting and exaggerating this distinction, assumes the Atthides of Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and other earlier writers, not to have been integral compositions, but portions of more voluminous works by those authors; that they were chiefly occupied with mythical legends borrowed from the old poets; and dwelt but slightly on the events of authentic history. The later Atthidists on the other hand, are supposed by him to have treated their subject in a more critical manner, investigating historical events and chronological epochs with greater diligence, and suggesting philosophical explanations of the popular fables. Every one of these positions may be shown, the greater part of them on data supplied by Müller himself, to be baseless. In the first place, Pherecydes is nowhere mentioned as author of an Atthis. That the Atthis or "Attic history," as it is called by Thucydides, of Hellanicus, was but a section of a more voluminous work, is a hypothesis unsupported by any evidence external or internal. The other alleged points of distinction between his Atthis and that of Clidemus, are disproved by a comparison of the remains of each author in Müller's own collection. In the investigation of authentic history Hellanicus, if not a profoundly critical master, was, judging from existing data, quite on a par with Clidemus. Of the passages cited from the Atthis of the former, seven refer to real events. Only four such passages can be identified in the extant citations from

¹ Ap. Didot, *op. cit.* vol. I. p. LXXXI. LXXXVI.

the Atthis of Clidemus; and in several of these, historical fact is largely seasoned with mythological trifling. Of chronological investigation there is no trace in the collection of Clidemus. Hel-
lanicus on the other hand was, in that department of research, confessedly in advance of his contemporaries, or even of his immediate successors. Of philosophical explanations of the popular fables, the mythological fragments of Clidemus are barren. He everywhere manifests a most orthodox spirit of acquiescence in the letter, even of the most trivial legends which he retails.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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166. There are but two passages which appear to form gentle exceptions, both in the case of the Erotema, to this habitual austerity of the Historian's figurative style. The first is in the speech of the Thebans against the Plateans (III. 64): *τινες ἂν ὑμῶν δικαιότερον πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι μισοῖντο*, κ. τ. λ.; the second in the reply of Athenagoras to Hermocrates (VI. 38.): *τί καὶ βούλεσθε, ὦ νεώτεροι*, κ. τ. λ. The other examples of interrogatory eloquence, while not frequent, being but modes of shaping an argument, must rank as figures of the intellectual order.
167. note 2. It seems more natural that the citation by Aristotle, of "the Epitaphian speech" of Pericles, should refer to this address, which, having inaugurated, as it were, the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, was both the last and the most remarkable of its kind delivered by the orator, than, as some commentators suppose, to the one mentioned by Plutarch as having been delivered after the Samian war. The figurative allusion in the passage cited, to the slain warriors, as "the spring," or first fruits, of Athenian chivalry, is far more applicable to the first battle of a great general war, after a prolonged state of peace, than to the casualties of a comparatively inglorious campaign of the imperial republic, against a single greatly inferior adversary.
168. The words, *τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε*, here rendered, "the framer of the law prescribing this oration," mean, or may at least be held to mean, literally: "the man "who added this oration to the law," or custom on such occasions. It has hence been inferred by Dionysius Hal. (Ant. Rom. v. 17), and others after him, that the delivery of the speech was a later addition to the original rite. This however can hardly have been the meaning of Thucydides. It is difficult to believe that in Athens, where, from time

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immemorial, public oratory, in some shape or other, was an essential element of all state ceremonial, it could ever have been customary to confer the honour of public burial on citizens, without the solemnity being accompanied by some kind of equally public explanation, by a competent person, why the honour was conferred. The commendation therefore to which Pericles refers, may safely be considered as bestowed not on the author of some recent improvement on the original practice, but rather on the first framer of the written law on the subject; as having combined with (or added to) its other enactments, a formal provision that the oration should be delivered, with regulations probably as to the mode of its delivery, and the appointment of the orator. Herodotus uses the term *προσθήκη* in the very same sense, in a closely similar passage (II. 136.). We have however shaped our aversion in such terms as, without subtilising on the orator's words, should convey the full spirit of his remark; leaving it open whether the speech was, or was not, an original part of the ceremony.

To the ensuing phase: *τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις*, as quite untranslatable into literal English, we have also given a turn, more in harmony with our own idiom, while equally expressive of the orator's meaning.

This commentary might be extended to other passages of these versions; which are indeed but so many illustrations of the difficulty of translating the rhetorical text of Thucydides, in such a manner as to preserve the spirit without any serious breach of the letter.

169. Indirect evidence, that this antithesis between Words and Deeds was a favourite Periclean image, and was employed by Pericles in this oration, much in the mode represented by Thucydides, seems to be contained in the Epitaphian address which Plato, in his *Menexenus* (p. 236.), makes Socrates describe and repeat, as having been composed by Aspasia from materials supplied by Pericles. Of that composition, as of the Thucydidean speech, the antithesis in question forms the exordium and the key-note, and is reiterated and illustrated in the sequel, in the same subtle style with which we are familiar in Thucydides. The two orations also present other points of correspondence, tending to prove,

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that Thucydides, however differently he may have worked up the details, had retained much of the substance of the Periclean address. Such are, for example, the connexion into which, in each, the valour of the warriors eulogised has been brought, with the excellence of the institutions under which they were reared; and the contrast between those institutions and others existing in less favoured states.

Whether Plato himself had in view the original of Pericles, or the Thucydidean version, or, possibly both, may be a question.

191. The number ninety, being the distance in miles by the course of the river as estimated by later geographers, between Cunaxa and Babylon, has here been inadvertently noted, instead of the direct distance by land; which is rated by Xenophon (II. ii. 6.) at about forty-five miles (360 stadia); by other authorities at a third or a fourth more.
- 215, 216. Xenophon's accounts of the strength of the Greek army at the several stages of its route, are singularly vague and contradictory. His expression in the passage here referred to, is (v. iii. 3.), that the numbers were reduced "from about 10,000" to 8,600; "the other 1,400 having been destroyed "by the enemy, the snow, or disease." The original estimate (p. 190.), previous to the battle of Cunaxa, was 12,800. The 10,000 therefore here in question are, it may be presumed, the number at the outset of the Retreat in the familiar sense; when they commenced fighting their way home after the massacre of the Zabatus. Of the mode in which they had been reduced from 12,800 to 10,000 between Cunaxa and the Zabatus, we are left in the dark. Xenophon mentions but a single man killed or wounded in the battle, and that on doubtful report (i. viii. 20.). During the subsequent march to the Zabatus, the only defalcation noticed (II. ii. 7.) was the desertion of about 350 Thracian light troops. Add to these about 220 victims of Persian treachery at the Zabatus, including officers; and the army, on leaving that station, ought still to have numbered above 12,000 men. Assuming however that by this, and other disasters not specified, it had really been reduced by 1,800 men between Cunaxa and the Zabatus, how are we to reconcile that loss with

the subsequent statements: first, that on its week's route through the Carduchian mountains, it suffered more than all it had previously suffered from Artaxerxes or Tissaphernes (iv. iii. 2.); and secondly, that, as we are here told, the whole diminution of force between the Zabatus and Cerasus was only 1,400 men? In the sequel, after being thus described as reduced to 8,600 at Cerasus, and after experiencing some other losses in the interval, we again find it, at Cotyora, a few weeks later (v. vii. 9.), in the same vague manner, rated at "nearly ten thousand men."

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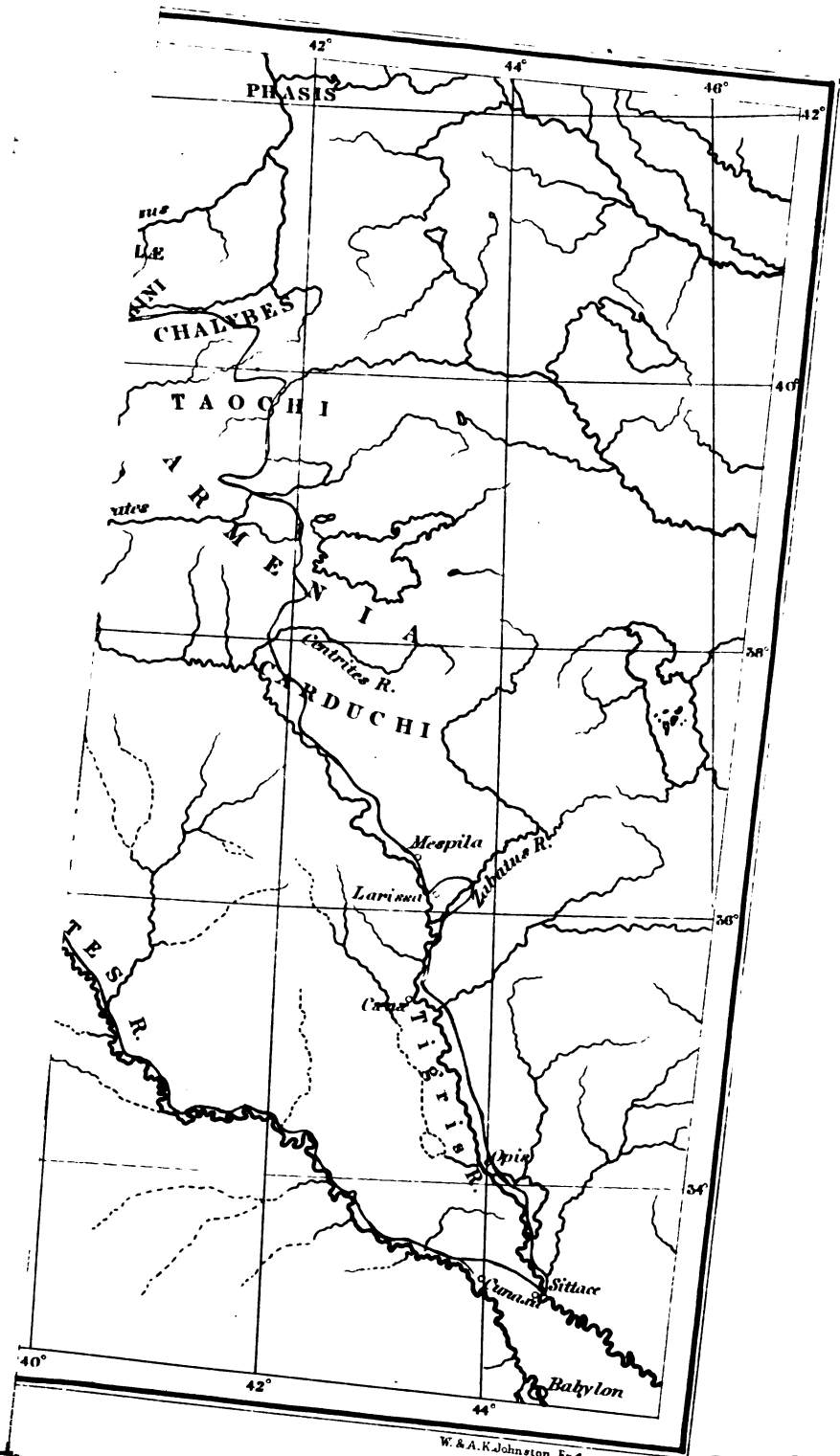
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